Engraved by J.C.Buttre

and believe me, dear Sir,
as ever yours very sincerely
J. Fenimore Cooper

From a Daguerreotype by Brady 1850 in possession of Mr. J.F. Cooper

HISTORY

OF

THE NAVY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ABRIDGED IN ONE VOLUME FROM THE OCTAVO EDITION.

BY

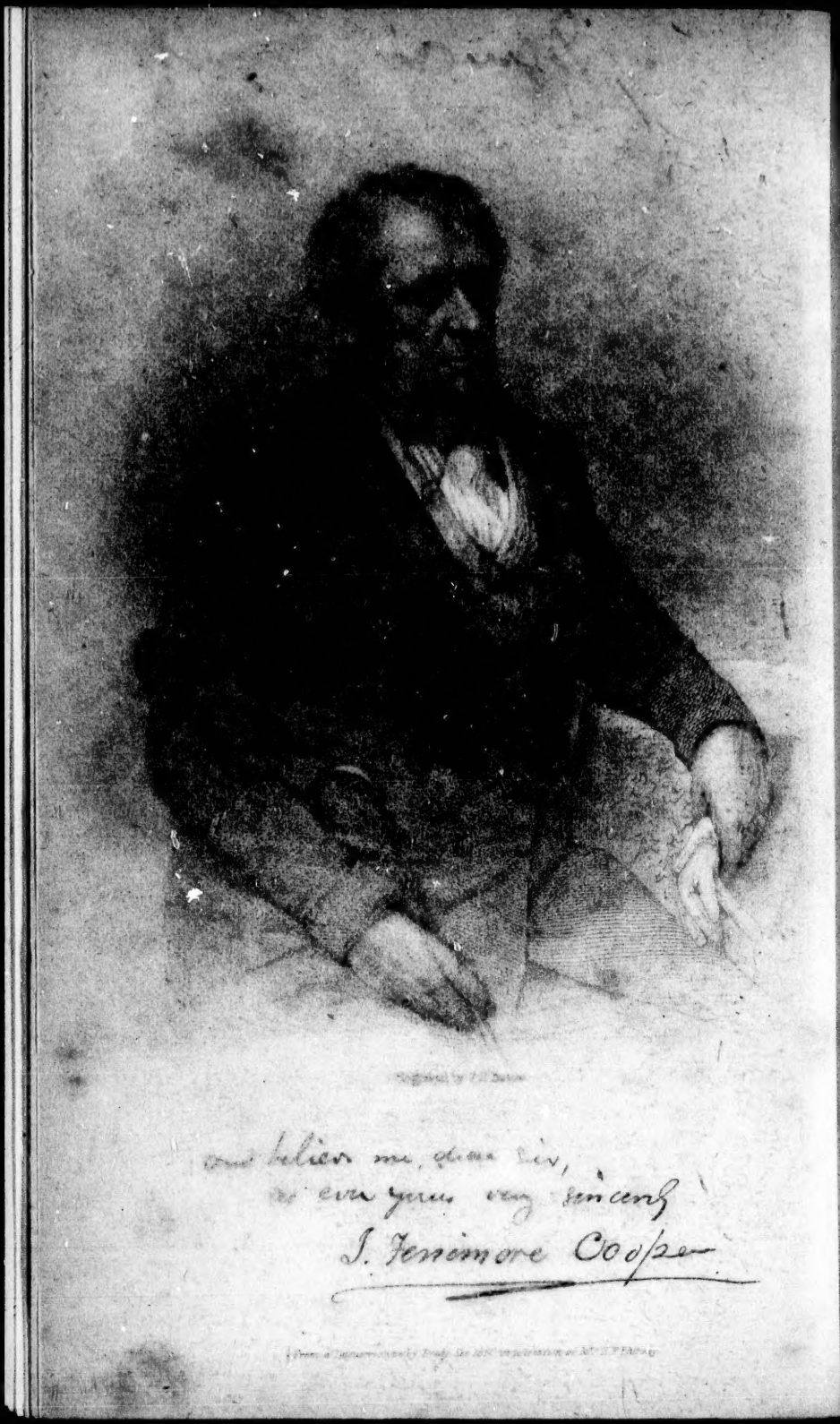
J. FENIMORE COOPER.

CONTINUED TO 1856,

FROM THE AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPTS, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

With Illustrations.

NEW YORK:
STRINGER & TOWNSEND.
1856.



Believe me, dear Sir,
Ever your very sincere
J. Fenimore Cooper

Duncan Smith

HISTORY

OF

THE NAVY

OF THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

ABRIDGED IN ONE VOLUME, FROM THE OCTAVO EDITION.

BY

J. FENIMORE COOPER.

CONTINUED TO 1856,

FROM THE AUTHOR'S MANUSCRIPTS, AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES.

With Illustrations.

NEW YORK:
STRINGER & TOWNSEND.
1856.

E
182
C812

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

		Page
1.	Portrait of the Author,	Frontispiece.
2.	Hazard and Active,	106
3.	Constellation captures l'Insurgente,	131
4.	Bombardment of Tripoli,	197
5.	Plan of the Harbor of Tripoli,	209
6.	Constitution and Guerriere,	259
7.	United States and Macedonian,	268
8.	Hornet sinking the Peacock,	275
9.	Capture of the Essex,	297
10.	Death of Lawrence,	307
11.	Enterprise and Boxer,	312
12.	Battle of Lake Erie,	337
13.	Plan of the Battle of Plattsburg Bay,	404
14.	Battle of Lake Champlain,	412
15.	Constitution, Cyane, and Levant,	428

Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1856, by
HENRY F. PHINNEY,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

R CRAIGHEAD, PRINTER
53 VESEY STREET, N. Y.

Page
ontispiece.
. 106
. 131
. 197
. 209
. 259
. 268
. 275
297
. 307
. 312
. 387
. 404
. 412
. 428

outhern

AUTHOR'S PREFACE

TO THE EDITION OF 1841.

This work has been reduced in size, and consequently in cost, by omitting that portion of the original matter which it is thought will have the least interest with the general reader. The original descriptions of the battles, attacks, chases, &c., have been retained, nearly verbatim, and the narrative is unbroken. Wherever there has been any alteration, in this respect, it has been made with a view to improvement. The opportunity has been taken, also, to introduce a little new matter, and to correct a few errors. Some faults of style, and many errors of the press, have been corrected. In a word, in the author's opinion, this reduced work has all the value or interest which may belong to the original, the documents and more elaborate reasoning excepted. As a mere narrative, he thinks the abridgment will be found to have the most attraction.

EDITOR'S PREFACE.

THE continuation of this work (from page 446) is abridged by the author of the continuation of the octavo edition, from the last copy of that work, which embraces all the latest additions and corrections by Mr. Cooper, as well as others of typographical and accidental errors since discovered by a careful examination and comparison of the different editions.

In the preparation of the continuations above referred to, the Editor had, besides the unfinished manuscripts, documents, &c., left by Mr. Cooper, access to the archives of the Navy Department, the papers of actors in some of the scenes recorded, and other most reliable authorities, documentary and personal. The whole was carefully revised by several officers of the Navy, whose familiarity with its history, as well as their age, rank, and position, rendered their aid of the highest value.

It has been the aim of the writer to give only a plain narrative of all facts of importance, following as nearly as possible the example of Mr. Cooper's own abridgment as to the degree of detail.

The first edition of the Naval History appeared in 1839, in two octavo volumes, which were immediately republished in London, Paris, and Brussels. It was also several times reprinted here. In 1841, the author prepared the present abridgment of the History to 1815. In 1846, he revised the full work, correcting, condensing, rewriting in part, and adding considerable new matter, intending to complete his naval works to that date.* After having for some time accumulated materials, he commenced in 1851 the continuation of the history, but was interrupted by the illness which resulted in his death, Sept. 14, 1851. The last corrected copy, with a portion of the History left in manuscript by Mr. Cooper, and a continuation to a late day by the present writer, is published complete in one octavo volume, and is still accessible to those who desire the full work without abridgment.

MARCH, 1856.

* Besides the Naval History, Mr. Cooper is the author of LIVES OF DISTINGUISHED NAVAL OFFICERS, to which is now added his posthumous history of the old ship CONSTITUTION, more familiarly known as "Old Ironsides."

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

SETTLEMENT of country — expedition of Captain Argal — first vessels of New England — first engagement on the water — first decked vessel — guarda-costas — first sea-fight — Sir William Phipps's expedition — first two-decked ship, built in America ..... Page 13

CHAPTER II.

Buccaneers — Captain Kidd — taking of Port Royal — expedition against the Canadas — slave-trade — whale-fisheries — capture of Louisbourg 20

CHAPTER III.

Shipping of different ports, 1750 — old French war — destroying the tea — burning of the Gaspé — battle of Lexington, &c. — commencement of revolution 29

CHAPTER IV.

Privateers — first naval action of the revolution — Lee, Captain Manly — laws of Congress — first American vessels of war — officers of navy first appointed — expedition of Commodore Hopkins — battle with the Glasgow — Edward taken by the Lexington 36

CHAPTER V.

Paul Jones — his first cruise as a commander — Doria, Captain Biddle — Defence, Captain Harding, takes British transports — cruise of the Providence and Alfred — cruise of Reprisal, in Europe — Lexington, do. — Captain Wicke's cruises — Lexington taken — loss of Reprisal — Captain Gustavus Conyngham's cruises 48

CHAPTER VI.

Captain Mugford—Sachem 10—Andrea Doria 14—Captain Robinson takes the Racehorse, Lieutenant Jones—galleys in the Delaware—action in the Hudson—Ranger's action in the West-Indies—battle on Lake Champlain—General Arnold... 59

CHAPTER VII.

Cruise and blowing up of Randolph 32—loss of Cabot 14—action of Trumbull 28, Captain Saltonstall—capture of Fox 28—capture of Hancock 32, Captain Manly—vessels destroyed in the Delaware, by the English—Augusta 64, blown up—cruise of Raleigh 32, Captain Thompson, and her action with the Druid 20..... 64

CHAPTER VIII.

French alliance—new frigates built—Providence 12, Captain Rathburne, seizes New Providence—capture of the Alfred 24—do. of Virginia 28, Captain Nicholson—frigates burned by the enemy in the Delaware—cruise of the Ranger 16, Paul Jones—takes the Drake 16—Major Talbot cuts out the Pigot 8—loss of Raleigh 32, Captain Barry..... 72

CHAPTER IX.

Alliance sails for France—mutiny—cruise of Warren 32, Queen of France 24, and Ranger 16—Paul Jones's celebrated cruise round Scotland—his battle with the Serapis..... 81

CHAPTER X.

Serapis and her consorts arrive in Holland—Paul Jones quits Holland in the Alliance—Alliance sails for America—Commodore Jones's return in the Ariel 20—cruise of Deane 32, and Boston 24—Providence captures the Diligent—Massachusetts' cruiser, Hazard, captures Active 14—unfortunate expedition to the Penobscot..... 104

CHAPTER XI.

Vessels taken at Charleston, S. C.—battle of the Trumbull and Watt—cruises of the Alliance 32, Captain Barry—captures the Atalanta and Trepassy—capture of Confederacy 32—do.

of Trumbull 28 — Congress privateer takes the Savage 16 — cruise of the Alliance in the West-Indies — escape of the Hague 32, Captain Manly..... 108

CHAPTER XII.

Battle of the Hyder Ally, Captain Barney, and Monk, Captain Rogers—state cruisers—South Carolina—her capture—end of war of revolution..... 117

CHAPTER XIII.

Commencement of present navy—quasi war with France..... 123

CHAPTER XIV.

First vessel at sea—le Croyable taken—escape of the Retaliation, Lieutenant Bainbridge..... 126

CHAPTER XV.

Vessels of war at sea in 1799—Constellation 38, captures l'Insurgente 36—vessels at sea in 1800—action between Constellation and la Vengeance—Lieutenant Hull cuts out the Sandwich—loss of l'Insurgente and Pickering—cruise and actions of Enterprise, Lieutenant Commandant Shaw — Boston engages boats—captures the Berceau—French privateers taken — Experiment, Lieutenant Commandant Maley, engages barges—Experiment, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart, captures Diana—captures English privateer—end of French war —peace establishment..... 130

CHAPTER XVI.

War with Tripoli — Commodore Dale's squadron — Enterprise captures the Tripoli—negotiations..... 150

CHAPTER XVII.

Law of 1802—Commodore Morris' squadron sent to Mediterranean—Boston 24, Captain M'Neill—Constellation opens the war before the town of Tripoli—movements of squadron under Commodore Morris—arrives off Tripoli—attack on wheat vessels — attack on gun-boats — John Adams, Captain Rodgers, destroys an enemy's cruiser—gallant behaviour of Lieutenant Commandant Hull—Commodore Morris returns home—deaths and resignations..... 155

CHAPTER XVIII.

Small cruisers built—third squadron sent to Mediterranean, under Commodore Preble—treaty with Morocco—Philadelphia captures a Moorish cruiser..... 165

CHAPTER XIX.

Philadelphia 38, Captain Bainbridge—appears off Tripoli—chases a xebec—is lost on a reef, and crew captured—list of her officers—movements of Commodore Preble—sends ketch Intrepid, Lieutenant Decatur, to destroy the Philadelphia—frigate burned..... 169

CHAPTER XX.

Year 1804—Siren takes the Transfer—affair with gun-boats to the westward of Tripoli—Commodore Preble appears off the port—forces of respective parties—action of 3d of August.... 185

CHAPTER XXI.

Preparations for new attack—attack of 17th of August—No. 8, gun-boat, blown up—John Adams, Captain Chauncey, arrives from America—narrow escape of the Argus, Captain Hull—bombardment of the 24th—attack of 25th—attack of 3d of September..... 196

CHAPTER XXII.

Ketch Intrepid—preparations—her attack—the explosion—probable causes of the disaster—private journal of Captain Bainbridge—arrival of squadron of Commodore Barron—Commodore Preble returns home..... 205

CHAPTER XXIII.

Force in Mediterranean, close of 1804—expedition of General Eaton—force May, 1805—end of Tripolitan war..... 216

CHAPTER XXIV.

Commodore Rodgers goes to Tunis—dictates a treaty—condition of the navy 1805-6-7—Leander kills a man off Sandy Hook—Chesapeake 38, Commodore Barron, fitted for the Mediterranean—English demand for deserters—frigate sails—attacked by Leopard 50—particulars of the affair—courts martial..... 221

CHAPTER XXV.

Gun-boats—embargo of 1807—naval force on the coast—vessels on the lakes — vessels in active service — 1811 — President punishes Little Belt..... 232

CHAPTER XXVI.

State of navy 1812—marine corps—English navy—American do. —prospects of a war with England—Captains Bainbridge and Stewart remonstrate against laying up the vessels of war — feeling of country, and of the navy..... 239

CHAPTER XXVII.

War declared, June 18th, 1812—situation of American navy—squadron of Commodore Rodgers — chase of Belvidera 36—unsuccessful pursuit of West-India convoy—English squadron under Commodore Broke, takes the Nautilus 12, Lieutenant Commandant Crane—celebrated chase of the Constitution 44, Captain Hull—cruise of the Essex 32, Captain Porter—captures the Alert 18—second cruise of the Constitution—action with the Guerriere—squadron of Commodore Bainbridge.... 244

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Commodore Rodgers—action of United States and Macedonian —cruise of Argus—action of Wasp and Frolic..... 262

CHAPTER XXIX.

Cruise of the Constitution, Commodore Bainbridge, Hornet, Captain Lawrence—action between Constitution and Java—Hornet blockades Bonne Citoyenne—action between Hornet and Peacock—Hornet returns home—new vessels ordered to be built..... 269

CHAPTER XXX.

Essex 32, Captain Porter — takes the Nocton — doubles Cape Horn—makes prizes—equips a sloop of war..... 278

CHAPTER XXXI.

Cruises of Essex and Georgiana—prizes—equips Essex Junior proceeds to the Marquesas 284

CHAPTER XXXII.

Arrival at Nooaheevah—sails for Valparaiso—arrival of Phœbe and Cherub—attempt on the latter—blockade—action of Phœbe and Cherub with Essex—capture of the Essex—Essex Junior sails for America—Lieutenant Gamble..... 289

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Chesapeake Bay—Constellation frigate—blockaded—Chesapeake 38, Captain Lawrence—sails from Boston—her action with the Shannon 38..... 301

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Smaller cruisers—Vixen—Siren—Enterprise—captures the Boxer—chased on the southern coast—Rattlesnake taken.... 310

CHAPTER XXXV.

New sloops of war—Argus' cruise in British channel—captured by the Pelican..... 314

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Chesapeake Bay—gun-boats attack British frigates Narcissus and Junon—attack on Craney Island—Asp taken—Commodore Decatur chased into New London—Lieutenant Kearny takes the Hebrus' tender—do. Severn's—gun-boat, No. 160, taken—affair in the Delaware..... 318

CHAPTER XXXVII.

New vessels launched—Frolic taken by the Orpheus—cruise of the Adams—run on a rock—attacked and burned—Wasp 18, sails for English channel—action with the Reindeer—goes into France—sails again—action with the Avon—continues her cruise—probable fate..... 324

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

Captain Sir Peter Parker—Commodore Barney in Chesapeake Bay—his different actions—flotilla burnt—Bladensburgh—vessels destroyed at Washington—Baltimore—death of General Ross..... 333

CHAPTER XXXIX.

Loss of gun-boats at New Orleans—gallant conduct of the Carolina—Louisiana cannonade—battle of New Orleans..... 340

CHAPTER XL.

War on the lakes—enemy's force—first attack on Sackett's Harbour—Commodore Chauncey takes command—upper lakes—Lieutenant Elliott cuts out two brigs from under Fort Erie—John Adams' crew arrives—Commodore Chauncey attacks Kingston—bloody affair at Erie, under Lieutenant Angus.... 347

CHAPTER XLI.

Character of vessels on Lake Ontario—new vessels built—attack on York—do. on Fort George..... 358

CHAPTER XLII.

British attack Sackett's Harbour—building—loss of Growler and Eagle, on Lake Champlain—attempt on American vessels fails—Lake Ontario—York taken a second time—manœuvring of two squadrons—Hamilton and Scourge lost in a squall—action—Growler and Julia taken..... 365

CHAPTER XLIII.

Squadrons in front of each other—fruitless manœuvres—actions without results—action off York—English squadron driven to Burlington Bay—enemy escapes—British gun-vessels captured—American troops transported..... 375

CHAPTER XLIV.

Captain Perry on Lake Erie—enemy's force—Americans get out of Presque Isle—American force—first cruise—reinforcement of officers and men—battle of Lake Erie..... 383

CHAPTER XLV.

Increased force on Lake Ontario—Oswego taken—Sackett's Harbour blockaded—English party in Salmon river taken—blockade of Sackett's Harbour raised—handsome exploits of Lieutenant Gregory—Americans blockade Kingston—English two-decker gets out—end of the season..... 396

CHAPTER XLVI.

Lake Champlain—naval forces—Americans cannonade English army—battle of Plattsburg Bay..... 404

CHAPTER XLVII.

Upper lakes—English surprise American schooners off Fort Erie—do. in Lake Huron—recapitulation of the service performed on the lakes..... 417

CHAPTER XLVIII.

Constitution, Captain Stewart—action with Cyane and Levant—Port Praya—English squadron appears—chase of Constitution and her prizes—escape of Constitution and Cyane—capture of Levant—services of Old Ironsides..... 421

CHAPTER XLIX.

President, Commodore Decatur—her capture—action between Hornet and Penguin—chase of Hornet—Peacock takes the Nautilus—end of war..... 429

CHAPTER L.

War against Algiers—squadron despatched to the Mediterranean—capture of an Algerine frigate, and of a brig—submission of the Regency—treaty concluded—possession taken of Oregon... 441

CHAPTER LI.

War against the Gulf Pirates — various captures — attack on Quallah Battoo..... 447

CHAPTER LII.

Exploring Expedition—mutiny on board the Somers..... 457

CHAPTER LIII.

War with Mexico—operations on Pacific coast 466

CHAPTER LIV.

Naval operations on east coast of Mexico..... 488

CHAPTER LV.

Expedition to the Dead Sea—Arctic Expeditions of Lieut. De Haven, Dr. Kane, and Commander Hartstene—Japan Expedition, Com. Perry—naval actions in China—affair of the St. Louis at Smyrna—Lieut. Strain's Darien Expedition—Greytown affair—Expeditions to North Pacific and the La Plata—the John Adams at Fejee—scientific labors..... 494

NAVAL HISTORY

OF THE

UNITED STATES.

CHAPTER I.

1607.

NOTWITHSTANDING the insular position of its seat of authority, the naval ascendency of England is of comparatively recent date; Spain, and even the diminutive communities of Portugal and Holland, manifesting as great a spirit of nautical enterprise, during the century and a half that succeeded the important discovery of the western hemisphere, and that of a passage by sea to India. While these three nations were colonising extensively, and laying the foundations of future states, the seamen of England expended their energies in predatory expeditions that were rapacious in their object and piratical in spirit. Familiar political causes, beyond a question, had an influence in bringing about these results; for, while the accession of the House of Hapsbourg to the throne of Spain and the Indies, created a power able to cope with Europe, as it then existed, England, driven entirely from her continental possessions, had Scotland for a troublesome neighbour, and Ireland for a discontented and turbulent subject, to check her efforts abroad. It is probable, too, that the civil contests, in which England was so long engaged, had a serious effect on her naval advancement, and the struggle that succeeded the dethronement of the family of Stuart, could not fail to lessen exertions that were directed to interests without the territory more immediately in dispute. As a consequence of all these causes, or of that portion of them which was in existence at the commencement of the seventeenth century, when England seriously commenced the business of colonisation, Spain, France, and Portugal were already in possession of what were

then considered the most favourable regions on the American continent. When, indeed, the experiment was finally and successfully made, individual enterprise, rather than that of the government, achieved the object; and for many years the power of the crown was exercised with no other aim than to afford an ill-regulated, and frequently an insufficient protection. It was Englishmen, and not England, that founded the country which is now known as the United States of America.

The vessels employed in the earliest communications between the colonies and the mother country, were small, varying from fifty to two hundred tons in burthen. The expedition to Plymouth was first attempted in the May Flower, a bark of one hundred and eighty tons, and the Speedwell, of sixty tons; but the latter proving leaky, after twice returning to port to refit, was abandoned, and the voyage was made in the former vessel alone. The May Flower sailed from Plymouth, in England, on the 6th of September, and, after a stormy passage, made Cape Cod on the 9th of November.

The first conflict that took place between the colonists and any of their civilized neighbours, occurred in 1613, when an expedition from Virginia, under the orders of Captain Samuel Argal, arriving on the coast of Nova Scotia, made an attack on the new French post of St. Sauveur, which was reduced without difficulty. Argal had eleven vessels with him, most of which, however, were quite small, and his armaments amounted in the whole to fourteen light guns. The French were entirely without artillery. The avowed object of this enterprise was fishing, but the armament has induced a suspicion that the end actually effected was also kept in view. Whatever might have been the intention in fitting out the first force under Captain Argal, it is quite certain, that, on his return to Virginia, he was formally sent against the French in Acadie, with three vessels, better prepared, and that he laid waste the whole of their possessions. Both of these occurrences took place in a time of profound peace, and grew out of a claim of the English, to the possession of the whole coast, as far north as the 46th degree of latitude.

On his return to Virginia, Captain Argal entered the bay of New York, and demanded possession of that territory also, under the plea that it had been discovered by an Englishman. Hendrick Christaens, whom Argal styled "a pretended Dutch Governor," had no force to resist such a claim, and was compelled to submit. On the return to Virginia, one of the three

vessels employed in this expedition was lost, and another having been driven as far east as the Azores, proceeded to England, while Captain Argal alone got into the Chesapeake. The prisoners taken on this occasion narrowly escaped being executed as pirates!

This was the first warlike maritime expedition attempted by the American colonists, if a few parties sent in boats against the savages be excepted. The Dutch were not dispossessed by the useless attempt on their settlement, which appears to have been viewed more as a protest than a conquest, for they continued to increase and to govern themselves for near half a century longer. The first decked vessel built within the old United States, of which we have any account, was constructed by Schipper Adrian Blok, on the banks of the Hudson, and probably within the present limits of New York, during the summer of 1614. This vessel De Laet terms a "yacht," and describes as having been of the dimensions of thirty-eight feet keel, forty-four and a half feet on deck, and eleven feet beam. In this "yacht" Blok passed through Hell Gate, into the Sound, and steering eastward, he discovered a small island, which he named after himself; going as far as Cape Cod, by the Vineyard passage.

According to the same authority, the Dutch at New Amsterdam, who had constructed a fort, and reinforced their colony, soon after built many more small vessels, sloops and periaguas, opening a trade with the savages, by means of the numerous bays, sounds, and rivers of their territory.

It was also in 1614 that the celebrated Capt. John Smith arrived from England, and sailed on a coasting voyage, with the double purpose of trade and discovery. He went himself in a boat, having a crew of only eight men, and the profits, as well as the discoveries, abundantly rewarded the risks.

As early as in 1629 the New England Company employed five ships of respectable size, in the trade with the colony. Most of these vessels were armed, and all took colonists in their outward passages. A small ship was built at or near Boston, in 1633, which was one of the first vessels, if not the first vessel of any size constructed in New England. But the progress of the colony of Massachusetts Bay was so rapid, that in 1639 laws were passed to encourage the fisheries, which may be considered as the elementary school of American nautical enterprise. The first engagement that probably ever occurred between inhabitants of the American colonies, and ene-

mies afloat, was a conflict between John Gallop, who was engaged in a trade with the Indians, in a sloop of twenty tons, and some Narragansetts, who had seized upon a small vessel belonging to a person of the name of Oldham, known to have been similarly occupied. As this, in a certain sense, may be deemed the earliest sea-fight of the nation, it is worthy to be related.

Some time in May, 1636, Gallop in his little sloop, manned by two men and two boys, himself included, was standing along the Sound, near Plum Island, when he was compelled by stress of weather to bear up for the islands that form a chain between Long Island and Connecticut. On nearing the land, he discovered a vessel very similar to his own, which was immediately recognised as the pinnace of Mr. Oldham, who had sailed with a crew of two white boys and two Narragansett Indians. Gallop hailed on approaching the other craft, but got no answer; and, running still nearer, no less than fourteen Indians were discovered lying on her deck. A canoe, conveying goods, and manned by Indians, had just started for the shore. Gallop now suspected that Oldham had been overpowered by the savages; a suspicion that was confirmed by the Indians slipping their cable, and standing off before the wind, in the direction of Narragansett Bay. Satisfied that a robbery had been committed, Gallop made sail in chase, and running alongside the pinnace, he fired a volley of duck-shot at the savages. The latter had swords, spears, and some fire-arms, and they attempted a resistance, but Gallop soon drove them below to a man. Afraid to board in the face of such odds, Gallop now had recourse to a novel expedient to dislodge his enemies. As the pinnace was virtually adrift, she soon fell to leeward, while the sloop hauled by the wind. As soon as the two vessels were far enough asunder, Gallop put his helm up, and ran directly down on the weather quarter of the pinnace, striking her with so much violence as to come near forcing her over on her side. The shock so much alarmed the Indians, that six of them rushed frantically on deck, and leaped into the sea. The sloop again hauled off, when Gallop lashed an anchor to her bows, and running down on the pinnace a second time, he forced the flukes through the sides of the latter, which are represented as having been made of boards. The two vessels were now fast to each other, and the crew of the sloop began to fire through the sides of the pinnace, into her hold. Finding it impossible, however, to drive his ene-

mies up, Gallop loosened his fasts, and hauled up to windward a third time, when four or five more of the Indians jumped overboard. One Indian now appeared on deck and offered to submit. Gallop ran alongside, and received this man in the sloop; he was bound hands and feet, and put into the hold. Another soon followed this example, and he was also received on board the sloop and bound; but, fearful if two of his wily foes were permitted to commune together, that they would liberate themselves, the second prisoner was thrown into the sea. Only two Indians now remained in the pinnace. They had got into a small apartment below, and being armed, they showed a disposition to defend themselves, when Gallop removed all the goods that remained into his own sloop, stripped the pinnace of her sails, took her in tow, and hauled up for the islands again. But the wind increasing, the pinnace was cut adrift, and she disappeared in the direction of Narragansett Bay, where it is probable she was stranded in the course of a few hours.

On board the pinnace, Gallop found the body of Mr. Oldham. The head had been cleft, the hands and legs were much mangled, and the flesh was still warm. The corpse was thrown into the sea.

Thus terminated this extraordinary conflict, in which Gallop appears to have shown as much conduct as courage, and which in itself illustrates the vast superiority that belongs to professional skill on an element like the sea. As it was of the last importance to create a respect for the English name, the report of the conqueror on this occasion induced the government of Massachusetts to send an expedition against the offenders, under Mr. Endecott, one of the assistants, which did the Indians much injury in the destruction of their dwellings and crops, though the savages themselves took to flight. This expedition, however, was followed up by others that met with greater success.

The French in Acadie, also, gave rise to two or three unimportant armaments, which led to no results worthy of being recorded.

Notwithstanding the frequency of the Indian conflicts, and the repeated visits of the French, the first regular cruisers employed by the American colonists appear to have owed their existence to misunderstandings with the Dutch of the New Netherlands. The colony of New Haven had so far increased as to cause a vessel of one hundred and fifty tons to be

built in Rhode Island, as early as the year 1646, but the ship was lost at sea on her first passage. Shortly after, a small cruiser, carrying ten guns, and forty men, was employed by the united colonies of Hartford and New Haven, to cruise in Long Island Sound, with a view to prevent the encroachments of the Dutch, and to keep open the communication with the settlements they had made on the opposite shore. In 1654, orders were received from Parliament to treat the Dutch as enemies, but both communities were still too young and feeble to engage in a warfare that was not considered of paramount necessity. Nothing effective appears to have been done under these instructions.

At a later day, or in 1665–6, Connecticut kept another small vessel cruising off Watch Hill, in order to prevent the Narragansett Indians from crossing to attack the Montauk tribe, which had been taken under the protection of the colony.

In 1645, a ship of some size was built at Cambridge, Massachusetts, and receiving an armament of fourteen guns, and a crew of thirty men, she sailed for the Canary Isles. This vessel fell in with a rover, of twenty guns, and seventy men, supposed to belong to Barbary, when an action took place that continued the entire day. The rover receiving some serious injury in her rudder, the New England ship was enabled to escape. Although the conflict between Gallop and the Narragansetts is, in one sense, entitled to the precedency, this action may be set down as the first regular naval combat in which any American vessel is known to have been engaged.

An important change occurred, in 1664, in the situation of the American colonies, by the capture of New Netherlands from the Dutch. The vessels employed on this service were under the orders of Sir Robert Carr, while Colonel Richard Nicoll commanded the troops. No resistance was made. In consequence of this accession of territory, and the submission of the Swedish settlements on the Delaware, the English Colonies had entire possession of the coast, between the Bay of Fundy and the Floridas.

While the English were thus occupying the coast, the French were gradually extending themselves along the chain of Great Lakes in the interior, drawing a belt around the territories of their rivals. In the course of events of this nature, de la Salle launched a vessel of ten tons on Lake Ontario, in 1678, which was the first decked boat that ever sailed on those waters.

The following year, he caused a vessel of sixty tons to be launched on Lake Erie.

The buccaneers began to commit depredations in the American seas, about the year 1666; and piracies on a smaller scale, were not unfrequent at a much earlier day. These buccaneers originally were mere outlaws in the West India Islands. Compelled at length to unite, they assembled at the Tortugas, and began to plunder such vessels as approached the shore; most of their robberies being committed by means of open boats. The Spanish vessels, in particular, became the objects of their assaults; and encouraged by success, they began to cruise farther from the land. Their numbers rapidly increased, and ere long they ventured to make descents on the coasts, more especially on those of the Spanish settlements, in quest of plunder. It is a mark of the peculiar character of the age, that these freebooters often commenced their enterprises with prayer!—They spent their ill-gotten wealth as profligately as it had been obtained, and like more powerful bodies of men, were finally destroyed by the excesses engendered by their own prosperity.

In consequence of the great number of privateers that sailed out of Acadie, the general court of Massachusetts sent an expedition against Port Royal, in 1690. The forces were commanded by Sir William Phipps, and amounted to between 700 and 800 men, who were embarked in eight small vessels. This expedition sailed on the 28th of April, and returned on the 30th of May, having been successful. The good fortune that attended this enterprise, induced the government of Massachusetts to attempt another against a place as important as Quebec. Sir William Phipps again commanded, having between thirty and forty vessels, the largest of which was of 44 guns and 200 men, and the whole number of the troops and seamen employed was about 2000. These forces reached Quebec, October the 5th, 1690, and landed, October the 8th. The force disembarked was about 12 or 1300 men, but it was repulsed without much fighting. On their return to Boston, the ships were dispersed by a gale, and little credit was gained by the undertaking.

The Falkland, a fourth-rate, was launched in the Piscataqua, in 1690, and was the first ship-of-the-line ever built in America.

Much alarm existed along the coast, about this time, from an apprehension of the French, who were understood to be

cruising in the American seas. We learn, indeed, from the whole history of that period, how nearly balanced were the naval powers of Europe; England, France, Spain, and Holland, standing in mutual awe of each other, on the high seas.

CHAPTER II.

The close of the seventeenth century was the period when the piracies had got to be the most serious, and when Kidd was guilty of those acts that have since given him a notoriety that would seem to be altogether disproportioned to his deeds. During the wars of that day, the seas had been much infested with a species of privateers, that often committed aggressions, and even piracies, on neutral vessels. Most of these rovers were English; and it is said that they sometimes plundered their own countrymen. New York was not entirely exempt from the suspicion of having equipped several vessels of this description, and very unpleasant surmises affected the characters of some distinguished men of the colony, the governor, Fletcher, among others. In appreciating such charges, it is necessary to remember the character of the age, there being no disgrace attached to adventures in private armed ships, and the transition from fighting for plunder, and plundering unlawfully, is very trifling, in remote seas, where testimony is not easily obtained, and the law is impotent. That which men can practise with impunity, they are apt to undertake, when tempted by cupidity; and that which is frequent, ceases to shock the sense of right. It is by no means probable that either Governor Fletcher, or any distinguished colonist, deliberately engaged in piratical adventures; but it is quite possible that such men may have been concerned in the equipment of private cruisers, that subsequently committed acts which the laws condemned. It is possible, that when such vessels have returned, a rigid inquiry into the origin of the plunder they brought with them, was not always made. Such, in some measure, was the case with Kidd, whose subsequent notoriety appears to have been as much owing to the *éclat* with which he sailed, sanctioned by government, and supported by men of character, and to

some striking incidents that accompanied his return, as to any extraordinary excesses as a pirate. The facts of his case appear to have been as follows:

Much odium having been cast on the colony of New York, in consequence of the number of piracies that had been committed by rovers sailing from the port of that name, the government in England deemed it necessary to take serious measures to repress the evil. This duty was in particular confided to the Earl of Bellamont, who had been appointed the governor of several of the colonies. Mr. Robert Livingston happening to be in England when the subject was under discussion, and being a man of influence in the colony of New York, he was conferred with, as to the most advisable means of putting an end to the practice. Mr. Livingston advised that a cruiser of force should be sent out expressly to seize all lawless rovers, and he introduced to Lord Bellamont, Captain Wm. Kidd, whom he recommended as a seaman qualified to be put at the head of such an adventure. Captain Kidd was said to have a knowledge of the pirates, and of their places of resort; and at the same time, to be a man on whose integrity and services full reliance might be placed. The first proposition was to employ a king's ship of 30 guns and 150 men on this service; but the war requiring all the regular cruisers, it is a proof of the spirit of the times, that the matter was referred to private enterprise, although the sanction of government was not only promised, but obtained. Mr. Livingston took one-fifth of the shares, and became the usual security for the lawfulness of Kidd's proceedings. The Lord Chancellor, and several other distinguished noblemen, took shares in the adventure also, and the crown reserved to itself a tenth of the proceeds, as a proof that it approved of the enterprise. Kidd received his commission and his orders from the Earl of Bellamont, whom he followed to America for that purpose, sailing from Plymouth in England, April 1696, for New York. There is much reason for thinking that Captain Kidd was not guilty of any illegal act himself, until he found that his more legitimate enterprise was not likely to be successful. In the end, however, he went to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope, where he certainly committed piracies, though to what extent is now questionable. He was accused of ravaging the sea between Madagascar and the coast, from Babelmandel to Malabar, and of committing the usual excesses, though it is probable that there was much exaggeration mixed up with the histories and rumours of the day.

Some accounts confine his piracies to a single ship, though it is more than probable that he had a disposition to the vocation, and that he was easily diverted from the object with which he had sailed, even if he did not contemplate piracy on quitting port. After an absence of about three years, Kidd returned to the American coast, first appearing off the east end of Long Island. About thirty miles to the westward of Montauk, protected from the ocean by the southern branch of the island just mentioned, is a capacious bay that obtains its name from another small island, which is so placed as to defend it against the northeast gales. The latter island contains about three thousand acres of land, and ever since the country has been settled, or for two centuries, it has been the property of an honourable family of the name of Gardiner, which has given its name to both the island and the bay. The latter has an anchorage that has long been known to seamen, and into Gardiner's Bay Kidd sailed on this occasion. Anchoring near the island, he landed, and buried some treasure; entrusting Mr. Gardiner with the secret, and making the life of the latter the pledge of his fidelity. This effected, the pirate again sailed, and made similar deposits on other parts of the coast.

After a short interval, Kidd paid and discharged his crew, and it is said burned his ship. He appeared in Boston in 1699, and was immediately seized by the order of Governor Bellamont. Among his papers was found a record, containing lists of his several deposits, which it is probable he held in reserve for his own share of the booty, when he should have made his peace with those in power with the remainder. The authorities, however, were inflexible, and commissioners were immediately sent in quest of the buried booty. When these persons presented themselves to Mr. Gardiner, and assured him that Kidd was in confinement, that gentleman led them to the spot where the box was concealed, and it was recovered. The papers of the Gardiner family show that the contents of the box were bags of gold dust, bags of gold bars, the latter to a considerable amount, coined gold and silver, silver bars, precious stones, silver lamps, &c., &c., in all to the amount of near twenty thousand dollars. Most, if not all, of the other deposits were also obtained. Kidd was sent to England, tried and condemned. The indictments were for both murder and piracy, but being found guilty of the first crime, he was never tried for the last. He was not executed, until May the 9th, 1701.

The year that Kidd was sent to England, seven pirates were executed in Charleston, South Carolina, that coast having been much infested with these robbers.

From an early day the possession of Port Royal in Acadie, appears to have been a favourite object with the colonists, most probably from the great interest they felt in the fisheries. We have already seen that expeditions were sent against this place, in the earlier wars, while we now find no less than three undertaken, with the same object, in the war of 1702–12. The first of these expeditions was set on foot in 1707, being almost purely of colonial origin. It sailed in May, in twenty-three transports and whale-boats, under the convoy of the Deptford man-of-war, Captain Stuckley, accompanied by the Province, galley, Captain Southack. This expedition effected nothing. The second attempt was not made until the year 1709, when an enterprise on a larger scale was planned. According to Trumbull, the colonies east of Connecticut were ordered to raise 1200 men for this undertaking, and to provide transports, pilots, and provisions for three months, while Connecticut itself and the more southern provinces, were to send a force of 1500 men, by land, against Montreal. The maritime part of the expedition was abandoned, after waiting three months in the port of Boston for the British ships that were to convoy it, and to aid in subduing the place. The attack on Montreal was also given up, for want of the expected co-operation. The third attempt was made in 1710, when a Colonel Nicholson, of the English service, was entrusted with the command. On this occasion the preparations were made conjointly by the crown and the provinces, the latter furnishing the transports and several cruisers. The fleet consisted, in all, of 36 sail; viz. three fourth-rates, two fifth-rates, five frigates, a bomb ketch, the Province, galley, and twenty-four transports. In these vessels were embarked a regiment of marines, and five regiments of provincials. The expedition sailed from Boston on the 18th of September, arrived off Port Royal on the 24th, and on the 1st of October the place submitted. Its name was changed to Annapolis, by which appellation it is yet known. Stimulated by this success, a still more important attempt was made in 1711, against the French possessions on the banks of the St. Lawrence. England now appeared disposed to put forth her power in earnest, and a fleet of fifteen sail, twelve of which were sent directly from England, and three of which had been stationed on the coast, were put

under the orders of Vice-admiral Sir Hovenden Walker, for that purpose. In this fleet were several ships of the line, and it was accompanied by forty transports and six store vessels. Five of the veteran regiments that had served under Marlborough, were sent out with the fleet, and two regiments raised in New England being added to them, the land forces amounted to between 6000 and 7000 men.

After considerable delay, the fleet sailed on the 30th of July, 1711, when the Governor of Massachusetts ordered a fast to be observed every Thursday, until the result should be known. On the 14th of August the ships entered the St. Lawrence, and on the 18th the admiral, in order to collect his transports, put into the bay of Gaspé. Here he remained until the 20th, when the fleet proceeded. On the 20th the ships were off soundings, out of sight of land, and enveloped in a fog, with a gale at E. S. E. The fleet now brought to with the ships' heads to the southward. Notwithstanding this precaution, it was soon discovered that the whole of them were in imminent jeopardy among the rocks, islands, and currents of the north-shore, which was, moreover, a lee shore. Some of the vessels saved themselves by anchoring, among which was the Edgar, 70, the admiral's own ship; but eight transports were lost, together with a thousand people; and the expedition was abandoned. The admiral now dismissed the provincial troops and vessels, and sailed for England with the remainder of the fleet. These signal disasters led to loud complaints and to bitter recriminations between the English and the American officers. To the latter was attributed a fatal loss of time, in raising their levies and making other preparations, which brought the expedition too late in the season; and they were also accused of furnishing incompetent pilots. It is probable that the first accusation was not without foundation, since it has been a known national failing to defer all military preparations to the latest possible moment, from the day the country has been peopled; though the last was no doubt unmerited, as there could be no motive for furnishing any other pilots than the best that the colonies possessed. On the part of the Americans, the admiral, and the English commanders in general, were said to be opinionated and indisposed to take advice; a charge quite as likely to be true, as it also accords with national character, and more especially with the superciliousness with which the English were known to regard the provincials. The admiral threw the responsibility of having

hove-to the fleet on the pilots, who, in their turn, declared that it was done contrary to their advice. Some French pilots are said, by Charlevoix, to have also warned the admiral of his danger, but he equally disregarded their information. It is in favour of the provincials, that, one small victualler excepted, none of their own vessels were lost, and that the crew of this victualler was saved. Many of the pilots were sent to England to be examined before the Privy Council, but no investigation into the affair took place. The loss of the admiral's papers is thought to have put an end to the contemplated inquiry, the Edgar having been blown up, by accident, at Plymouth, shortly after her return, by which event 400 men lost their lives; thus terminating a most disastrous expedition by a dire calamity. It ought to be mentioned, that the colonies met the charge of delay, by showing that the orders to raise troops, and to make the other requisite preparations, were received only sixteen days before Sir Hovenden Walker arrived in port with his fleet.

The first negro slaves brought into the country, were landed from a Dutch man-of-war, at James Town, in 1620.* Where these poor Africans were obtained is not now known, but they were most probably the victims of perfidy. The increase among the blacks was very slow, however; for thirty years later the whites of Virginia were said to outnumber the negroes, in the proportion of fifty to one; and even when the colony had been settled seventy years, the slaves were not at all numerous.†

The first American vessel engaged in the slave-trade, of which we have any account, sailed from Boston, for the coast of Guinea, in 1645, having been fitted out by Thomas Keyser and James Smith.‡ The last of these worthies was a member of the church. To the credit of the people of Boston, their sense of right revolted at the act, the parties concerned were arraigned, and the slaves were ordered to be restored to their native country at the public expense.

We turn with satisfaction to the whale-fisheries. The commencement of this manly, lucrative, and hardy pursuit, dates from an early period in the history of the country. The whale frequenting the American seas at that time, the people of the coasts kept boats, organized themselves into gangs, and whenever a spout was seen, they would launch in pursuit. This

* Beverly. † Bancroft. ‡ Ibid.

irregular system prevailed many years, until sloops, and other small craft, began to be employed in the offing. These vessels would range the coast, as far south as the West Indies, and north to Davis's Straits. They occasionally crossed to the Azores, where a rich booty was sometimes obtained in the spermaceti.

The whale-fishery on a larger scale, dates from about the middle of the eighteenth century, when Massachusetts in particular, engaged extensively in the enterprise. This colony alone is said to have had no less than three hundred vessels employed in the northern and southern whale-fisheries, previously to the war of the Revolution. Her vessels led the way to the South Atlantic, to the African coast, and to the Pacific Ocean.

After the war which was terminated by the peace of Utrecht, most of the maritime colonies employed a species of guarda-costas, small armed vessels, that were maintained for the suppression of piracies, and for the general protection of the coasts. Some of these vessels were commanded by young officers, who afterwards rose to more or less distinction, either at home, or in the British service. Among others was Lieutenant Wooster, afterwards Captain Wooster, who commanded the armed vessel employed by Massachusetts. This gentleman was subsequently killed at Danbury, during the Revolution, holding the rank of a Brigadier-General in the militia of his native state.

England declared war, in 1739, against Spain, and the American Colonies became the seat of many of her preparations and levies. Natives of the country were much employed in the different expeditions, and it is well known that the estate which has since acquired so much celebrity on account of its having been the property of Washington, obtained the appellation of Mount Vernon from the circumstance that an elder brother, from whom that great man inherited it, had served in the celebrated attack against Carthagena, under the admiral of that name. In 1741, the colonies supplied many of the transports sent against Cuba.

The year 1744 became memorable in the history of the colonies, by another declaration of war against France. By this time the importance of all the American provinces, whether English, French, or Spanish, was certain to render them, more or less, the seat of the contests; and the great European states interested, were now found seriously exhibiting their power in

the Western hemisphere. The short duration of the war, probably, alone prevented America from being the scene of those severe struggles that were deferred a few years by the peace of Aix la Chapelle. Short as was the contest, however, it afforded the colonists an opportunity of manifesting both their spirit and their resources, by an expedition against Louisbourg.

The French had long been aware of the importance of a port that commanded the entrance of the St. Lawrence, as Gibraltar commands the approach to the Mediterranean, and vast sums of money had been expended on the fortifications of Louisbourg. It is said that no less than $6,000,000 were appropriated to this object, and a quarter of a century had been consumed in the preparations. The place was so formidable as to have been termed a second Dunkirk. So conscious had Massachusetts become of her strength, however, that no sooner was the declaration of war known, than Governor Shirley laid propositions before the English ministry and the colonial legislature, for the reduction of this great naval and military station. The General Court of Massachusetts, at first, was afraid to embark in so serious an enterprise without assurances of support from home, as England was then affectionately termed, but the people of the colony getting a knowledge of the Governor's wishes, seconded him so strongly with petitions, that the measure was finally carried by a majority of one. Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire lent their aid, and by the 25th of March, 1745, the expedition was ready to sail. Not a British soldier was employed, and when the fleet left Boston, it was with very uncertain hopes of being supported by any of the King's ships.

The land forces, all levies of New England, no other colony joining in the enterprise, were led by Colonel William Pepperel, of Kittery, in Maine, and the fleet was commanded by Captain Edward Tyng, of the Massachusetts colonial marine. The naval part of these forces consisted principally of vessels equipped, or hired, for this especial service. There appear to have been twelve in all, besides the transports, the largest carrying but 20 guns. The land forces amounted to 4070 men. From the various and contradictory accounts of this armament, we gather the following list of the colonial cruisers engaged in the expedition, viz: Ships, Massachusetts, 20, Commodore Tyng; Cæsar, 20, Captain Snelling; Snows, Shirley, 20, Captain Rouse; Prince of Orange, 16, Captain Smethurst;

Brig Boston Packet, 16, Captain Fletcher; and Sloops, ——, 12, Donahue; ——, 8, Saunders; ——, Bosch; a ship hired by Rhode Island, 20, Captain Griffen, and two vessels of 16 guns each, belonging to Connecticut.

The fleet reached Canseau on the 4th of April, where it remained some weeks, to be joined by the levies of New Hampshire and Connecticut, as well as to allow time for the ice to dissolve in the neighbourhood of Cape Breton. For the first time, probably, in the history of the colonies, large military preparations had been made in season, and the result triumphantly showed the benefit of the unwonted alacrity. Here Com. Warren, of the British navy, joined the expedition, with a part of the squadron from the West-Indies, in which seas, and on the American coast, he had long commanded. This excellent and efficient officer, than whom there was not a braver in the British marine, brought with him the Superb, 60, and three ships of forty guns; his broad pennant flying in the former. Of course, he assumed the command of the naval operations, though great distrust appears to have existed between him and Colonel Pepperel to the last. After a conference with the latter, he went off Louisbourg, which he blockaded.

Louisbourg was invested by land on the 30th of April, and after a vigorous siege of forty-seven days, during which time a severe cannonade was carried on, the place submitted. The French flags were kept flying for some time after the surrender, by which *ruse* two East Indiamen and a South Sea ship, all richly laden, were decoyed into the mouth of the harbour and captured. The value of these three vessels has been estimated as high as $3,000,000.

While cruising off the port, Commodore Warren captured the French man-of-war, Vigilant, 60, with troops and supplies for the garrison. This important event, no doubt, was of great moment to the result of the siege.

Although the naval part of the colonial expedition could have been of no great account after the arrival of Commodore Warren, it took the sea with creditable vigour, as soon as Louisbourg had submitted. The Shirley, Galley, 20, Captain Rouse, or as the vessel is sometimes called, the Snow, Shirley, captured eight French vessels, and, in one instance, she brought in two, taken after an obstinate and gallant resistance. For this exploit, that officer received the commission of a captain in the King's service.

No less than 400 privateers are said to have been out from

the colonies in this war, but the number is so incredible as to give rise to the conjecture that the estimate includes letters of marque and boats on the coast. Nothing worthy of much notice occurred in America, during this short war, besides the capture of Louisbourg, and this place was restored to the French at the peace.

CHAPTER III.

The peace of Aix la Chapelle found the navigation of the American colonies in a very flourishing condition. More than a century had elapsed since the settlements had passed the ordeal of their infant struggles, and although distant from each other, and labouring under the disadvantages of a scattered population, they were fast rising to the dignity and power of states. The necessity of maintaining all their more important communications by water, had a direct tendency to encourage a disposition to the sea, and, although without a regular war-like marine, their mercantile tonnage probably equalled that of the mother country, when considered in reference to population. The number of souls in all the provinces, at that period, did not much exceed a million, if the Indians be excluded from the computation. Of the tonnage it is not easy to speak with accuracy, though we possess sufficient authority by which to form some general estimates. The year of the peace, 500 vessels are said to have cleared from the single port of Boston, and 430 to have entered; this was exclusively of coasters and fishing vessels. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, there were 121 clearances, and 73 entries, besides 200 coasting vessels in regular employment. The trade of New York and Philadelphia was less than that of Boston, but still respectable. Thus in 1749, or the year succeeding that of the peace, the clearances at Philadelphia were 291, and the entries 303; while Boston, during the same period, had 504 clearances, and 489 entries. In 1750, a year in which the navigation had sensibly diminished, the clearances of the former port were 286, and the entries 232. Many ports, which have since lost most of their navigation, then enjoyed a respectable trade, among

which may be mentioned Newport, Rhode Island, and Perth Amboy, New Jersey.

Up to this period, the common white oak of the forest was the wood principally used in naval constructions, though the chestnut was also found serviceable in particular parts of the frames. But a new era in ship-building was at hand, through the introduction of a wood that greatly abounded in the more southern maritime regions of British America. In 1750, a vessel called the Live Oak arrived in Charleston, South Carolina, having been built of the invaluable timber named, which was now discovered to be one of the best materials for naval architecture known. The Live Oak is said to have been the first vessel in which this wood was ever used.

The tranquillity established by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, like that produced by the peace of Utrecht, was of short continuance. Disputes early commenced between the English and French provinces, in relation to their boundaries; and an inland war actually broke out between them in 1754, though the peace of Europe was not immediately disturbed by this remote and local contest. This singular state of things continued throughout 1755, and the campaign of that year was one of the most important that had then occurred on the American continent. Both nations reinforced their troops from Europe, and strong squadrons were employed to protect the convoys; but there being no technical hostilities, commissions were not issued to letters of marque and privateers. After many ineffectual attempts at an accommodation, however, the King of Great Britain made a formal declaration of war on the 17th of May, 1756.

Such was the commencement of the struggle that in America is familiarly called "the old French war." Although this contest was of the last importance to the colonies, by driving the French from their part of the continent, and by leaving the savages without an ally, its events were more properly connected with the movements of armies, than with any naval operations of magnitude, so far as the latter belong to the subject of this work. The beginning of the war was disastrous; but in the end, the celebrated Earl of Chatham succeeded in infusing a portion of his own energy into the councils of the King, and from that moment the most brilliant success rewarded his efforts.

Peace was signed on the 10th of February, 1763, and from that day France ceased to claim any portion of the American

Continent north of Louisiana, with the exception of two insignificant fishing stations, near the outlet of the St. Lawrence. The conquests of this war were an incipient step towards the eventual independence of the colonies, since the latter found themselves without any enemy in their vicinity, to cause them to lean on England for succour, or to divert their policy from those domestic measures which were more immediately connected with their internal prosperity.

At the close of this great contest, the original American colonies, or those which have since constituted the United States, without including the Floridas and Louisiana, are supposed to have contained more than 1,200,000 souls, exclusively of Indians. Censuses were actually taken in one or two of the provinces. That of Massachusetts gave a return a little exceeding 245,000, including 5000 people of colour. That of Maryland, taken in 1755, gave a total of 107,208 whites, a number considerably exceeding the estimates after the peace.

Immediately after the peace of 1763, commenced that legislative usurpation on the part of the mother country, which twenty years later terminated in the independence of the colonies.

Among the offensive measures adopted by parliament was a duty on stamps, and another on tea. By the first, vessels could not regularly proceed to sea, unless furnished with the required stamps; yet so strong was the opposition, that ships actually ventured on the ocean without the necessary papers, nor is it known that any serious consequences resulted from so bold a step. In the end, the stamp-officers having resigned, and no one being willing to incur the odium of filling their places, the courts of justice themselves transacted business without regard to those forms that the acts of parliament had rendered necessary. This tax was finally abandoned, and substitutes were sought, that were believed to be more manageable.

Fresh attempts to enforce the navigation act, which had virtually become a dead letter, were made in 1768, and a sloop from Madeira, loaded with wine, was actually seized in Boston, and placed under the guns of the Romney man-of-war. A mob followed, and the public officers were compelled to seek protection in the castle.

One of the first overt acts of resistance that took place in this celebrated struggle, occurred in 1772, in the waters of Rhode Island. A vessel of war had been stationed on the coast

to enforce the laws, and a small schooner, called the Gaspé, with a light armament and twenty-seven men, was employed as a tender, to run into the shallow waters of that coast. On the 17th of June, 1772, a Providence packet, that plied between New York and Rhode Island, named the Hannah, and commanded by a Captain Linzee, hove in sight of the man-of-war, on her passage up the bay. The Hannah was ordered to bring to, in order to be examined; but her master refused to comply; and being favoured by a fresh southerly breeze, that was fast sweeping him out of gunshot, the Gaspé was signalled to follow. The chase continued for five-and-twenty miles, under a press of sail, when the Hannah coming up with a bar, with which her master was familiar, and drawing less water than the schooner, Captain Linzee led the latter on a shoal, where she stuck. The tide falling, the Gaspé sewed, and was not in a condition to be removed for several hours.

The news of the chase was circulated on the arrival of the Hannah at Providence. A strong feeling was excited among the population, and towards evening the town drummer appeared in the streets, assembling the people. A crowd being collected, the drummer led his followers in front of a shed, when a man disguised as an Indian suddenly appeared on the roof, and proclaimed a secret expedition for that night, inviting all of "stout hearts" to assemble on the wharf, precisely at nine, disguised like himself. At the appointed hour, most of the men in the place collected at the spot designated, when sixty-four were selected for the undertaking that was in view.

This party embarked in eight of the launches of the different vessels lying at the wharves, and taking with them a quantity of round paving-stones, they pulled down the river in a body. The commander is supposed to have been a Captain Whipple, who afterwards held a commission in the service of Congress, but none of the names were publicly mentioned at the time. On nearing the Gaspé, about two in the morning, the boats were hailed by a sentinel on deck. This man was driven below by a volley of stones. The commander of the Gaspé now appeared, and ordering the boats off, he fired a pistol at them. This discharge was returned from a musket, and the officer was shot through the thigh. By this time, the crew of the Gaspé had assembled, and the party from Providence boarded. The conflict was short, the schooner's people being knocked down and secured. All on board were put into the boats, and the Gaspé was set on fire. Towards morning, she blew up.

This bold step naturally excited great indignation in the British officers, and all possible means were taken to discover the offenders. The Government at home offered a reward of £1000 sterling for the leader, and £500 to any person who would discover the other parties, with the promise of a pardon should the informer be an accomplice. But the feeling of the times was too high for the ordinary means of detection, no evidence having ever been obtained sufficient even to arraign a solitary individual, notwithstanding a Commission of Inquiry, under the Great Seal of England, sat with that object, from January to June, during the year 1773.

Although this affair led to no immediate results, it doubtless had its influence in widening the breach between the opposing parties, and it is worthy of remark, that in it was shed the first blood that flowed in the struggle for American Independence; the whole transaction being as direct a resistance to oppression, as the subsequent, and better known fight at Lexington.

The year 1773 is memorable in American history, for the resistance made by the colonists to the duty on tea. By means of some management on the part of the British ministry, in permitting the East India Company to export their teas free of charges, it was possible to sell the article at a lower rate in America, subject to the duty, than it could have been sold previously to the imposition of the tax. Fancying that this circumstance would favour the views of all the parties in Europe, for the warehouses of the company were glutted in consequence of the system of non-importation adopted by the colonists, several cargoes were sent to different ports, including New York, Philadelphia, Charleston and Boston. The inhabitants of the two former places compelled the ships to return to London, without unloading, while the people of Charleston caused their vessel to be discharged, and the tea to be stored in damp cellars, where it finally spoiled.

Three vessels loaded with the offensive article had been sent to Boston, and the inhabitants succeeded in persuading the ship-masters to consent to return to London, without discharging, but the consignees refused to release them from their charter-parties, while the authorities denied the necessary clearances. The Governor even withheld the permit necessary to pass the fort. This conduct produced great excitement, and preparations were made to destroy the tea, under an apprehension that it might be gradually and clandestinely landed. Suddenly, in the dusk of the evening, a party disguised as Indians, and

which has been differently represented as composed of twenty men up to eighty, appeared in the streets, marching swiftly in the direction of the wharves. It was followed by a mob, and proceeded to one of the tea-ships, which it boarded, and of which it took possession without resistance. The hatches were broken open, and the chests of tea were struck on deck, staved, and their contents were thrown into the water. The whole proceedings were conducted in the most orderly manner, and with little or no noise, the labourers seldom speaking. So much mystery attended this affair, that it is not easy, even at this remote day, to ascertain all the particulars; and, although the names of the actors have been mentioned openly of late, for a long period apprehensions are said to have been entertained, by some engaged—men of wealth—that they might yet be made the subjects of a prosecution for damages, by the East India Company. Three hundred and forty-two chests of tea were destroyed, which was probably the cargo of a single ship, the two others quitting the port soon after.

This daring act was followed by the Boston Port Bill, a political measure that was equally high-handed, since it denied the people of the town all direct participation in commerce. This sudden check, at twenty days' notice, to the trade of a place that, the previous year, had seen 411 clearances, and 587 entries, to and from foreign ports, produced much distress in the town itself, and greater indignation throughout the country. It had been the misfortune of England, never to understand the character of the people of the American colonies; for, accustomed to dependencies that had been humbled by conquest, she had not yet learned to appreciate the spirit of those who were rapidly shooting up into political manhood by their own efforts, and who had only placed themselves in the situation they occupied, because they had found the liberty of England herself, insufficient for their opinions and wants.

The people now began seriously to prepare for an appeal to force, and they profited by the liberty that was still left them, to organise military corps, with a view to recover that which they had lost. A Congress of representatives from the different colonies convened, and a system of organisation and concert was adopted, that served to unite as many as possible in the struggle that was fast app.oaching.

Towards the close of the year 1774, various steps were taken in different parts of the country, that had a direct bearing on the civil war that was known to be at hand. Laws had

been passed in England prohibiting the exportation of arms and military supplies to America; and the cannon and powder of the Crown were seized at various points, either by the local governments, or by private individuals. Twenty-six guns, of different calibres, were found on Fort Island and carried to Providence, and the people of Rhode Island are said to have got possession, in the whole, of quite forty guns, by these bold measures. At Portsmouth, New Hampshire, a body of 400 men proceeded to the castle, at the harbour's mouth, kept the garrison in check, and breaking open the magazine, they carried off one hundred barrels of powder.

While means like these were used to obtain the necessary military equipments, provisions, as well as arms, were collected in different parts of the country, in readiness for a campaign. Among other dépôts of this nature, one had been made at Concord, a small town at the distance of eighteen miles from Boston, and General Gage, who commanded the British forces in America, deemed it essential that it should be destroyed. A strong detachment was sent on this service, and it fell in with a small body of American minute-men at Lexington. These militia were dispersed by a volley, in which a few men were killed. This affair has always been considered the commencement of the War of the Revolution; and justly, as the hostilities which were then commenced did not cease, until the Independence of the Colonies was acknowledged by Treaty. The British proceeded to Concord, where they effected their object, though not without resistance. The people now began to collect in force, and as soon as the British resumed their march, on the return to Boston, they were assailed by the former from behind the walls and fences. So vigorously were the troops pressed on this occasion, that it is thought they must have surrendered, had they not been met by a strong reinforcement, commanded by Lord Percy, which enabled them to halt and recover their breath. As soon as the march was resumed, however, the provincials renewed the attack, and the British did not succeed in gaining a place of security, until they reached Charlestown neck. In this affair the loss of the Americans has been ascertained to have amounted to 50 killed, 34 wounded, and 4 missing; that of the British to 73 killed, 174 wounded, and 26 prisoners.

The intelligence of this important event circulated like a raging fire throughout the country, and it was everywhere received as a call to battle. Reserve was thrown aside: the

population flew to arms, and the military stores of the Crown were seized wherever they could be found. An irregular body of 20,000 men appeared before Boston, with incredible rapidity, confining the royal army to the occupation of the town. With a view to reduce their enemies to still narrower limits, Breed's Hill, a height that commands the inner harbour of Boston, was seized, and a redoubt commenced. This step brought on the combat that has since been termed the Battle of Bunker's Hill, one of the most extraordinary conflicts of modern times, and which may be said to have given birth to American Independence. Washington was appointed Commander-in-Chief by the Congress of the United Colonies, and the war commenced under the usual laws of civilised nations with the exception of the formality of a declaration.

CHAPTER IV.

THE thirteen United Colonies possessed but scanty means to contend with a power like that of Britain. Their population was less than three millions, their pecuniary resources were of no great amount, and their military preparations insignificant. But the fire of true patriotism had been kindled, and that which in other nations is effected by means of laboured combinations and political management, the people of America were bent on doing of their own voluntary motion and united efforts. The colonies of New England, in particular, which possessed a population trained to liberty; hardy, simple, ingenious and brave; rose as it might be to a man; and as this was the part of the country in which the flame broke out, thither we must first direct our attention in order to find the earliest evidences of its intensity.

On the ocean, the preparations for the struggle were even smaller than those which had been made on the land. Congress had done nothing, and the provisions for naval defence which, from time to time, had existed among the different colonies, had never amounted to more than maintaining a few guarda-costas, or to the temporary exertions of an expedition As soon as the struggle commenced in earnest, however, the

habits of the people, their aptitude for sea service, and the advantages of both a public and a private nature, that were to be obtained from successful cruising, induced thousands to turn longing eyes to an element that promised so many flattering results. Nothing but the caution of Congress, which body was indisposed at first to act as if general warfare, instead of a redress of grievances, was its object, prevented a rushing towards the private cruisers, that would probably have given the commerce of England a heavier and more sudden blow, than it had ever yet received. But a different policy was pursued, and the orders to capture, first issued, were confined to vessels bringing stores and supplies to the British forces in America. It was as late as the 10th of Nov. 1775, before Massachusetts, the colony which was the seat of war, and which may be said to have taken the lead in the revolt, established courts of admiralty, and enacted laws for the encouragement of nautical enterprises. Washington followed this example by granting commissions to vessels to cruise in the vicinity of Boston, with the object already stated. But a due examination of the practical measures of that day, will render it necessary to separate the subject into three branches; viz. one that refers solely to the exertions of private, and frequently of unauthorized adventures; another that shall speak of the proceedings of the different colonies; and a third, which more properly comprises the theme of this work, that shall refer to the policy pursued by Congress, in behalf of the entire nation. In making these distinctions, we shall be compelled to use brevity, as but few authorities now exist, and because the sameness and unimportance of many of the details deprive the subject of any interest beyond that which is connected with a proper understanding of the true condition of the country.

The first nautical enterprise that succeeded the battle of Lexington, was one purely of private adventure. The intelligence of this conflict was brought to Machias in Maine, on Saturday, the 9th of May, 1775. An armed schooner in the service of the crown, called the Margaretta, was lying in port, with two sloops under her convoy, that were loading with lumber on behalf of the King's government. The bearers of the news were enjoined to be silent, a plan to capture the Margaretta having been immediately projected among some of the more spirited of the inhabitants. The next day being Sunday, it was hoped that the officers of the schooner might be seized while in church, but the scheme failed in consequence of the

precipitation of some engaged. Captain Moore, who commanded the Margaretta, saw the assailants, and, with his officers, escaped through the windows of the church to the shore, where they were protected by the guns of their vessel. The alarm was now taken, springs were got on the Margaretta's cables, and a few harmless shot were fired over the town, by way of intimidation. After a little delay, however, the schooner dropped down below the town, to a distance exceeding a league. Here she was followed, summoned to surrender, and fired on from a high bank, which her own shot could not reach. The Margaretta again weighed, and running into the bay, at the confluence of the two rivers, anchored.

The following morning, which was Monday, the 11th of May, four young men took possession of one of the lumber sloops, and bringing her alongside of a wharf, they gave three cheers as a signal for volunteers. On explaining that their intentions were to make an attack on the Margaretta, a party of about thirty-five athletic men was soon collected. Arming themselves with fire-arms, pitchforks, and axes, and throwing a small stock of provisions into the sloop, these spirited freemen got under way, with a light breeze at northwest. When the Margaretta observed the approach of the sloop she weighed and crowded sail to avoid a conflict that was every way undesirable, her commander not yet being apprised of all the facts that had occurred near Boston. In jibing, the schooner carried away her main-boom, but continuing to stand on, she ran into Holmes's Bay, and took a spar out of a vessel that was lying there. While these repairs were making, the sloop hove in sight again, and the Margaretta stood out to sea, in the hope of avoiding her. The breeze freshened, and, with the wind on the quarter, the sloop proved to be the better sailer. So anxious was the Margaretta to avoid a collision, that Captain Moore now cut away his boats; but finding this ineffectual, and that his assailants were fast closing with him, he opened a fir , the schooner having an armament of four light guns, and fourteen swivels. A man was killed on board the sloop, which immediately returned the fire with a wall piece. This discharge killed the man at the Margaretta's helm, and cleared her quarter-deck. The schooner broached to, when the sloop gave a general discharge. Almost at the same instant the two vessels came foul of each other. A short conflict now took place with musketry, Captain Moore throwing hand-grenades, with considerable effect, in person. This officer was shot

down, however, when the people of the sloop boarded and took possession of their prize.

The loss of life in this affair was not very great, though twenty men, on both sides, are said to have been killed and wounded. The force of the Margaretta, even in men, was much the most considerable, though the people of no regular cruiser can ever equal in spirit and energy a body of volunteers assembled on an occasion like this. There was originally no commander in the sloop, but previously to engaging the schooner, Jeremiah O'Brien was selected for that station. This affair was the Lexington of the seas, for, like that celebrated land conflict, it was a rising of the people against a regular force, was characterised by a long chase, a bloody struggle, and a triumph. It was also the first blow struck on the water, after the war of the American Revolution had actually commenced.

The armament of the Margaretta was transferred to a sloop, and Mr. O'Brien made an attack on two small English cruisers that were said to have been sent out from Halifax, expressly to capture him. By separating these vessels, he took them both, with little resistance, and the prisoners were all carried to Watertown, where the provincial legislature of Massachusetts was then assembled. The gallantry and good conduct of Mr. O'Brien were so generally admired, that he was immediately appointed a captain in the marine of the colony, and sent on the coast with his two last prizes, with orders to intercept vessels bringing supplies to the royal forces.

Many adventures or enterprises, more or less resembling these of Captain O'Brien, took place on different parts of the coast, though none of so brilliant and successful a character. By way of retaliation, and with a view to intimidate, the English commander-in-chief, Admiral Graves, sent a force under the orders of Captain Mowat, to destroy the town of Falmouth, and four hundred buildings were burned. An attempt to land, however, was repulsed, when the ships retired. This and similar steps produced the law of Massachusetts, already mentioned as having been passed in Nov. 1775, granting commissions and directing the seizure of British vessels under certain circumstances, and which consequently put an end to the expeditions we have classed among the unauthorised.

The colony of Massachusetts had recourse to energetic measures for annoying the enemy on the coast, and for procuring military supplies. Many small vessels were fitted out by that

as well as by other colonies, and ships were sent in different directions with a view to purchase stores.

The want of powder, in particular, was so severely felt, that all practicable means were adopted to obtain it. Among others, General Washington borrowed two schooners of Massachusetts and sent them into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, under the orders of Captain Broughton, to intercept two brigs, that were known to be bound to Quebec with military supplies. The brigs were not seen, but ten other English vessels were captured by Captain Broughton, all of which were released as not coming within the hostilities meditated by Congress.

That body, however, was by no means blind to the importance of naval means of defence, without which no war can ever be conducted with credit and success by a country situated like America; and we have now properly arrived at the period when it is necessary to advert to the acts and legislation of the General Government on this interesting subject.

Soon after he assumed the command of the troops before Boston, General Washington, who so deeply felt the want of munitions of war, issued several commissions to different small vessels, giving their commanders instructions to cruise in or near Massachusetts Bay, in order to intercept the British store ships.

The first vessel that got to sea under this arrangement, was the schooner Lee, Captain John Manly, which sailed from Marblehead near the close of November. On the 29th, Captain Manly fell in with and captured the English brig Nancy, having on board ordnance stores, several brass guns, a considerable stock of fire-arms, and various military supplies. Among other things of this nature, was a large mortar, which was justly deemed an important addition to the means of a besieging army; for, up to this time, the Americans before Boston were particularly in want of artillery of every sort. On the 8th of December, Captain Manly captured three more store-ships, and succeeded in getting all his prizes safely into port.

Although it may not be strictly true to term the Lee, and the other small cruisers similarly employed, the first vessels that ever belonged to the General Government of this country, they may be deemed the first that ever actually sailed with authority to cruise in behalf of the entire republic. But, while we yield this precedency to Captain Manly and his associates, who acted under the orders of Washington, Congress itself had not

been altogether idle, and it is probable that the Commander-in-Chief took the step just mentioned in accordance with the expressed views of that body.

The first legislation of Congress on the subject of a navy, preceded the law of Massachusetts, in point of time, though the act was worded with great reserve. On the 13th of October, 1775, a law passed ordering one vessel of 10 guns, and another of 14 guns to be equipped as national property, and to be sent to the eastward on a cruise of three months, to intercept supplies for the royal troops. On the 29th of the same month a resolution passed denying to private ships of war and merchant vessels the right to wear pennants in the presence of "continental ships, or vessels of war," without the permission of the commanding officers of the latter. The next day another law passed, authorising the fitting out of two more cruisers, one to carry 20, and the other 36 guns.

A change in this cautious policy was produced by the depredations committed by the vessels under the command of Captain Mowat. When the intelligence of that ruthless proceeding reached Philadelphia, it produced a general prize law, with authority to capture all British vessels that were in any manner connected with the pending struggle. As the country still acknowledged its connexion with the crown, perhaps this reserve in conducting the war, was, in a measure, due to sound policy. This law was followed by another, passed December 13th, ordering thirteen sail of cruisers, to be constructed. Of the latter vessels, three were to be of 24 guns, five of 28, and five of 32.

These vessels appear to have been judiciously appointed in order to effect the object in view. The resources of America did not admit of the construction of ships of a size fit to contend with the fleets of England; and even had the colonies been in a condition to make such an exhibition of their power, the time necessary to organise a proper marine, the want of navy yards, and the impossibility of procuring, in season, naval stores of the required quality, would have prevented them from attempting it. The ships ordered were large enough to resist the small cruisers of the crown, and were well adapted to destroy convoys and to capture transports and store-ships.

Bad as was the condition of the colonies, as respects naval stores and the munitions of war, the country might be said to be even worse off for persons suited to form a navy list. There was no lack of competent navigators, or of brave sea-

men, but the high moral qualities which are indispensable to the accomplished officer, were hardly to be expected among those who had received all their training in the rude and imperfect schools of the merchant service. Still, as a whole, the merchant seamen of America were of a class superior to those of most other nations; the very absence of a regular marine, which induced young men of enterprise to incur the dangers of the seas in this mode in preference to remaining on shore, and the moral superiority of the level of the population, producing such a result. The Committee of Congress, to which the duties of a Navy Department were assigned, was compelled, in consequence of these difficulties, to select the new corps of officers, principally, from such conspicuous persons among the masters and mates of merchant ships as the country afforded; a few of those who had been trained in the English marine, but who had left it previously to the struggle, excepted. The result was such as might have been anticipated. While many gallant and suitable men were chosen, some of the corps had little to recommend them besides their practical knowledge of seamanship. These were valuable qualities, certainly; but the habits of subordination, the high feelings of personal pride and self-respect that create an *esprit de corps*, and the moral courage and lofty sentiments that come in time, to teach the trained officer to believe any misfortune preferable to professional disgrace, were not always to be expected under such circumstances.

It has become impossible to establish, in all cases, who did and who did not actually serve in the marine of the United States, officers so frequently passing from the privateers into the public vessels, and from the public vessels to the privateers, as to leave this important branch of our subject involved in much obscurity. Before we enter more fully into the details on which reliance can be placed, it may be well, also, to explain that the officers in the navy of the Confederation derived their authority from different sources, a circumstance that adds to the difficulties just mentioned. In a good many instances, Congress made the appointments by direct resolutions of its own, as will appear in the case of the officers first named. Subsequently, the Marine Committee possessed this power; and, in the end, not only did the diplomatic agents of the Government abroad exercise this high trust, but even the commanders of squadrons and of ships were put in possession of blank commissions to be filled at their particular discretion.

It will easily be understood how much this looseness in managing an interest of so much moment, increases the difficulty of obtaining the truth.

That the brave men who acted under the authority of Washington, at the commencement of the contest, were not in the navy, is evident from the circumstance that several of them obtained rank in the service, as the reward of their conduct while cruising in the sort of semi-official vessels that have been already mentioned. It has been said, that the first regular legislation of Congress, in reference to a marine, with a view to resist the aggressions of the British Parliament, dates from a resolution of that body passed the 13th of October, 1775. This resolution directed a committee of three, Messrs. Deane, Langdon and Gadsden, to fit out two swift-sailing vessels, the one of ten, and the other of fourteen guns, to cruise to the eastward, to intercept the supplies and transports intended for the British army at Boston. Under this law it is believed that a brig called the Lexington, and a sloop named the Providence, were equipped; though it does not appear that either went on the particular duty named in the resolution. On the 30th of the same month, the committee was increased to seven; and a ship of 36 guns, and another of 20, were ordered to be provided. Under this law, the Alfred and Columbus were purchased, though neither was of the force implied by the highest rate named. The first of these ships is said to have had a main-deck battery of 20 nines, while her armament on the quarter-deck and forecastle, varied in the course of her service, from ten guns to two. At the end of her career, she carried no guns above. Less is known of the Columbus, but she is believed to have had a gun-deck battery of 18 nines. Both were clumsy and crank ships, and neither proved to be a very good sailer.

On the 13th of December, of the same year, Congress directed the thirteen ships of war to be built, and the next day the Marine Committee was so far increased as to contain one member from each colony; all the proceedings that have yet been mentioned, having been directed rather to a redress of grievances, than to independence.

On the 22d of December, 1775, Congress passed a resolution declaring Esek Hopkins Commander-in-Chief, and appointing officers for all the vessels then in service.

By this law it will be seen that Mr. Hopkins was not made a captain, but the "Commander-in-Chief," a rank that was

intended to correspond in the navy, to that held by Washington in the army. His official appellation, among seamen, appears to have been that of "Commodore," though he was frequently styled "Admiral," in the papers of the period. The captains were particularly named to the respective ships, and the law was so construed, that the lieutenants were attached to the different vessels in the order in which they were respectively named.

By this resolution, or law, it would appear that two brigs, the Andrea Doria, and the Cabot, had been purchased, most probably by the Marine Committee, previously to its passage. Of the precise force of the latter vessel no authentic account can be found, but it is thought to have been 16 sixes. It appears by a letter of Paul Jones, however, that the armament of the Doria was 14 fours, and the Cabot may have been of the same force.

The equipment of all the vessels mentioned, as well as of two or three more of less size, was going on in the autumn of 1775, the appointment of their officers was made at the close of the year, and the first ensign ever shown by a regular American man-of-war, was hoisted in the Delaware, on board the Alfred, by the hands of Paul Jones, some time about the last of December. This event could not have occurred previously to the vote appointing a commander-in-chief, as we are expressly told that the flag was shown when that officer first repaired on board his ship. What that ensign was, is not now certainly known, but it is thought to have been a device representing a pine tree, with a rattlesnake about to strike, coiled at its root, and bearing the motto "don't tread on me."

The first regular cruisers that ever got to sea under the new government were the Hornet 10, and Wasp 8, a sloop and a schooner that had been equipped at Baltimore by the Marine Committee, and which sailed in November, to join the squadron under Commodore Hopkins, in the Delaware. This passage, however, cannot properly be called a cruise. For the first of these we must probably refer to the Lexington 14, a brig, the command of which had been given to John Barry, a ship-master of Philadelphia, of credit and skill. By other statements, the squadron under the orders of Commodore Hopkins got out before the Lexington; but we are disposed to believe that this is an error; not only because the sailing of the Lexington appears to be asserted on the most probable authority, but because it is more reasonable to believe, that, as

between vessels fitted in the same place, and near the same time, a single cruiser could precede a squadron. It would seem that the Lexington was purchased earlier than the Alfred, and, in the nature of things, was more readily equipped. The honour has long been claimed for Captain Barry, and, on as close an examination of the facts, as our means will allow, we believe it to be his due. The Lexington must have left the Capes of the Delaware late in January, or early in February, 1776, with orders to cruise to the southward.*

The plans of Congress had changed between the time when the vessels were ordered and that on which they were ready for service. Commodore Hopkins was accordingly directed also to proceed to the southward, with a view to act against the naval force, which was then ravaging the coast of Virginia, under Lord Dunmore. The squadron had got into the Bay, and rendezvoused under Cape Henlopen, early in February. It consisted of the Alfred 24, Columbus 20, Doria 14, Cabot 14, Providence 12, Hornet 10, Wasp 8, and Fly despatch vessel. With this force Commodore Hopkins got to sea on the 17th of February. On the night of the 19th, as the squadron was steering south with a fresh breeze, the Hornet and Fly parted company, and did not join again during the cruise. No vessel of any importance was met until the ships reached Abaco, in the Bahamas, where the squadron had been ordered to rendezvous. Here Commodore Hopkins determined to make a descent on New Providence, where it was understood a considerable amount of military stores was collected. For this purpose, a body of 300 men, marines and landsmen, under the command of Captain Nichols, the senior marine officer of the service, was put into two sloops, with the hope of surprising the place. As the squadron approached the town, however, an alarm was given, when the sloops were sent in, with the Providence 12, and Wasp 8, to cover the landing. This duty was handsomely performed, and Captain Nichols got complete possession of the forts, and entire command of the place, in the course of the afternoon and of the following morning, after a very insignificant resistance. Unfortunately, the governor, aware of the motive of the descent, found means to send away a considerable quantity of powder during the night. Near a hundred cannon, and a large quantity of other stores, however, fell into the hands of the Americans. On this occasion, the first that ever occurred in the regular American Navy, the marines under Captain Nichols

* See Appendix, Note A.

appear to have behaved with a spirit and steadiness that have distinguished the corps, from that hour down to the present moment.

After retaining possession a few days, Commodore Hopkins left New Providence on the 17th of March, bringing away with him the governor and one or two men of note, and shaping his course to the northward. Some of the smaller vessels appear to have left him, as he proceeded along the coast, but, with most of his force in company, he arrived off the east end of Long Island, early in April. On the 4th, he captured a tender of six guns, commanded by a son of Commodore Wallace, and on the 5th he fell in with and took the British Bomb Brig Bolton, 8, Lieutenant Snead.

About one o'clock in the morning of the 6th of April, the squadron being a little scattered, a large ship was discovered steering towards the Alfred. The wind was light, and the sea quite smooth; and about two, the stranger having gone about, the Cabot closed with him, and hailed. Soon after the latter fired a broadside. The first discharge of this little vessel appears to have been well directed, but her metal was altogether too light to contend with an enemy like the one she had assailed. In a few minutes she was compelled to haul aboard her tacks, to get from under the guns of her antagonist, having had her captain severely wounded, her master killed, and a good many of her people injured.

The Alfred now took the place of the Cabot, ranging handsomely alongside of the enemy and delivering her fire. Soon after, the Providence got under the stern of the English ship, and the Andrea Doria was enabled to come near enough to do some service. The Columbus was kept at a distance for want of wind. After a smart cannonade of near an hour, the block and wheel-rope of the Alfred were shot away, and the ship broached to; by which accident the enemy was enabled to rake her with effect. Being satisfied, however, that victory was impossible, the English commander profited by this accident, to put his helm up, and brought all the American vessels astern. Sailing better than any of the squadron, most of which were deep, as well as dull, in consequence of the cannon and stores they had taken on board, the enemy slowly but steadily gained on his pursuers, though a warm cannonade was kept up by both parties until past daylight. By six o'clock the ships had got so far to the eastward, that Commodore Hopkins felt apprehensive the firing would bring out the Newport

squadron; and seeing little chance of overtaking the chase, he made a signal for his vessels to haul by the wind. Capturing a tender that was in company with the ship that had escaped, the squadron now went into New London, the port to which it was bound.

The vessel that engaged the American ships, on this occasion, was the Glasgow, 20, Captain Tyringham Howe, with a crew of about one hundred and fifty souls. In every thing but the number of her men, the Glasgow was probably superior to any one ship in the American squadron; but her close encounter with, and eventual escape from so many vessels, reflected great credit on her commander. She was a good deal cut up, notwithstanding, and had four men killed and wounded. On the other hand, both the Alfred and the Cabot suffered materially, the former from having been raked, and the latter from lying close alongside a vessel so much her superior in force. The Alfred and Cabot had twenty-three men killed and wounded, and one man on board the Columbus lost an arm while in chase.

The result of this first essay of the American navy, caused much exultation in the country. The affair was represented as a sort of victory, in which three light vessels of war had been taken, and one of force compelled to run. A short time, however, served to correct these errors, and public opinion probably went as far in the opposite extreme, where it would seem to have been permanently fixed, by subsequent historians.

Commodore Hopkins was left in command some time longer, as is true, and he carried the squadron to Rhode Island, a few weeks after his arrival, but he never made another cruise in the navy. On the 16th of October, Congress passed a vote of censure on him, for not performing the duties on which he had been sent to the southward; and on the 2d of January, 1777, by a vote of that body, he was formally dismissed from the service. No commander-in-chief was subsequently appointed, though such a measure was recommended to the national legislature by a committee of its own body, August 24th, 1781.

As an offset to the escape of the Glasgow, the Lexington, Captain Barry, fell in with the Edward, an armed tender of the Liverpool, on the 17th of April, off the Capes of Virginia, and after a close and spirited action of near an hour, captured her. The Lexington had four of her crew killed and wounded,

while the Edward was cut nearly to pieces, and met with a very heavy comparative loss in men.

It may better connect the history of this little brig, if we add here, that she went to the West-Indies the following October, under the command of Captain Halleck, and on her return was captured near the spot where she had taken the Liverpool's tender, by the Pearl frigate. It was blowing fresh at the time, and, after taking out a few officers, and putting a crew on board his prize, the commander of the Pearl ordered her to follow his own ship. That night the Americans rose, and overpowering the prize-crew, they carried the brig into Baltimore. The Lexington was immediately recommissioned, under the orders of Captain Johnston, and in March she sailed for Europe, where there will soon be occasion to note her movements.

CHAPTER V.

When the American squadron had got into Newport, it became useless, from want of men. Many of the seamen had entered for the cruise only, and Congress having authorised the capture of all British vessels in March, so many persons were now induced to go on board the privateers, that crews were not easily obtained for the vessels of war. It is a singular feature of the times, too, that the sudden check to navigation, and the delay in authorising general captures, had driven a great many of the seamen into the army. It is also easy to imagine that the service was out of favour, after the affair with the Glasgow; for by events as trifling as this, are the opinions of ordinary men usually influenced.

It has been said that the vessels were carried to Providence, Rhode Island, and soldiers were borrowed from the army, in order to effect even this. At Providence, courts-martial, the usual attendants of military misfortunes, were assembled to judge the delinquents. Captain Whipple, of the Columbus, was tried for not aiding the Alfred in the action with the Glasgow, and seems to have been acquitted. Captain Hazard, of

the Providence, was cashiered, though it does not appear on what charge.

The day after the dismissal of her former commander, or May the 10th, 1776, Paul Jones was directed by Commodore Hopkins to take charge of the Providence, and to carry the borrowed soldiers to New York, there to enlist a regular crew, and return to the station. This duty having been successfully performed, the sloop was hove out, cleaned, refitted, armed, and manned for a cruise. On the 13th of June, Captain Jones sailed from Newport, with a convoy loaded with military stores, which he saw into Long Island Sound, a service attended with risk, on account of the numerous cruisers of the enemy. While thus employed, he covered the escape of a brig from St. Domingo, laden also with military stores, and bound to New York. This brig was soon after bought into the service, and became the Hampden 14. After performing this duty, the Providence was employed in cruising between Boston and the Delaware, and she even ran as far south as Bermuda. On the 1st of September, while on the latter service, this little sloop made five sail, one of which was mistaken for a large merchantman. On getting near the latter vessel, she proved to be a light English frigate, and a fast sailer. After a chase of four hours by the wind, and in a cross sea, the enemy had so far gained on the Providence as to be within musket-shot, on her lee-quarter. The stranger had early opened with his chase guns, and the Providence now returned the fire with her light four-pounders, showing her colours. Perceiving that capture, or some bold expedient, must soon determine his fate, Captain Jones kept edging away, until he had got rather on the lee-bow of the enemy, when the Providence suddenly went off dead before the wind, setting every thing that would draw. This unexpected manœuvre brought the two vessels within pistol-shot, but the English ship having been taken completely by surprise, before she could get her light sails set, the sloop was nearly out of reach of grape. The Providence sailed the best before the wind, and in less than an hour she had drawn quite beyond the reach of shot, and finally escaped. This affair has been represented as an engagement of several hours with the Solebay 28, but, as has been said, it was little more than a clever artifice, in which Captain Jones discovered much steadiness and address. Not a shot touched the Providence, though the Solebay fired a hundred.

Captain Jones now went to the eastward, where he made

several prizes. Here he was chased by the Milford 32, and finding he could easily outsail her, he kept just out of gunshot for several hours, the enemy, who measured his distance badly, firing most of the time. This affair has also been exaggerated into a running fight.

After this chase the Providence went upon the coast, off Canseau, and did much damage to the enemy's fishermen, taking no less than twelve sail. Having made sixteen prizes in all, some of which were valuable, Captain Jones returned to Newport.

Ere the return of the Providence, independence was declared, and Congress had set about a more regular organisation of the navy. October the 3d, it ordered another frigate and two cutters to be built; and November the 9th, a law was passed, authorising the construction of three seventy-fours, five more frigates, a sloop of war, and a packet. In January of the succeeding year, another frigate and another sloop of war were ordered. Eight of the prizes were also directed to be taken into the service, in the course of the years 1776 and 1777, while, as the war proceeded, divers small vessels were directed to be built, or purchased.

When the squadron, under Commodore Hopkins, broke up, all the ships did not remain idle, but the Columbus 20, made a cruise, under Captain Whipple, to the eastward, and took a few prizes. The Andrea Doria 14, Captain Biddle, went in the same direction, and was even more successful than the Providence in annoying the enemy. This vessel, a little brig, carrying 14 fours, actually took two armed transports filled with soldiers, and made prizes of so many merchantmen, that, it is affirmed on plausible authority, when she got back into the Delaware, but five of the common men who composed her original crew were in her; the rest having been put in the prizes, and their places supplied by volunteers from among the prisoners. Captain Biddle gained much credit for this cruise, and he was appointed to the command of the Randolph 32, then recently launched.

While the United States' cruisers were thus active in intercepting the British transports on the high seas, the colony cruisers and privateers were busy in the same way in-shore. Boston had been evacuated by the enemy on the 17th of March, of this year, but vessels continued to arrive from England until midsummer; the fact not being known in time to prevent their steering towards the wrong port. No less than

thirty sail fell into the hands of the Americans, in consequence of these mistakes.

The Connecticut colony brig Defence 14, Captain Harding, left Plymouth, Massachusetts, early on the morning of the 17th of June, and, on working out into the bay, a desultory firing was heard to the northward. The Defence crowded sail in the direction of the cannonading, and about dusk she fell in with four light American schooners, which had been engaged in a running fight with two British transports, that proved too heavy for them. The transports, after beating off the schooners, went into Nantasket Roads and anchored. One of the schooners was the Lee 8, Captain Waters, in the service of Massachusetts, the little cruiser that had so successfully begun the maritime warfare under Captain Manly. The three others were privateers.

After laying his plans with the commanders of the schooners, Captain Harding stood into the roads, and, about eleven o'clock at night, he anchored between the transports, within pistol-shot. The schooners followed, but did not approach near enough to be of much service. Some hailing now passed, and Captain Harding ordered the enemy to strike. A voice from the largest English vessel answered, "Ay, ay—I'll strike," and a broadside was immediately poured into the Defence. A sharp action, that lasted more than an hour, followed, when both the English vessels struck. These transports contained near two hundred soldiers of the same corps as those shortly after taken by the Doria, and on board the largest of them was Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, who commanded the regiment.

In this close and sharp conflict, the Defence was a good deal cut up aloft, and she had nine men wounded. The transports lost eighteen killed and a large number wounded. Among the slain was Major Menzies, the officer who had answered the hail in the manner stated.

The next morning the Defence, with the schooners in company, saw a sail in the bay, and gave chase. The stranger proved to be another transport, with more than a hundred men of the same regiment on board. Thus did about five hundred men, of one of the best corps in the British army, fall into the hands of the Americans, by means of these light cruisers. It should be remembered that, in this stage of the war, every capture of this nature was of double importance to the cause, as it not only weakened the enemy, but checked his intention

of treating the American prisoners as rebels, by giving the colonists the means of retaliation, as well as of exchange. Colonel Campbell was subsequently imprisoned by Washington, to compel the English to extend better treatment to the Americans who had fallen into their hands.

To return to the vessels left at Rhode Island. When Captain Jones came in from his last cruise in the Providence, a project was formed to send a small squadron under his orders to the coast of Nova Scotia, with the double view of distressing the British trade, and of liberating about a hundred Americans who were said to be confined in the coal-pits of that region. For this purpose the Alfred 24, Hampden 14, and Providence 12, were put under the orders of Captain Jones; but not having men enough for all three, that officer selected the two first for his purpose. While clearing the port, the Hampden got on a ledge of rocks, and sustained material damage. The crew of the Hampden were now transferred to the Providence, and in the month of November Captain Jones got to sea, with both vessels rather short manned. A few days out, the Alfred made one or two small captures, and soon after she fell in with, and, after a short combat, took the armed ship Mellish, loaded with supplies for the army that was then assembling in Canada, to compose the expedition under General Burgoyne. On board this vessel, in addition to many other articles of the last importance, were ten thousand suits of uniform, in charge of a company of soldiers. It was said at the time, that the Mellish was the most valuable English ship that had then fallen into the hands of the Americans. Of so much importance did Captain Jones consider his prize, that he announced his intention to keep her in sight, and to sink her in preference to letting her fall into the enemy's hands again. This resolution, however, was changed by circumstances.

The Providence had parted company in the night, and having taken a letter of marque from Liverpool, the Alfred was making the best of her way to Boston, with a view to get the Mellish in, when, on the edge of George's Banks, she made the Milford 32, the frigate that had chased Captain Jones the previous cruise, while in command of the Providence. The enemy was to windward, but there was not time for him to close before dark. The Alfred and the letter of marque hauled up between the frigate and the other prizes, in order to cover them, and directions were given to the latter to stand on the same tack all night, regardless of signals. At midnight the Alfred

and letter of marque tacked, and the latter showed a top-light until morning. This artifice succeeded, the Milford appearing in chase of the Alfred when the day dawned, while the Mellish and her consorts had disappeared in the southern board.

The Milford had run to leeward in the course of the night, and was now on the Alfred's lee quarter. Some manœuvring took place to ascertain the stranger's force, for it was not then known that the ship in sight was actually a frigate. In the course of the day, the Alfred was compelled to carry sail hard, but she escaped, though the letter of marque fell into the enemy's hands. After eluding her enemy, and covering all her prizes, the one just mentioned excepted, the Alfred went into Boston, where she found the rest of the vessels, and where she landed her prisoners. Another officer took charge of the ship, and Captain Jones, who had been flattered with the hope of having a still larger force put under his orders, was placed so low on the list by the new regulation of navy rank, as to be obliged to look round for a single ship, and that, too, of a force inferior to the one he had just commanded.

While this service was in the course of execution at the north, several small cruisers had been sent into the West Indies, to convoy, in quest of arms, or to communicate with the different public agents in that quarter. We have seen the manner in which the Lexington had been captured and retaken on her return passage from this station, and we have now to allude to a short cruise of the Reprisal, Captain Wickes, in the same quarter. This ship sailed early in the summer, for Martinique, capturing several prizes by the way. When near her port, the English sloop of war Shark 16, Captain Chapman, laid her close alongside, and commenced a brisk attack, the Reprisal being both lighter than the enemy, and short-handed. Captain Wickes made so gallant a defence, however, that the Shark was repulsed with loss, and the American got into the island with credit, hundreds having witnessed the affair from the shore. As this occurred early in the season, and before the Declaration of Independence, the Shark followed the Reprisal in, and her captain demanded that the governor should deliver up the American ship as a pirate. This demand was refused of course, and shortly after Captain Wickes returned home. With a view to connect the train of events, we will now follow this excellent officer to the European seas.

The Reprisal was the first American man-of-war that ever showed herself in the other hemisphere. She sailed from home

not long after the Declaration of Independence, and appeared in France in the autumn of 1776, bringing in with her several prizes, and having Dr. Franklin on board as a passenger. A few privateers had preceded her, and slight difficulties had occurred in relation to some of their prizes that had gone into Spain, but it is believed these were the first English captured ships that had entered France since the commencement of the American Revolution. The English ambassador complained of this infraction of the treaty between the two countries, but means were found to dispose of the prizes without detection. The Reprisal having refitted, soon sailed towards the bay of Biscay, on another cruise. Here she captured several more vessels, and among the rest a king's packet that plied between Falmouth and Lisbon. When the cruise was up, Captain Wickes went into Nantes, taking his prizes with him. The complaints of the English now became louder, and the American commissioners were secretly admonished of the necessity of using greater reserve. The prizes were directed to quit France, though the Reprisal, being leaky, was suffered to remain in port, in order to refit. The former were taken into the offing, and sold; the state of the times rendering these informal proceedings necessary. Enormous losses to the captors were the consequences, while it is not improbable that the gains of the purchasers had their influence in blinding the local authorities to the character of the transaction. The business appears to have been managed with dexterity, and the proceeds of the sales, such as they were, proved of great service to the agents of government, by enabling them to purchase other vessels.

In April the Lexington 14, Captain Johnston, arrived in France, and the old difficulties were renewed. But the commissioners at Paris, who had been authorised to equip vessels, appoint officers and do other matters to annoy the enemy, now planned a cruise that surpassed any thing of the sort that had yet been attempted in Europe under the American flag. Captain Wickes was directed to proceed to sea, with his own vessel and the Lexington, and to go directly off Ireland, in order to intercept a convoy of linen ships that was expected to sail about that time. A cutter of ten guns, called the Dolphin, that had been procured by the commissioners to carry despatches to America, was diverted from her original destination and placed under the orders of Captain Wickes. The Dolphin was commanded by Lieutenant S. Nicholson, a brother

of the senior captain, and a gentleman who subsequently died himself at the head of the service.

Captain Wickes, in command of this light squadron, sailed from Nantes about the commencement of June, going first into the Bay of Biscay, and afterwards entirely around Ireland, sweeping the sea before him of every thing that was not of a force to render an attack hopeless. The linen ships were missed, but many vessels were taken or destroyed. As the American cruisers approached the French coast, on their return, a line of battle ship gave chase, and followed them nearly into port. The Lexington and Dolphin appear to have escaped without much difficulty, by separating; but the Reprisal was so hard pressed, as to be obliged to saw her bulwarks, and even to cut away some of her timbers; expedients that were much in favour among the seamen of the day, though of questionable utility.

This was the first exploit of the kind in the war, and its boldness and success seem to have produced so much sensation in England, that the French government was driven to the necessity of entirely throwing aside the mask, or of taking some more decided step in relation to these cruisers. Not being yet prepared for war, it resorted to the latter expedient. The Reprisal and Lexington were ordered to be seized, and held until security was given that they would quit the European seas, while the prizes were commanded to leave France without delay. The latter were accordingly taken outside the port, and disposed of to French merchants, in the same informal manner, and with the same loss, as in the previous cases, while the vessels of war prepared to return home.

In September the Lexington sailed from Morlaix, in which port she had taken refuge in the chase, and next day she fell in with the British man-of-war-cutter Alert, Lieutenant Bazely, a vessel of a force a trifle less than her own, when an engagement took place. The lightness of the vessels, and the roughness of the water, rendered the fire on both sides very ineffective; and after an action of two hours and a half, the Lexington had expended nearly all her powder, without subduing her gallant opponent. The Alert, however, had suffered so much aloft, as to enable the brig to leave her. Notwithstanding this advantage, so much activity was shown on board the English vessel, that, after a chase of four hours, she was enabled to get alongside of the Lexington again, while the latter was herself repairing damages. A one-sided battle now occurred, the

Lexington not having it in her power to keep up a fire of any moment, and after receiving that of his persevering antagonist for another hour, Captain Johnston was compelled to strike, to save the lives of his crew.

The fate of the Reprisal, a vessel that had even been more successful than her consort, was still harder. This ship also sailed for America, agreeably to the conditions made with the French government, and foundered on the banks of Newfoundland, all on board perishing with the exception of the cook. In Captain Wickes the country lost a gallant, prudent, and efficient officer, and one who promised to rise high in the profession had his life been spared.

To the untimely loss of the Reprisal, and the unfortunate capture of the Lexington, must be attributed the little éclat that attended the services of these two vessels in Europe. They not only preceded all the other national cruisers in the European seas, but they did great positive injury to the commerce of the enemy, besides exciting such a feeling of insecurity in the English merchants, as to derange their plans, and to produce other revolutions in the course of trade, that will be adverted to in the close of the chapter.

While the commissioners* were directing the movements of Captain Wickes, in the manner that has been mentioned, they were not idle in other quarters. A small frigate was building at Nantes, on public account, and there will be occasion hereafter to speak of her services and loss, under the name of the Queen of France. Some time in the spring of 1777, an agent was sent to Dover by the American commissioners, where he purchased a fine, fast-sailing English-built cutter, and had her carried across to Dunkirk. Here she was privately equipped as a cruiser, and named the Surprise. To the command of this vessel Captain Gustavus Conyngham was appointed, by filling up a blank commission from John Hancock, the President of Congress. This commission bore date March 1st, 1777, and it would seem, as fully entitled Mr. Conyngham to the rank of a captain in the navy, as any other that was ever issued by the same authority. Having obtained his officers and crew in Dunkirk, Captain Conyngham sailed on a cruise, about the 1st of May, and on the 4th he took a brig called the Joseph. On the 7th, when within a few leagues of the coast of Holland, the Surprise ran alongside of the Harwich packet,

* Dr. Franklin and Silas Deane.

the Prince of Orange, which she boarded and took with so little previous alarm, that Captain Conyngham, stepping upon the deck of his prize, walked coolly down into her cabin, where he found her master and his passengers at breakfast. The mail for the north of Europe being on board the Prince of Orange, Captain Conyngham believed his acquisition to be of sufficient importance to return to port, and accordingly reappeared at Dunkirk in a day or two.

By referring to the dates, it will be seen, though both the Reprisal and the Lexington, especially the first, had cruised in the European seas prior to the sailing of the Surprise, that the latter vessel performed the exploit just mentioned, shortly before Captain Wickes sailed on his cruise in the Irish and English Channels. Coming as it did so soon after the capture of the Lisbon packet, and occurring on one of the great thoroughfares between England and the continent, coupled with the fact that the cutter had been altogether equipped in a French port, the loss of the Prince of Orange appears to have attracted more attention than the transactions before described. The remonstrances of the English ambassador were so earnest, that Captain Conyngham and his crew were imprisoned, the cutter was seized, and the prizes were liberated. On this occasion the commission of Captain Conyngham was taken from him, and sent to Versailles, and it seems never to have been returned.

So completely was the English government deceived by this demonstration of an intention on the part of the French ministry to cause the treaty to be respected, that two sloops of war were actually sent to Dunkirk to carry Captain Conyngham and his people to England, that they might be tried as pirates. When the ships reached Dunkirk, as will be seen in the succeeding events, the birds had flown.

The commissioners had in view the capture of some of the transports with Hessian troops on board, and they were no sooner notified of the seizure of the Surprise, than Mr. Hodge, an agent who was of great service to the cause, was directed to procure another cutter. One was accordingly purchased at Dunkirk, and fitted, with all despatch, for a cruise. Means were found to liberate Captain Conyngham and his people, and this second vessel, which was called the Revenge, sailed from Dunkirk on the 18th of July, or about the time that Captain Wickes returned from his cruise with the three other vessels. A new commission had been obtained for Cap-

tain Conyngham, previously to putting to sea, which bore date May 2d, 1777. As this second commission was dated anterior to the seizure of the old one, there is no question that it was also one of those in blank, which had been confided to the commissioners to fill at their discretion.

The Revenge proved exceedingly successful, making prizes daily, and generally destroying them. Some of the most valuable, however, were ordered into Spain, where many arrived; their avails proving of great moment to the agents of the American government in Europe. It is even affirmed that the money advanced to Mr. Adams for travelling expenses, when he landed in Spain from the French frigate La Sensible, a year or two later, was derived from this source.

Having suffered from a gale, Captain Conyngham disguised the Revenge, and took her into one of the small English ports, where he actually refitted without detection. Shortly after, he obtained supplies in Ireland, paying for them by bills on his agents in Spain. In short, after a cruise of almost unprecedented success, so far as injury to the English merchants was concerned, the Revenge went into Ferrol, refitted, and finally sailed for the American seas, where it would derange the order of events to follow her at this moment.

The sensation created among the British merchants, by the different cruises in the European seas, that have been recorded in this chapter, is stated in the diplomatic correspondence of the day, to have been greater than that produced, in the previous war, by the squadron of the celebrated Thurot. Insurance rose to an enormous height, and, in speaking of the cruise of Captain Wickes in particular, Mr. Deane observes in one of his letters to Robert Morris, that it "effectually alarmed England, prevented the great fair at Chester, occasioned insurance to rise, and even deterred the English merchants from shipping goods in English bottoms, at any rate, so that in a few weeks, *forty sail of French ships* were loading in the Thames on freight; an instance never before known." In the same letter, this commissioner adds,—"In a word, Cunningham (Conyngham) by his first and second bold expeditions, is become the terror of all the eastern coast of England and Scotland, and is more dreaded than Thurot was, in the late war."

Insurance, in some instances, rose as high as twenty-five per cent., and it is even affirmed that there was a short period

when ten per cent. was asked between Dover and Calais, a distance of only seven leagues.

With a view to increase the naval force of the country, the commissioners had caused a frigate of extraordinary size, and of peculiar armament and construction for that period, to be laid down at Amsterdam. This ship had the keel and sides of a two-decker, though frigate-built, and her main deck armament was intended to consist of thirty-two pounders. Her name was the Indien. In consequence of the apprehensions of the Dutch government, and the jealousy of that of England, Congress was induced, about this time, to make an offering of the Indien to Louis XVI., and she was equipped and got ready for sea, as a French vessel of war. In the end, the manner in which this frigate was brought into the service of one of the new American States, will be shown.

CHAPTER VI.

It is now necessary to revert to events that will require the time to be carried back more than a twelvemonth.

Soon after the British left Boston, a Captain Mugford obtained the use of a small armed vessel belonging to government, called the Franklin, and getting to sea, he succeeded in capturing the Hope, a ship that had on board fifteen hundred barrels of powder, and a large quantity of intrenching tools, gun-carriages, and other stores. This vessel was got into Boston, in sight of the British squadron. Attempting another cruise immediately afterwards, Captain Mugford lost his life in making a gallant and successful effort to repel some of the enemy's boats, which had endeavoured to carry the Franklin and a small privateer that was in company, by boarding.

On the 6th of July, or two days after the Declaration of Independence, the Sachem 10, Captain Robinson, sailed from the Delaware on a cruise. The Sachem was sloop-rigged, and one of the lightest cruisers in the service. When a few days out she fell in with an English letter of marque, a Jamaica-man, and captured her, after a sharp contest. Both vessels are said to have suffered severely in this affair, and to

have had an unusual number of their people killed and wounded. Captain Robinson was now compelled to return to refit, and arriving at Philadelphia with his prize, the Marine Committee rewarded him for his success by giving him the command of the Andrea Doria 14, then recently returned from her cruise to the eastward under Captain Biddle, which officer had been transferred to the Randolph 32.

The Doria sailed shortly after for St. Eustatia, to bring home some arms; and it is said that the first salute ever paid to the American flag, by a regular government, was fired in return for the salute of the Doria, when she went into that island. For this indiscretion the Dutch governor was subsequently displaced.

On her return passage, off the western end of Porto Rico, the Doria made an English vessel of war, bearing down upon her with a disposition to engage. On ranging up abeam, the enemy commenced the action by firing a broadside, which was immediately returned by the Doria. A very sharp contest of two hours followed, when the Englishman struck. The prize proved to be the Racehorse 12, Lieutenant Jones, who had been sent by his admiral to cruise expressly for the Doria. Lieutenant Jones was mortally wounded, and a very large proportion of the Racehorse's officers and crew were either killed or wounded. The Doria lost twelve men, including all the casualties. Captain Robinson and his prize got safely into Philadelphia, in due season. The Doria never went to sea again, being shortly after burned by the Americans to prevent her falling into the hands of the British fleet, when the evacuation of Fort Mifflin gave the enemy the command of the Delaware.

The galleys in the Delaware had a long and well-contested struggle with the Roebuck, 44, Captain Hammond, and the Liverpool, 20, Captain Bellew, about the first of May of this year. The cannonade was handsomely conducted, and it resulted in driving the enemy from the river. During this affair, the Wasp, 8, Captain Alexander, was active and conspicuous, cutting out a tender of the English ships from under their guns.

A spirited attack was also made on the Phœnix, 44, and Rose, 24, in the Hudson, on the third of August, by six American galleys. The firing was heavy and well maintained for two hours, both sides suffering materially. On the part of the galleys, eighteen men were killed and wounded, and

several guns were dismounted by shot. The loss of the enemy is not known, though both vessels were repeatedly hulled.

By this time the whole coast was alive with adventures of such a nature, scarcely a week passing that did not give rise to some incident that would have interest for the reader, did the limits of our work permit us to enter into the details. Wherever an enemy's cruiser appeared, or attempted to land skirmishes ensued; and in some of these little affairs as much personal gallantry and ingenuity were displayed as in many of the more important combats. The coast of New England generally, the Chesapeake, and the coast of the Carolinas, were the scenes of most of these minor exploits, which, like all the subordinate incidents of a great struggle, are gradually becoming lost in the more engrossing events of the war.

October 12th, of this year, an armed British brig, the name of which has been lost, fitted out by the government of the Island of Jamaica, made an attempt on a small convoy of American vessels, off Cape Nicola Mole, in the West-Indies, then in charge of the privateer Ranger, 18, Captain Hudson. Perceiving the aim of the enemy, Captain Hudson ran under her stern, and gave her a severe raking fire. The action thus commenced, lasted nearly two hours, when the Ranger boarded, and carried the brig, hand to hand. The English vessel, in this affair, reported thirteen men killed and wounded, by the raking broadside of the Ranger alone. In the whole, she had between thirty and forty of her people injured. On her return from this cruise, the Ranger was purchased for the navy.

In order to command the Lakes Champlain and George, across which lay the ancient and direct communication with the Canadas, flotillas had been constructed on both those waters, by the Americans. To resist this force, and with a view to co-operate with the movements of their troops, the British commenced the construction of vessels at St. John's. Several men-of-war were laid up, in the St. Lawrence, and their officers and crews were transferred to the shipping built on Lake Champlain.

October 11th, General Arnold, who commanded the American flotilla, was lying off Cumberland Head, when at eight in the morning, the enemy appeared in force, to the northward, turning to windward with a view to engage. On that day the American vessels present, consisted of the Royal Savage, 12,

Revenge, 10, Liberty, 10, Lee, cutter, 4, Congress, galley, 10, Washington, do., 10, Trumbull, do., 10, and eight gondolas. Besides the changes that had been made since August, two or three of the vessels that were on the lake were absent on other duty. The best accounts state the force of this flotilla, or of the vessels present, as follows, viz:

Guns, 90,
Metal, 647 lbs.
Men, 600, including soldiers.

On this occasion, the British brought up nearly their whole force, although having the disadvantage of being to leeward, all their vessels could not get into close action. Captain Douglas, of the Isis, had commanded the naval movements that preceded the battles, and Lieutenant-General Sir Guy Carleton, was present, in person, on board the Maria. The first officer, in his official report of the events, mentions that the Inflexible was ready to sail, within twenty-eight days after her keel had been laid, and that he had caused to be equipped, between July and October, "thirty fighting vessels of different sorts and sizes, and all carrying cannon." Captain Pringle, of the Lord Howe, was the officer actually in charge of the British naval force on the lake, and he commanded in person in the different encounters.

The action of the 11th of October commenced at eleven in the forenoon, and by half-past twelve it was warm. On the part of the British, the battle for a long time was principally carried on by the gun-boats, which were enabled to sweep up to windward, and which, by their weight of metal, were very efficient in smooth water. The Carleton, 12, Lieutenant Dacres, was much distinguished on this day, being the only vessel of size that could get into close fight. After maintaining a hot fire for several hours, Captain Pringle judiciously called off the vessels that were engaged, anchoring just out of gun-shot, with an intention to renew the attack in the morning. In this affair the Americans, who had manifested great steadiness throughout the day, had about 60 killed and wounded, while the British acknowledged a loss of only 40. The Carleton, however, suffered considerably.

Satisfied that it would be impossible, successfully, to resist so great a superiority of force, General Arnold got under way, at two P. M., on the 12th, with the wind fresh ahead. The enemy made sail in chase, as soon as this departure was discovered, but neither flotilla could make much progress on ac-

count of the gondolas, which were unable to turn to windward. In the evening the wind moderated, when the Americans gained materially on their pursuers. Another change occurred, however, and a singular variation in the currents of air, now favoured the enemy; for while the Americans in the narrow part of the lake, were contending with a fresh southerly breeze, the English got the wind at northeast, which brought their leading vessels within gunshot at 12, meridian, on the 13th.

On this occasion, Captain Pringle, in the Maria, led in person, closely supported by the Inflexible and Carleton. The Americans were much scattered, several of their gondolas having been sunk and abandoned, on account of the impossibility of bringing them off. General Arnold, in the Congress galley, covered the rear of his retreating flotilla, having the Washington galley, on board of which was Brigadier-General Waterbury, in company. The latter had been much shattered in the fight of the 11th, and after receiving a few close broadsides, she was compelled to strike. General Arnold now defended himself like a lion, in the Congress, occupying the three vessels of the enemy so long a time, as to enable six of his little fleet to escape. When further resistance was out of the question, he ran the Congress on shore, set fire to her, and she blew up with her colours flying.

Although the result of this action was so disastrous, the American arms gained much credit by the obstinacy of the resistance. General Arnold, in particular, covered himself with glory, and his example appears to have been nobly followed by most of his officers and men. Even the enemy did justice to the resolution and skill with which the American flotilla was managed, the disparity in the force rendering victory out of the question from the first. The manner in which the Congress was fought until she had covered the retreat of the galleys, and the stubborn resolution with which she was defended until destroyed, converted the disasters of this part of the day into a species of triumph.

In these affairs, the Americans lost eleven vessels, principally gondolas; while on the part of the British, two gondolas were sunk, and one blown up. The loss of men was supposed to be about equal, no less than sixty of the enemy perishing in the gondola that blew up. This statement differs from the published official accounts of the English; but those reports, besides being meagre and general, are contradicted by too much testimony on the other side, to command our respect.

There has been occasion, already, to mention Mr. John Manly, who, in command of the schooner Lee, made the first captures that occurred in the war. The activity and resolution of this officer, rendered his name conspicuous at the commencement of the struggle, and it followed as a natural consequence, that, when Congress regulated the rank of the captains, in 1776, he appears as one of them, his appointment having been made as early as April the 17th, of this year. So highly, indeed, were his services then appreciated, that the name of Captain Manly stands second on the list, and he was appointed to the command of the Hancock, 32. When Captain Manly was taken into the navy, the Lee was given to Captain Waters, and was present at the capture of the three transports off Boston, as has been already stated. This little schooner, the name of which will ever remain associated with American history, in consequence of her all-important captures in 1775, appears to have continued actively employed, as an in-shore cruiser, throughout this year, if not later, in the pay of the new state of Massachusetts. Captain Waters, like his predecessor, Captain Manly, was received into the navy on the recommendation of Washington, a commission to that effect having been granted by Congress, March 18th, 1777.

CHAPTER VII.

The year 1777 opened with better prospects for the American cause. The hardy movements of Washington in New Jersey had restored the drooping confidence of the nation, and great efforts were made to follow up the advantage that had been so gloriously obtained. Most of the vessels authorised by the laws of 1775, had been built and equipped during the year 1776; and America may now be said, for the first time, to have had something like a regular navy, although the service was still, and indeed continued to be throughout the war, deficient in organization, system, and unity. After the first effort connected with its creation, the business of repairing losses, of increasing the force, and of perfecting that which had been so hastily commenced, was either totally neglected,

or carried on in a manner so desultory and inefficient, as soon to leave very little of method or order in the marine. As a consequence, officers were constantly compelled to seek employment in private armed ships, or to remain idle, and the discipline did not advance, as would otherwise have been the case during the heat of an active war. To the necessities of the nation, however, and not to a want of foresight and prudence, must be attributed this state of things, the means of raising and maintaining troops being obtained with difficulty, and the cost of many ships entirely exceeding its resources. It is probable, had not the public armed vessels been found useful in conveying, as well as in convoying the produce, by means of which the loans obtained in Europe were met, and perhaps indispensable to keeping up the diplomatic communications with that quarter of the world, that the navy would have been suffered to become extinct, beyond its employment in the bays and rivers of the country. This, however, is anticipating events, for at the precise moment in the incidents of the war at which we have now arrived, the exertions of the republic were perhaps at their height, as respects its naval armaments.

One of the first, if not the very first of the new vessels that got to sea, was the Randolph 32. It has been seen that Captain Biddle was appointed to this ship, on his return from his successful cruise in the Andrea Doria 14. The Randolph was launched at Philadelphia in the course of the season of 1776, and sailed on her first cruise early in 1777. Discovering a defect in his masts, as well as a disposition to mutiny in his people, too many of whom were volunteers from among the prisoners, Captain Biddle put into Charleston for repairs. As soon as the ship was refitted, he sailed again, and three days out, he fell in with and captured four Jamaica-men, one of which, the True Briton, had an armament of 20 guns. The Randolph returned to Charleston with her prizes, in safety. Here she appears to have been blockaded by a superior English force, during the remainder of the season. The state authorities of South Carolina were so much pleased with the zeal and deportment of Captain Biddle, that they now added four small cruisers of their own, the General Moultrie 18, the Polly 16, the Notre Dame 16, and the Fair American 14, to his command. With these vessels in company, and under his orders, Captain Biddle sailed early in 1778, in quest of the British ships, the Carrysfort 32, the Perseus 20, the Hinchinbrook 16, and a privateer, which had been cruising off Charleston for

some time. The American squadron, however, had been detained so long by foul winds, that, when it got into the offing, no traces of the enemy were to be discovered. For the further history of the Randolph, we are unhappily indebted to the British accounts.

By a letter from Captain Vincent, of his Britannic Majesty's ship Yarmouth 64, dated March 17th, 1778, we learn that, on the 7th of that month, while cruising to the eastward of Barbadoes, he made six sail to the southwest, standing on a wind. The Yarmouth bore down on the chases, which proved to be two ships, three brigs and a schooner. About nine o'clock in the evening she succeeded in ranging up on the weather quarter of the largest and leading vessel of the strangers; the ship next in size being a little astern and to leeward. Hoisting her own colours, the Yarmouth ordered the nearest ship to show her ensign, when the American flag was run up, and the enemy poured in a broadside. A smart action now commenced, and was maintained with vigour for twenty minutes, when the stranger blew up. The two ships were so near each other at the time, that many fragments of the wreck struck the Yarmouth, and among other things, an American ensign, rolled up, was blown in upon her forecastle. This flag was not even singed. The vessels in company now steered different ways, and the Yarmouth gave chase to two, varying her own course for that purpose. But her sails had suffered so much in the engagement, that the vessels chased soon run her out of sight. In this short action the Yarmouth, by the report of her own commander, had five men killed and twelve wounded. On the 12th, while cruising near the same place, a piece of wreck was discovered, with four men on it, who were making signals for relief. These men were saved, and when they got on board the Yarmouth, they reported themselves as having belonged to the United States ship Randolph 32, Captain Biddle, the vessel that had blown up in action with the English ship on the night of the 7th of the same month. They had been floating ever since on the piece of wreck, without any other sustenance than a little rain-water. They stated that they were a month out of Charleston.

We regard with admiration the steadiness and spirit with which, according to the account of his enemy, Captain Biddle commenced this action, against a force so vastly his superior; and, although victory was almost hopeless, even had all his vessels behaved equally well with his own ship, we find it dif-

ficult, under the circumstances, to suppose that this gallant seaman did not actually contemplate carrying his powerful antagonist, most probably by boarding.

In March, 1777, the United States brig Cabot, Captain Olney, was chased ashore, on the coast of Nova Scotia, by the British frigate Milford, which pressed the Cabot so hard that there was barely time to get the people out of her. Captain Olney and his crew retreated into the woods, and subsequently they made their escape by seizing a schooner, in which they safely arrived at home. The enemy, after a long trial, got the Cabot off, and she was taken into the British navy.

Shortly after this loss, or on the 9th of April, the Trumbull 28, Captain Saltonstall, fell in with, off New York, and captured after a smart action, two armed transports, with stores of value on board. In this affair the enemy suffered severely, and the Trumbull herself had 7 men killed and 8 wounded.

The following month the Hancock 32, Captain Manly, and Boston 24, Captain M'Neil, sailed on a cruise to the eastward. Towards the middle of May they made a sail to windward, and gave chase. The Hancock being the fastest sailer approached the stranger, a British frigate, first; the two vessels crossing each other on opposite tacks, and exchanging broadsides in passing, at long shot. The American immediately tacked and continued to gain on the chase. As soon as she got within range of the stranger, the latter re-opened his fire, but Captain Manly sent his people to their breakfast, finding that little harm was done. In a short time the Hancock had got far enough ahead and to windward to open her fire, when the action commenced in earnest. After a close and warm engagement of an hour and thirty-five minutes, the enemy struck. At this time, or while the Hancock was lowering her boat to take possession, the Boston came down from a weatherly position she had gained, and, it is said, fired a broadside at the captured ship. Captain Manly rebuked his consort, and the cannonade ceased altogether. The prize proved to be the Fox 28, Captain Fotheringham. Her loss was heavy, having no less than 32 men killed. The Hancock had 8 killed and 13 wounded.

Manning her prize, the Hancock now proceeded off Halifax, the Boston in company. The vessels appeared before the port on the first day of June. This brought out the Rainbow 44, Captain Sir George Collier, with the Flora 32, and Victor

brig. The Flora gave chase to the Fox, the Boston being about a league to windward, while the Rainbow and Victor pursued the Hancock. The Fox was captured after a short action, the Boston keeping aloof, and eventually escaping. The wind fell, and Captain Manly was induced to lighten his ship. This destroyed her trim, and it is thought occasioned her loss. She was captured by the Rainbow and the Victor. The enemy took the Hancock into their service, calling her the Iris. She proved to be one of the fastest vessels they had, but was eventually taken by the French in the West-Indies. Capt. M'Neil was dismissed the service for his bad conduct on these two occasions.

The occupation of Philadelphia by the British army, this year, wrought a material change in the naval arrangements of the country. Up to this time, the Delaware had been a safe place of retreat for the different cruisers, and ships had been constructed on its banks in security and to advantage. Philadelphia offered unusual facilities for such objects, and many public and private armed cruisers had been equipped at her wharves, previously to the appearance of the British forces under Sir William Howe. That important event completely altered the state of things, and the vessels that were in the stream at the time, were compelled to move higher up the river, or to get to sea in the best manner they could. Unfortunately, several of the ships constructed, or purchased, under the laws of 1775 were not in a situation to adopt the latter expedient, and they were carried to different places that were supposed to offer the greatest security.

As a part of the American vessels and galleys were above, and a part below the town, the very day after reaching the capital, the English commenced the erection of batteries to intercept the communications between them. Aware of the consequences, the Delaware 24, Captain Alexander, and the Andrea Doria 14, seconded by some other vessels, belonging to the navy, and to the State of Pennsylvania, moved in front of these works, and opened a cannonade, with a view to destroy them. The Delaware was so unfortunately placed, that when the tide fell, she took the ground, and her guns became unmanageable. Some field-pieces were brought to bear on her, while in this helpless situation, and she necessarily struck. The other vessels were compelled to retire.

As the command of the river was indispensable to the British, they now turned their attention at once to the destruction

of the American works below the town. An unsuccessful land attack was made by the Hessians, on Red Bank, and this was soon followed by another on Fort Mifflin, which, as it was entrusted to the shipping, comes more properly within our observation. With a view to effect the reduction or abandonment of Fort Mifflin, the British assembled a squadron of ships of a light draft of water, among which was the Augusta 64, which had been partially stripped, and fitted in some measure as a floating battery. As soon as the troops advanced against Red Bank, as stated, the ships began to move, but some chevaux de frise anchored in the river, had altered its channel, and the Augusta, and the Merlin sloop of war, got fast, in unfavourable positions. Some firing between the other vessels and the American works and galleys now took place, but was soon put a stop to by the approach of night. The next day the action was renewed with spirit, the Roebuck 44, Isis 32, Pearl 32, and Liverpool 28, being present, in addition to the Augusta and Merlin. Fire-ships were ineffectually employed by the Americans, but the cannonade became heavy. In the midst of the firing, it is said that some pressed hay, which had been secured on the quarter of the Augusta, to render her shot-proof, took fire, and the ship was soon in flames. It now became necessary to withdraw the other vessels, in order to escape the effects of the explosion, and the attack was abandoned. The Augusta blew up, and the Merlin having been set on fire by the British shared the same fate. A number of the crew of the Augusta were lost in that ship, the conflagration being so rapid as to prevent their removal. A second and better-concerted attack, however, shortly after, compelled the Americans to evacuate the works, when the enemy got command of the river from the capes to the town. This state of things induced the Americans to destroy the few sea vessels that remained below Philadelphia, among which were the U. S. brig Andrea Doria 14, and schooner Wasp 8, and it is believed the Hornet 10; though the galleys, by following the Jersey shore, were enabled to escape above.

While these important movements were occurring in the middle states, the Raleigh, a fine twelve-pounder frigate, that had been constructed in New Hampshire, under the law of 1775, was enabled to get to sea for the first time. She was commanded by Captain Thompson, and sailed in company with the Alfred 24, Captain Hinman. These two ships went

to sea, short of men, bound to France, where military stores were in waiting to be transported to America.

The Raleigh and Alfred had a good run off the coast, and they made several prizes of little value during the first few days of their passage. On the 2d of September they overtook and captured a snow, called the Nancy, which had been left by the outward-bound Windward Island fleet, the previous day. Ascertaining from his prisoners the position of the West-Indiamen, Captain Thompson made sail in chase. The fleet was under the charge of the Camel, Druid, Weasel, and Grasshopper, the first of which is said to have had an armament of twelve-pounders. The following day, or September 3d, 1777, the Raleigh made the convoy from her mast-heads, and by sunset was near enough to ascertain that there were sixty sail, as well as the positions of the men-of-war. Captain Thompson had got the signals of the fleet from his prize, and he now signalled the Alfred, as if belonging to the convoy. After dark he spoke his consort, and directed her commander to keep near him, it being his intention to run in among the enemy, and to lay the commodore aboard. At this time, the two American ships were to windward, but nearly astern.

In the course of the night the wind shifted to the northward, and the convoy hauled by the wind, bringing the American ships to leeward. At daylight the wind had freshened, and it became necessary to carry more sail than the Alfred (a tender-sided ship) could bear. Here occurred one of those instances of the unfortunate consequences which must always follow the employment of vessels of unequal qualities in the same squadron, or the employment of officers not trained in the same high school. The Alfred would not bear her canvass, and while the Raleigh fetched handsomely into the fleet, under double-reefed topsails, the former fell to leeward more than a league. Captain Thompson did not dare to shorten sail, lest his character might be suspected, and despairing of being supported by the Alfred, he stood boldly in among the British ships alone, where he hove his ship to, in order to permit the merchantmen astern to draw more ahead of him.

When his plan was laid, Captain Thompson filled away, and stood directly through the convoy, luffing up towards the vessel of war that was most to windward. In doing this he spoke several of the merchantmen, giving them orders how to steer, as if belonging himself to the fleet, and repeating all the commodore's signals. Up to this moment the Raleigh appears

to have escaped detection, nor had she had any signs of preparation about her, as her guns were housed, and her ports lowered.

Having obtained a weatherly position, the Raleigh now ran alongside of the vessel of war, and when within pistol-shot, she hauled up her courses, ran out her guns, set her ensign, and commanded the enemy to strike. So completely was this vessel taken by surprise, that the order threw her into great confusion, and even her sails got aback. The Raleigh seized this favourable moment to pour in a broadside, which was feebly returned. The enemy were soon driven from their guns, and the Raleigh fired twelve broadsides into the English ship in twenty minutes, scarcely receiving a shot in return. A heavy swell rendered the aim uncertain, but it was evident that the British vessel suffered severely, and this the more so, as she was of inferior force.

A squall had come on, and at first it shut in the two ships engaged. When it cleared away, the convoy was seen steering in all directions, in the utmost confusion; but the vessels of war, with several heavy well-armed West-Indiamen, tacked and hauled up for the Raleigh, leaving no doubt of their intentions to engage. The frigate lay by her adversary until the other vessels were so near, that it became absolutely necessary to quit her, and then she ran to leeward and joined the Alfred. Here she shortened sail, and waited for the enemy to come down, but it being dark, the British commodore tacked and hauled in among his convoy again. The Raleigh and Alfred kept near this fleet for several days; but no provocation could induce the vessels of war to come out of it, and it was finally abandoned.

The ship engaged by the Raleigh, proved to be the Druid 20, Captain Carteret. She was much cut up, and the official report of her commander, made her loss six killed, and twenty-six wounded. Of the latter, five died soon after the action, and among the wounded was her commander. The Druid was unable to pursue the voyage, and returned to England.

The Raleigh had three men killed and wounded in the engagement, and otherwise sustained but little injury.

On the 14th of June of this year, Congress first adopted the stars and stripes as the national flag.

CHAPTER VIII.

The year 1778 opened with still more cheerful prospects for the great cause of American Independence; the capture of Burgoyne, and the growing discontents in Europe, rendering a French alliance, and a European war, daily more probable. These events, in truth, soon after followed; and from that moment, the entire policy of the United States, as related to its marine, was changed. Previously to this great event, Congress had often turned its attention towards the necessity of building or purchasing vessels of force, in order to counteract the absolute control which the enemy possessed, in the immediate waters of the country, and which even superseded the necessity of ordinary blockades, as two or three heavy frigates had been able, at any time since the commencement of the struggle, to command the entrance of the different bays and sounds.

The French fleet, soon after the commencement of hostilities between England and France, appeared in the American seas, and, in a measure, relieved the country from a species of warfare that was particularly oppressive to a nation that was then so poor, and which was exposed on so great an extent of coast.

As the occupation of New York and Philadelphia prevented several of the new frigates from getting to sea at all, or occasioned their early loss, Congress had endeavoured to repair these deficiencies by causing other vessels to be built, or purchased, at points where they would be out of danger from any similar misfortunes. Among these ships were the Alliance 32, Confederacy 32, Deane 32, (afterwards called the Hague,) and Queen of France 28, all frigate-built, and the Ranger, Gates, and Saratoga sloops of war. To these were added a few other vessels, that were either bought or borrowed in Europe. The Alliance, which, as her name indicates, was launched about the time the treaty was made with France, was the favourite ship of the American navy, and it might be added, of the American nation, during the war of the Revolution; filling some such space in the public mind, as has since been occupied by her more celebrated successor, the Constitution.

She was a beautiful and an exceedingly fast ship, but, as will be seen in the sequel, was rendered less efficient than she might otherwise have proved, by the mistake of placing her under the command of a French officer, with a view to pay a compliment to the new allies of the republic. This unfortunate selection produced mutinies, much discontent among the officers, and, in the end, grave irregularities. The Alliance was built at Salisbury, in Massachusetts, a place that figured as a building station, even in the seventeenth century.

The naval operations of the year open with a gallant little exploit, achieved by the United States sloop Providence, 12, Captain Rathburne. This vessel carried only four-pounders, and, at the time, is said to have had a crew of but fifty men on board. Notwithstanding this trifling force, Captain Rathburne made a descent on the Island of New Providence, at the head of twenty-five men. He was joined by a few American prisoners, less than thirty, it is said, and, while a privateer of sixteen guns, with a crew of near fifty men, lay in the harbour, he seized the forts, got possession of the stores, and effectually obtained command of the place. All the vessels in port, six in number, fell into his hands, and an attempt of the armed population to overpower him, was suppressed, by a menace to burn the town. A British sloop of war appeared off the harbour, while the Americans were in possession, but, ascertaining that an enemy was occupying the works, she retired, after having been fired on. The following day, the people assembled in such force, as seriously to threaten the safety of his party and vessel, and Captain Rathburne caused the guns of the fort to be spiked, removed all the ammunition and small-arms, burned two of his prizes, and sailed with the remainder, without leaving a man behind him. In this daring little enterprise, the Americans held the place two entire days.

Captain John Barry, whose spirited action off the capes of Virginia, in the Lexington 14, has been mentioned, and whose capture of the Edward, on that occasion, is worthy of note, as having been the first of any vessel of war, that was ever made by a regular American cruiser in battle, was placed on the regulated list of October, 1776, as the seventh captain, and appointed to the command of the Effingham 28, then building at Philadelphia. The Effingham was one of the vessels that had been taken up the Delaware, to escape from the British army; and this gallant officer, wearied with a life of inactivity, planned an expedition down the stream, in the hope of striking

a blow at some of the enemy's vessels anchored off, or below the town. Manning four boats, he pulled down with the tide. Some alarm was given when opposite the town, but dashing ahead, two barges got past without injury. Off Port Penn lay an enemy's schooner of ten guns, and four transports, with freight for the British army. The schooner was boarded and carried, without loss, and the transports fell into the hands of the Americans also. Two cruisers appearing soon after in the river, however, Captain Barry destroyed his prizes, and escaped by land, without losing a man.

Following the order of time, we now return to the movements of the two ships under the command of Captain Thompson, the Raleigh and the Alfred. After taking in military stores in France, these vessels sailed for America, making a circuit to the southward, in order to avoid the enemy's vessels of force, and to pick up a few prizes by the way. They sailed from l'Orient in February, 1778, and on the 9th of March, were chased by the British ships Ariadne and Ceres, which succeeded in getting alongside of the Alfred, and engaging her, while the Raleigh was at a distance. Believing a contest fruitless, after exchanging a few broadsides, the Alfred struck; but the Raleigh, though hard pressed, in the chase that succeeded, made her escape. Captain Thompson was blamed in the journals of the day, for not aiding his consort on this occasion; and he appears to have been superseded in the command of his ship, to await the result of a trial.

Among the frigates ordered by the act of 1775, was one called the Virginia 28, which had been laid down in Maryland. To this vessel was assigned Captain James Nicholson, the senior captain on the list, an officer who had already manifested conduct and spirit in an affair with one of the enemy's tenders off Annapolis, while serving in the local marine of Maryland. The great embarrassment which attended most of the public measures of the day, and a vigilant blockade, prevented the Virginia from getting to sea, until the spring of this year, when having received her crew and equipments, she made the attempt on the 30th of March.

The frigate appears to have followed another vessel down the Chesapeake, under the impression that the best pilot of the bay was in charge of her. About three in the morning, however, she struck on the middle ground, over which she beat with the loss of her rudder. The ship was immediately anchored. Day discovered two English vessels of war at no

great distance, when Captain Nicholson got ashore with his papers, and the ship was taken possession of by the enemy. An inquiry, instituted by Congress, acquitted Captain Nicholson of blame.

Leaving the ocean, we will again turn our attention to the proceedings of the enemy in the Delaware. Early in May, an expedition left Philadelphia, under the command of Major Maitland, and ascended that river with a view to destroy the American shipping, which had been carried up it to escape the invading and successful army of the enemy. The force consisted of the schooners Viper and Pembroke; the Hussar, Cornwallis, Ferret, and Philadelphia galleys; four gun-boats, and eighteen flat-boats, under the orders of Captain Henry of the navy. The 2d battalion of the light-infantry, and two field-pieces composed the troops. Ascending the stream to a point above Bristol, the troops landed, without opposition. There does not appear to have been any force to oppose the British on this occasion, or, if any, one of so little moment, as to put a serious contest out of the question. The Washington 32, and Effingham 28, both of which had been built at Philadelphia, but had never got to sea, were burned. These ships had not yet received their armaments.

About this time the celebrated Paul Jones, whose conduct as a lieutenant in the Alfred, and in command of that ship, as well as in that of the Providence 12, had attracted much attention, appeared in the European seas in command of the Ranger 18. So cautious had the American government become, in consequence of the British remonstrances, that orders were given to the Ranger to conceal her armament while in France.

After going into Brest to refit, Captain Jones sailed from port on the 10th of April, 1778, on a cruise in the Irish Channel. As the Ranger passed along the coast, she made several prizes, and getting as high as Whitehaven, Captain Jones determined, on the 17th, to make an attempt to burn the colliers that were crowded in that narrow port. The weather, however, prevented the execution of this project, and the ship proceeded as high as Glentine bay, on the coast of Scotland, where she chased a revenue vessel without success.

Quitting the Scottish coast, the Ranger next crossed to Ireland, and arrived off Carrickfergus, where she was boarded by some fishermen. From these men Captain Jones ascertained that the Drake sloop of war, Captain Burden, a vessel of a force about equal to that of the Ranger, lay anchored in the

roads, and he immediately conceived a plan to run in and take her. Preparations were accordingly made to attempt the enterprise as soon as it was dark.

It blew fresh in the night, but when the proper hour had arrived, the Ranger stood for the roads, having accurately obtained the bearings of her enemy. The orders of Captain Jones were to overlay the cable of the Drake, and to bring up on her bows, where he intended to secure his own ship, and abide the result. By some mistake, the anchor was not let go in season, and instead of fetching up in the desired position, the Ranger could not be checked until she had drifted on the quarter of the Drake, at the distance of half a cable's length. Perceiving that his object was defeated, Captain Jones ordered the cable to be cut, when the ship drifted astern, and, making sail, she hauled by the wind as soon as possible. The gale increasing, it was with great difficulty that the Ranger weathered the land, and regained the channel.

Captain Jones now stood over to the English coast, and believing the time more favourable, he attempted to execute his former design on the shipping of Whitehaven. Two parties landed in the night; the forts were seized and the guns were spiked; the few look-outs that were in the works being confined. In effecting this duty, Captain Jones was foremost in person, for, having once sailed out of the port, he was familiar with the place. An accident common to both the parties into which the expedition had been divided, came near defeating the enterprise in the outset. They had brought candles in lanterns, as lights and torches, and, now that they were wanted for the latter purpose, it was found that they were all consumed. As the day was appearing, the party under Mr. Wallingford, one of the lieutenants, took to its boat without effecting any thing, while Captain Jones sent to a detached building and obtained a candle. He boarded a large ship, kindled a fire in her steerage, and by placing a barrel of tar over the spot, soon had the vessel in flames. The tide being out, this ship lay in the midst of more than a handred others, high and dry, and Captain Jones flattered himself with the hope of signally revenging the depredations that the enemy had so freely committed on the American coast. But, by this time, the alarm was effectually given, and the entire population appeared on the adjacent high ground, or were seen rushing in numbers towards the shipping. The latter were easily driven back by a show of force; and remaining a sufficient time, as he thought,

to make sure of an extensive conflagration, Captain Jones took to his boats and pulled towards his ship. Some guns were fired on the retiring boats without effect; but the people of the place succeeded in extinguishing the flames before the mischief became very extensive.

The hardihood, as well as the nature of this attempt, produced a great alarm along the whole English coast; and from that hour, even to this, the name of Jones, in the minds of the people of Whitehaven, is associated with audacity, destruction, and danger.

While cruising, with the utmost boldness, as it might be in the very heart of the British waters, with the coasts of the three kingdoms frequently in view at the same moment, Captain Jones, who was a native of the country, decided to make an attempt to seize the Earl of Selkirk, who had a seat on St. Mary's Isle, near the point where the Dee flows into the channel. A party landed, and got possession of the house, but its master was absent. The officer in command of the boats so far forgot himself as to bring away a quantity of the family plate, although no other injury was done, or any insult offered. This plate, the value of which did not exceed a hundred pounds, was subsequently purchased of the crew by Captain Jones, and returned to Lady Selkirk, with a letter expressive of his regrets at the occurrence.

After the landing mentioned, the Ranger once more steered towards Ireland, Captain Jones still keeping in view his design on the Drake, and arrived off Carrickfergus again, on the 24th. The commander of the latter ship sent out an officer, in one of his boats, to ascertain the character of the stranger. By means of skilful handling, the Ranger was kept end-on to the boat, and as the officer in charge of the latter could merely see the ship's stern, although provided with a glass, he suffered himself to be decoyed alongside, and was taken. From the prisoners, Captain Jones learned that intelligence of his descents on Whitehaven and St. Mary's Isle had reached Belfast, and that the people of the Drake had weighed the anchor he had lost in his attempt on that ship.

Under these circumstances, Captain Jones believed that the commander of the Drake would not long defer coming out in search of his boat; an expectation that was shortly realised, by the appearance of the English ship under way. The Ranger now filled and stood off the land, with a view to draw her enemy more into the channel, where she lay to, in waiting

for the latter to come on. Several small vessels accompanied the Drake, to witness the combat, and many volunteers had gone on board her, to assist in capturing the American privateer, as it was the fashion of the day to term the vessels of the young republic. The tide being unfavourable, the Drake worked out of the roads slowly, and night was approaching before she drew near the Ranger.

The Drake, when she got sufficiently nigh, hailed, and received the name of her antagonist, by way of challenge, with a request to come on. As the two ships were standing on, the Drake a little to leeward and astern, the Ranger put her helm up, a manœuvre that the enemy imitated, and the former gave the first broadside, firing as her guns bore. The wind admitted of but few changes, but the battle was fought running free, under easy canvass. It lasted an hour and four minutes, when the Drake called for quarter, her ensign being already down.

The English ship was much cut up, both in her hull and aloft, and Captain Jones computed her loss at about forty men. Her captain and lieutenant were both desperately wounded, and died shortly after the engagement. The Ranger suffered much less, having Lieutenant Wallingford and one man killed, and six wounded. The Drake was not only a heavier ship, but she had a much stronger crew than her antagonist. She had also two guns the most.

After securing her prize and repairing damages, the Ranger went round the north of Ireland, and shaped her course for Brest. She was chased repeatedly, but arrived safely at her port with the Drake, on the 8th of May.

Mr. Silas Talbot, of Rhode Island, who had been a seaman in his youth, had taken service in the army, and, October 10th, 1777, he had been raised to the rank of a Major, to reward him for a spirited attempt to set fire to one of the enemy's cruisers in the Hudson. In the autumn of the present year (1778), Major Talbot headed another expedition against the British schooner Pigot 8, then lying in the eastern passage between Rhode Island and the main land, in a small sloop that had two light guns, and which was manned by 60 volunteers. The Pigot had 45 men, and one heavy gun in her bows, besides the rest of her armament. Her commander showed great bravery, actually fighting alone on deck, in his shirt, when every man of his crew had run below. Major Talbot carried the schooner without loss, and for his conduct and gallantry

was promoted to be a Lieutenant-Colonel. The following year this officer was transferred to the navy, Congress passing an especial resolution to that effect, with directions to the Marine Committee to give him a ship on the first occasion. It does not appear, however, that it was in the power of the committee, at that period of the war, to appoint Captain Talbot to a government vessel, and he is believed to have served, subsequently, in a private armed ship.

In consequence of the investigation connected with the loss of the Alfred, Captain Thompson was relieved from the command of the Raleigh 32, as has been said already, and that ship was given to Captain Barry. Under the orders of her new commander, the Raleigh sailed from Boston on the 25th of September, at six in the morning, having a brig and a sloop under convoy. The wind was fresh at N. W., and the frigate ran off N. E. At twelve, two strange sail were seen to leeward, distant fifteen or sixteen miles. Orders were given to the convoy to haul nearer to the wind, and to crowd all the sail it could carry, the strangers in chase. After dark the Raleigh lost sight of the enemy, and the wind became light and variable. The Raleigh now cleared for action, and kept her people at quarters all night, having tacked towards the land. In the morning it proved to be hazy, and the strangers were not to be seen. The Raleigh was still standing towards the land, which she shortly after made ahead, quite near. About noon, the haze clearing away, the enemy were seen in the southern board, and to windward, crowding sail in chase. The weather became thick again, and the Raleigh lost sight of her two pursuers, when she hauled off to the eastward. That night no more was seen of the enemy, and at daylight Captain Barry took in every thing, with a view to conceal the position of the ship, which was permitted to drift under bare poles. Finding nothing visible at 6, A. M., the Raleigh crowded sail once more, and stood S. E. by S. But at half past 9, the two ships were again discovered astern, and in chase. The Raleigh now hauled close upon a wind, heading N. W., with her larboard tacks aboard. The enemy also came to the wind, all three vessels carrying hard with a staggering breeze. The Raleigh now fairly outsailed the strangers, running 11 knots 2 fathoms, on a dragged bowline.

Unfortunately, at noon the wind moderated, when the leading vessel of the enemy overhauled the Raleigh quite fast, and even the ship astern held way with her. At 4, P. M., the

Raleigh tacked to the westward, with a view to discover the force of the leading vessel of the enemy; and about the same time she made several low islands, the names of which were not known. At 5, P. M., the leading vessel of the enemy having nearly closed, the Raleigh edged away and crossed her fore foot, brailing her mizzen, and taking in her staysails. The enemy showed a battery of 14 guns of a side, including both decks, and set St. George's ensign. In passing, the Raleigh delivered her broadside, which was returned, when the stranger came up under the lee quarter of the American ship, and the action became steady and general. At the second fire, the Raleigh unfortunately lost her fore-topmast and mizzen top-gallant-mast, which gave the enemy a vast advantage in manœuvring throughout the remainder of the affair. Finding the broadside of the Raleigh getting to be too hot for him, the enemy soon shot ahead, and, for a short time, while the people of the former ship were clearing the wreck, he engaged to windward, and at a distance. Ere long, however, the English vessel edged away and attempted to rake the Raleigh, when Captain Barry bore up, and bringing the ships alongside each other, he endeavoured to board, a step that the other, favoured by all his canvass, and his superiority of sailing in a light breeze, easily avoided. By this time, the second ship had got so near as to render it certain she would very soon close, and, escape by flight being out of the question in the crippled condition of his ship, Captain Barry called a council of his officers. It was determined to make an attempt to run the frigate ashore, the land being then within a few miles. The Raleigh accordingly wore round, and stood for the islands already mentioned, her antagonist following her in the most gallant manner, both ships maintaining the action with spirit. About midnight, however, the enemy hauled off, and left the Raleigh to pursue her course towards the land. The engagement had lasted seven hours, much of the time in close action, and both vessels had suffered materially, the Raleigh in particular, in her spars, rigging, and sails. The darkness, soon after, concealing his ship, Captain Barry had some hopes of getting off among the islands, and was in the act of bending new sails for that purpose, when the enemy's vessels again came in sight, closing fast. The Raleigh immediately opened a brisk fire from her stern guns, and every human effort was made to force the ship towards the land. The enemy, however, easily closed again, and opened a heavy fire, which was

returned by the Raleigh until she grounded, when the largest of the enemy's ships immediately hauled off, to avoid a similar calamity, and, gaining a safe distance, both vessels continued their fire, from positions they had taken on the Raleigh's quarter. Captain Barry, finding that the island was rocky, and that it might be defended, determined to land, and to burn his ship; a project that was rendered practicable by the fact that the enemy had ceased firing, and anchored at the distance of about a mile. A large party of men got on shore, and the boats were about to return for the remainder, when it was discovered that, by the treachery of a petty officer, the ship had surrendered.

The officers and men on the island escaped, but the vessel was got off and placed in the British navy. The two ships that took the Raleigh were the Experiment 50, Captain Wallace, and the Unicorn 22. The latter mounted 28 guns, and was the ship that engaged the Raleigh so closely, so long, and so obstinately. She was much cut up, losing her masts after the action, and had 10 men killed, besides many wounded. The Americans had 25 men killed and wounded in the course of the whole affair.

CHAPTER IX.

THE year 1779 opens with the departure of the Alliance, 32, for France. It has already been stated that the command of this ship had been given to a Captain Landais, who was said to be a French officer of gallantry and merit. Unfortunately the prejudices of the seamen did not answer to the complaisance of the Marine Committee in this respect, and it was found difficult to obtain a crew willing to enlist under a French captain. When General Lafayette reached Boston near the close of 1778, in order to embark in the Alliance, it was found that the frigate was not yet manned. Desirous of rendering themselves useful to their illustrious guest, the government of Massachusetts offered to complete the ship's complement by impressment, an expedient that had been adopted on more than one occasion during the war; but the just-minded and benevo-

lent Lafayette would not consent to the measure. Anxious to sail, however, for he was entrusted with important interests, recourse was had to a plan to man the ship, which, if less objectionable on the score of principle, was scarcely less so in every other point of view.

The Somerset 64, had been wrecked on the coast of New England, and part of her crew had found their way to Boston. By accepting the proffered services of these men, those of some volunteers from among the prisoners, and those of a few French seamen that were also found in Boston after the departure of their fleet, a motley number was raised in sufficient time to enable the ship to sail on the 11th of January. With this incomplete and mixed crew, Lafayette trusted himself on the ocean, and the result was near justifying the worst forebodings that so ill-advised a measure could have suggested.

After a tempestuous passage, the Alliance got within two days' run of the English coast, when her officers and passengers, of the latter of whom there were many besides General Lafayette and his suite, received the startling information that a conspiracy existed among the English portion of the crew, some seventy or eighty men in all, to kill the officers, seize the vessel, and carry the frigate into England. With a view to encourage such acts of mutiny, the British Parliament had passed a law to reward all those crews that should run away with American ships; and this temptation was too strong for men whose service, however voluntary it might be in appearances, was probably reluctant, and which had been compelled by circumstances, if not by direct coercion.

The plot, however, was betrayed, and by the spirited conduct of the officers and passengers, the ringleaders were arrested.

On reaching Brest, the mutineers were placed in a French gaol, and after some delay, were exchanged as prisoners of war, without any other punishment; the noble-minded Lafayette, in particular, feeling averse to treating foreigners as it would have been a duty to treat natives under similar circumstances.

On the 18th of April, the U. S. ships Warren 32, Captain J. B. Hopkins, Queen of France 28, Captain Olney, and Ranger 18, Captain Simpson, sailed from Boston, in company, on a cruise; Captain Hopkins being the senior officer. When a few days from port, these vessels captured a British privateer of 14 guns, from the people of which they ascertained that a

small fleet of armed transports and store-ships had just sailed from New York, bound to Georgia, with supplies for the enemy's forces in that quarter. The three cruisers crowded sail in chase, and off Cape Henry, late in the day, they had the good fortune to come up with nine sail, seven of which they captured, with a trifling resistance. Favoured by the darkness, the two others escaped. The vessels taken proved to be his Britannic Majesty's ship Jason, 20, with a crew of 150 men; the Maria armed ship, of 16 guns, and 84 men; and the privateer schooner Hibernia, 8, with a crew of 45 men. The Maria had a full cargo of flour. In addition to these vessels, the brigs Patriot, Prince Frederick, Bachelor John, and the schooner Chance, all laden with stores, fell into the hands of the Americans. Among the prisoners were twenty-four British officers, who were on their way to join their regiments at the south.

The command of the Queen of France was now given to Captain Rathburne, when that ship sailed on another cruise, in company with the Ranger, and the Providence 28, Captain Whipple; the latter being the senior officer. In July, this squadron fell in with a large fleet of English merchantmen, that was convoyed by a ship of the line, and some smaller cruisers, and succeeded in cutting out several valuable prizes, of which eight arrived at Boston, their estimated value exceeding a million of dollars. In the way of pecuniary benefits, this was the most successful cruise made in the war.

Paul Jones had obtained so much celebrity for his services in the Ranger, that he remained in France, after the departure of his ship for America, in the hope of receiving a more important command, the inducement, indeed, which had originally brought him to Europe. Many different projects to this effect had been entertained and abandoned, during the years 1778 and 1779, by one of which a descent was to have been made on Liverpool, with a body of troops commanded by Lafayette. All of these plans, however, produced no results; and after many vexatious repulses in his applications for service, an arrangement was finally made to give this celebrated officer employment that was as singular in its outlines, as it proved to be inconvenient, not to say impracticable, in execution.

By a letter from M. de Sartine, the minister of the marine, dated February 4th, 1779, it appears that the King of France had consented to purchase and put at the disposition of Captain Jones, the Duras, an old Indiaman of some size, then lying at

l'Orient. To this vessel were added three more that were procured by means of M. le Ray de Chaumont, a banker of eminence connected with the court, and who acted on the occasion under the orders of the French ministry. Dr. Franklin, who, as minister of the United States, was supposed, in a legal sense, to direct the whole affair, added the Alliance 32, in virtue of the authority that he held from Congress. The vessels that were thus chosen, formed a little squadron, composed of the Duras, Alliance, Pallas, Cerf, and Vengeance. The Pallas was a merchantman bought for the occasion; the Vengeance a small brig that had also been purchased expressly for the expedition; the Cerf was a fine large cutter, and, with the exception of the Alliance, the only vessel of the squadron fitted for war. All the ships but the Alliance were French-built, and they were placed under the American flag, by the following arrangement.

The officers received appointments, which were to remain valid for a limited period only, from Dr. Franklin, who had been blank commissions to be filled up at his own discretion, ever since his arrival in Europe, while the vessels were to show the American ensign, and no other. In short, the French ships were to be considered as American ships, during this particular service, and when it was terminated, they were to revert to their former owners. The laws and provisions of the American navy were to govern, and command was to be exercised, and to descend, agreeably to its usages. Such officers as already had rank in the American service, were to take precedence of course, agreeably to the dates of their respective commissions, while the new appointments were to be regulated by the new dates. By an especial provision, Captain Jones was to be commander-in-chief, a post he would have been entitled to fill by his original commission; Captain Landais of the Alliance, the only other regular captain in the squadron, being his junior. The joint right of the American minister and of the French government, to instruct the commodore, and to direct the movements of the squadron, was also recognised.

From what source the money was actually obtained by which this squadron was fitted out, is not actually known, nor is it now probable that it will ever be accurately ascertained. Although the name of the king was used, it is not impossible that private adventure was at the bottom of the enterprise, though it seems certain that the government was so far con-

cerned as to procure the vessels, and to a certain extent to lend the use of its stores. Dr. Franklin expressly states, that he made no advances for any of the ships employed.

As every thing connected with this remarkable enterprise has interest, we shall endeavour to give the reader a better idea of the materials, physical and moral, that composed the force of Commodore Jones, in this memorable cruise.

After many vexatious delays, the Duras, her name having been changed to that of the Bon Homme Richard, in compliment to Dr. Franklin, was eventually equipped and manned. Directions had been given to cast the proper number of eighteen-pounders for her; but, it being ascertained that there would not be time to complete this order, some old twelves were procured in their places. With this material change in the armament, the Richard, as she was familiarly called by the seamen, got ready for sea. She was, properly, a single-decked ship; or carried her armament on one gun-deck, with the usual additions on the quarter-deck and forecastle; but Commodore Jones, with a view to attacking some of the larger convoys of the enemy, caused twelve ports to be cut in the gun-room below, where six old eighteen-pounders were mounted, it being his intention to fight all the guns on one side, in smooth water. The height of the ship admitted of this arrangement, though it was foreseen that these guns could not be of much use, except in very moderate weather, or when engaging to leeward. On her main, or proper gun-deck, the ship had twenty-eight ports, the regular construction of an English 38, agreeably to the old mode of rating. Here the twelve-pounders were placed. On the quarter-deck and forecastle, were mounted eight nines, making in all a mixed and rather light armament of 42 guns. If the six eighteens were taken away, the force of the Bon Homme Richard, so far as her guns were concerned, would have been about equal to that of a 32 gun frigate. The vessel was clumsily constructed, having been built many years before, and had one of those high old-fashioned poops, that caused the sterns of the ships launched in the early part of the eighteenth century to resemble towers.

To manage a vessel of this singular armament and doubtful construction, Commodore Jones was compelled to receive on board a crew of a still more equivocal composition. A few Americans were found to fill the stations of sea-officers, on the quarter-deck and forward; but the remainder of the people were a mixture of English, Irish, Scotch, Portuguese, Norwegians,

Germans, Spaniards, Swedes, Italians and Malays, with occasionally a man from one of the islands. To keep this motley crew in order, one hundred and thirty-five soldiers were put on board, under the command of some officers of inferior rank. These soldiers, or marines, were recruited at random, and were not much less singularly mixed, as to countries, than the regular crew.

As the squadron was about to sail, M. Le Ray appeared at l'Orient, and presented an agreement, or *concordat* as it was termed, for the signature of all the commanders. To this singular compact, which in some respects, reduced a naval expedition to the level of a partnership, Commodore Jones ascribed much of the disobedience among his captains, of which he subsequently complained.

On the 19th of June, 1779, the ships sailed from the anchorage under the Isle of Groix, off l'Orient, bound to the southward, with a few transports and coasters under their convoy. These vessels were seen into their several places of destination, in the Garonne, Loire, and other ports, but not without the commencement of that course of disobedience of orders, unseamanlike conduct, and neglect, which so signally marked the whole career of this ill-assorted force. While lying to, off the coast, the Alliance, by palpable mismanagement, got foul of the Richard, and lost her mizzen-mast; carrying away, at the same time, the head, cut-water, and jib-boom of the latter. It now became necessary to return to port to refit.

While steering northerly again, the Cerf cutter was sent in chase of a strange sail, and parted company. The next morning she engaged a small English cruiser of 14 guns, and after a sharp conflict of more than an hour, obliged her to strike, but was compelled to abandon her prize in consequence of the appearance of a vessel of superior force. The Cerf, with a loss of several men killed and wounded, made the best of her way to l'Orient.

On the 22d, three enemy's vessels of war came in sight of the squadron, and having the wind, they ran down in a line abreast; when, most probably deceived by the height and general appearance of the Richard, they hauled up, and by carrying a press of sail, escaped.

On the 26th, the Alliance and Pallas parted company with the Richard, leaving that ship with no other consort than the

Vengeance brig. On reaching the Penmarks, the designated rendezvous, the missing vessels did not appear. On the 29th, the Vengeance having made the best of her way for the roads of Groix by permission, the Richard fell in with two more of the enemy's cruisers, which, after some indications of an intention to come down, also ran, no doubt under the impression that the American frigate was a ship of two decks. On this occasion Commodore Jones expressed himself satisfied with the spirit of his crew, the people manifesting a strong wish to engage. On the last of the month, the Richard returned to the roads from which she had sailed, and anchored. The Alliance and Pallas came in also.

Another delay occurred. A court was convened to inquire into the conduct of Captain Landais of the Alliance, and of other officers, in running foul of the Richard, and both ships underwent repairs. Luckily a cartel arrived from England, at this moment, bringing with her more than a hundred exchanged American seamen, most of whom joined the squadron. This proved to be a great and important accession to the composition of the crew of not only the Richard, but to that of the Alliance, the latter ship having been but little better off than the former in this particular. Among those who came from the English prisons, was Mr. Richard Dale, who had been taken as a master's mate in the Lexington 14. This young officer did not reach France in the cartel, however, but had previously escaped from Mill prison and joined the Richard. Commodore Jones had now become sensible of his merit, and in reorganizing his crew, he had him promoted, and rated him as his first lieutenant. The Richard had now nearly a hundred Americans in her, and, with the exception of the commodore himself and one midshipman, all her quarter-deck sea-officers were of the number. Many of the petty officers too, were Americans. In a letter written August the 11th, Commodore Jones states that the crew of the Richard consisted of 380 souls, including 137 marines or soldiers.

On the 14th of August, 1779, the squadron sailed a second time from the roads of Groix, having the French privateers Monsieur and Granville in company, and under the orders of Commodore Jones. On the 18th a valuable prize was taken, and some difficulties arising with the commander of the Monsieur in consequence, the latter parted company in the night of the 19th. This was a serious loss in the way of force, that ship having mounted no less than forty guns. A prize

was also taken on the 21st. On the 23d, the ships were off Cape Clear, and, while towing the Richard's head round in a calm, the crew of a boat manned by Englishmen, cut the tow-line, and escaped. Mr. Cutting Lunt, the sailing-master of the ship, manned another boat, and taking with him four soldiers, he pursued the fugitives. A fog coming on, the latter boat was not able to find the ships again, and her people fell into the hands of the enemy. Through this desertion and its immediate consequences, the Richard lost twenty of her best men.

The day after the escape of the boat, the Cerf was sent close in to reconnoitre, and to look for the missing people, and owing to some circumstance that has never been explained, but which does not appear to have left any reproach upon her commander, this vessel never rejoined the squadron.

A gale of wind followed, during which the Alliance and Pallas separated, and the Granville parted company to convoy a prize, according to orders. The separation of the Pallas is explained by the fact that she had broken her tiller; but that of the Alliance can only be imputed to the unofficerlike, as well as unseamanlike, conduct of her commander. On the morning of the 27th, the brig Vengeance was the only vessel in company with the commodore.

On the morning of the 31st of August, the Bon Homme Richard, being off Cape Wrath, captured a large letter of marque bound from London to Quebec; a circumstance that proves the expedients to which the English ship-masters were then driven to avoid capture, this vessel having actually gone north-about to escape the cruisers on the ordinary track. While in chase of the letter of marque, the Alliance hove in sight having another London ship, a Jamaica-man, in company as a prize. Captain Landais, of the Alliance, an officer, who, as it has since been ascertained, had been obliged to quit the French navy on account of a singularly unfortunate temper, now began to exhibit a disorganising and mutinous spirit, pretending, as his ship was the only real American vessel in the squadron, that he was superior to the orders of the commodore, and that he would do as he pleased with that frigate.

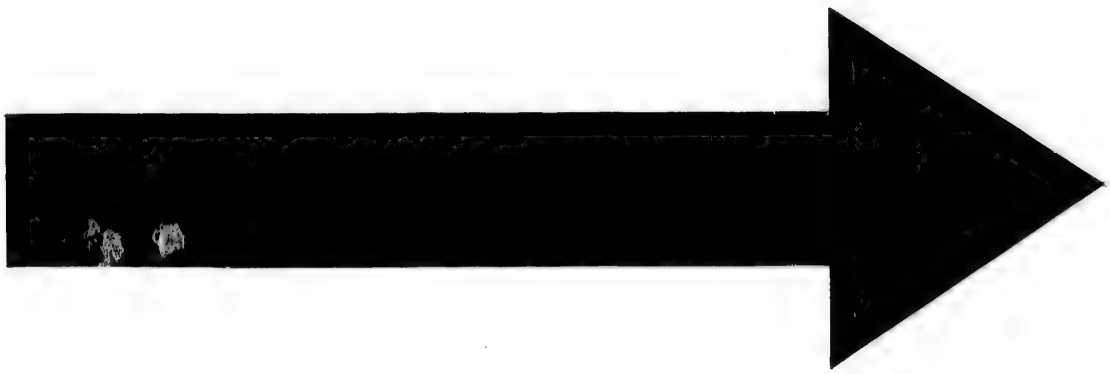
In the afternoon a strange sail was made, and the Richard showed the Alliance's number, with an order to chase. Instead of obeying this signal, Captain Landais wore and laid the head of his ship in a direction opposite to that necessary to execute the order. Several other signals were disobeyed

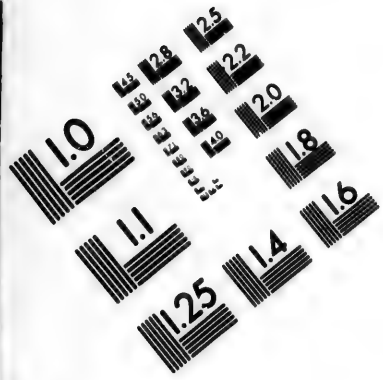
in an equally contemptuous manner, and the control of Commodore Jones over the movements of this ship, which, on the whole, ought to have been the most efficient in the squadron, may be said to have ceased.

Commodore Jones now shaped his course for the second rendezvous he had appointed, in the hope of meeting the missing ships. On the 2d of September, the Pallas rejoined, having captured nothing. Between this date and the 13th of September, the squadron continued its course round Scotland, the ships separating and rejoining constantly, and Captain Landais assuming powers over the prizes, as well as over his own vessel, that were altogether opposed to discipline, and to the usages of every regular marine. On the last day named, the Cheviot Hills were visible.

Understanding that a twenty-gun ship with two or three man-of-war cutters were lying at anchor off Leith, in the Frith of Forth, Commodore Jones now planned a descent on that town. At this time the Alliance was absent, and the Pallas and Vengeance having chased to the southward, the necessity of communicating with those vessels produced a delay fatal to a project which had been admirably conceived, and which there is reason to think might have succeeded. After joining his two subordinates, and giving his orders, Commodore Jones beat into the Frith, and continued working up towards Leith, until the 17th, when, being just out of gun-shot of the town, the boats were got out and manned. The troops to be landed were commanded by M. de Chamilliard; while Mr. Dale, of the Richard, was put at the head of the seamen. The latter had received his orders, and was just about to go into his boat, when a squall struck the ships, and was near dismasting the commodore. Finding himself obliged to fill his sails, Commodore Jones endeavoured to keep the ground he had gained, but the weight of the wind finally compelled all the vessels to bear up, and a severe gale succeeding, they were driven into the North Sea, where one of the prizes foundered.

It is not easy to say what would have been the result of this dashing enterprise, had the weather permitted the attempt. The audacity of the measure might have insured a victory; and in the whole design we discover the decision, high moral courage, and deep enthusiasm of the officer who conceived it. It was the opinion of Mr. Dale, a man of singular modesty, great simplicity of character, and prudence, that success would have rewarded the effort.





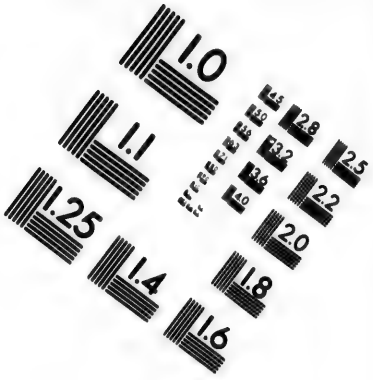
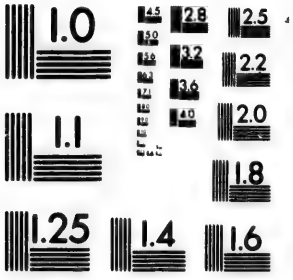
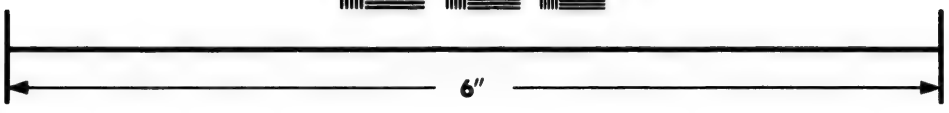
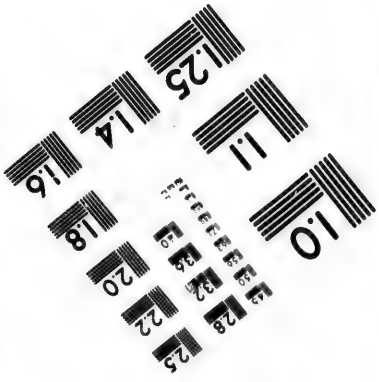


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
3.2
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

Abandoning this bold project with reluctance, Commodore Jones appears to have meditated another still more daring; but his *colleagues*, as he bitterly styles his captains in one of his letters, refused to join in it. It is worthy of remark, that when Commodore Jones laid this second scheme, which has never been explained, before the young sea-officers of his own ship, they announced their readiness as one man to second him, heart and hand. The enterprise was dropped, however, in consequence principally of the objections of Captain Cottineau, of the Pallas, an officer for whose judgment the commodore appears to have entertained much respect.

The Pallas and Vengeance even left the Richard, probably with a view to prevent the attempt to execute this nameless scheme, and the commodore was compelled to follow his captains to the southward, or to lose them altogether. Off Whitby the ships last named joined again, and on the 21st the Richard chased a collier ashore between Flamborough Head and the Spurn. The next day the Richard appeared in the mouth of the Humber, with the Vengeance in company; and several vessels were taken or destroyed. Pilots were enticed on board, and a knowledge of the state of things in-shore was obtained. It appeared that the whole coast was alarmed, and that many persons were actually burying their plate. Some twelve or thirteen vessels in all had now been taken by the squadron, and quite as many more destroyed; and coupling these facts with the appearance of the ships on the coast and in the Frith, rumour had swelled the whole into one of its usual terrific tales. Perhaps no vessels of war had ever before excited so much alarm on the coast of Great Britain.

Under the circumstances, Commodore Jones did not think it prudent to remain so close in with the land, and he stood out towards Flamborough Head. Here two large sail were made, which next day proved to be the Alliance and the Pallas. This was on the 23d of September, and brings us down to the most memorable event in this extraordinary cruise.

The wind was light at the southward, the water smooth, and many vessels were in sight steering in different directions. About noon, his original squadron, with the exception of the Cerf and the two privateers, being all in company, Commodore Jones manned one of the pilot-boats he had detained, and sent her in chase of a brig that was lying-to, to windward. On board this little vessel were put Mr. Lunt, the second lieutenant, and fifteen men, all of whom were out of the ship for

the rest of the day. In consequence of the loss of the two boats off Cape Clear, the absence of this party in the pilot-boat, and the number of men that had been put in prizes, the Richard was now left with only one sea-lieutenant, and with little more than three hundred souls on board, exclusively of the prisoners. Of the latter, there were between one and two hundred in the ship.

The pilot-boat had hardly left the Bon Homme Richard, when the leading ships of a fleet of more than forty sail were seen stretching out on a bowline, from behind Flamborough Head, turning down towards the Straits of Dover. From previous intelligence this fleet was immediately known to contain the Baltic ships, under the convoy of the Serapis 44, Captain Richard Pearson, and a hired ship that had been put into the King's service, called the Countess of Scarborough. The latter was commanded by Captain Piercy, and mounted 22 guns. As the interest of the succeeding details will chiefly centre in the Serapis and the Richard, it may be well to give a more minute account of the actual force of the former.

At the period of which we are now writing, forty-fours were usually built on two decks. Such, then, was the construction of this ship, which was new, and had the reputation of being a fast vessel. On her lower gun-deck she mounted 20 eighteen-pound guns; on her upper gun-deck, 20 nine-pound guns; and on her quarter-deck and forecastle, 10 six-pound guns; making an armament of 50 guns in the whole. She had a regularly trained man-of-war's crew of 320 souls, 15 of whom, however, were said to have been Lascars.

When the squadron made this convoy, the men-of-war were in-shore, astern and to leeward, probably with a view to keep the merchantmen together. The bailiffs of Scarborough, perceiving the danger into which this little fleet was running, had sent a boat off to the Serapis to apprise her of the presence of a hostile force; and Captain Pierson fired two guns, signalling the leading vessels to come under his lee. These orders were disregarded, however, the headmost ships standing out until they were about a league from the land.

Commodore Jones having ascertained the character of the fleet in sight, showed a signal for a general chase, another to recall the lieutenant in the pilot-boat, and crossed royal yards on board the Richard. These signs of hostility alarmed the nearest English ships, which hurriedly tacked together, fired alarm guns, let fly their top-gallant sheets, and made other

signals of the danger they were in, while they now gladly availed themselves of the presence of the vessels of war, to run to leeward, or sought shelter closer in with the land. The Serapis, on the contrary, signalled the Scarborough to follow, and hauled boldly out to sea, until she had got far enough to windward, when she tacked and stood in-shore again, to cover her convoy.

The Alliance being much the fastest vessel of the American squadron, took the lead in the chase, speaking the Pallas as she passed. It has been proved that Captain Landais told the commander of the latter vessel on this occasion, that if the stranger proved to be a fifty, they had nothing to do but to endeavour to escape. His subsequent conduct fully confirmed this opinion, for no sooner had he run down near enough to the two English vessels of war, to ascertain their force, than he hauled up, and stood off from the land again. All this was not only contrary to the regular order of battle, but contrary to the positive command of Commodore Jones, who had kept the signal to form a line abroad, which should have brought the Alliance astern of the Richard, and the Pallas in the van. Just at this time, the Pallas spoke the Richard and inquired what station she should take, and was also directed to form the line. But the extraordinary movements of Captain Landais appear to have produced some indecision in the commander of the Pallas, as he, too, soon after tacked and stood off from the land. Captain Cottineau, however, was a brave man, and subsequently did his duty in the action; and this manœuvre has been explained by the Richard's hauling up suddenly for the land, which induced him to think that her crew had mutinied and were running away with the ship. Such was the want of confidence that prevailed in a fo[illegible] so singularly composed, and such were the disadvantages [illegible]er which this celebrated combat was fought!

So far, however, from meditating retreat or mutiny, the people of the Bon Homme Richard had gone cheerfully to their quarters, although every man on board was conscious of the superiority of the force with which they were about to contend; and the high unconquerable spirit of the commander appears to have communicated itself to the crew.

It was now quite dark, and Commodore Jones was compelled to follow the movements of the enemy by the aid of a night-glass. It is probable that the obscurity which prevailed added to the indecision of the commander of the Pallas, for from

this time until the moon rose, objects at a distance were distinguished with difficulty, and even after the moon appeared, with uncertainty. The Richard, however, stood steadily on, and about half-past seven, she came up with the Serapis, the Scarborough being a short distance to leeward. The American ship was to windward, and as she drew slowly near, Captain Pearson hailed. The answer was equivocal, and both ships delivered their entire broadsides nearly simultaneously. The water being quite smooth, Commodore Jones had relied materially on the eighteens that were in the gun-room; but at this discharge two of the six that were fired bursted, blowing up the deck above, and killing and wounding a large proportion of the people that were stationed below. This disaster caused all the heavy guns to be instantly deserted. It at once reduced the broadside of the Richard to about a third less than that of her opponent, not to include the disadvantage of the manner in which the force that remained was distributed among light guns. In short, the combat was now between a twelve-pounder and an eighteen-pounder frigate; a species of contest in which, it has been said, we know not with what truth, the former had never been known to prevail. Commodore Jones informs us himself, that all his hopes, after this accident, rested on the twelve-pounders that were under the command of his first lieutenant.

The Richard, having lacked her topsails, exchanged several broadsides, when she filled again and shot ahead of the Serapis, which ship luffed across her stern and came up on the weather quarter of her antagonist, taking the wind out of her sails, and, in her turn, passing ahead. All this time, which consumed half an hour, the cannonading was close and furious. The Scarborough now drew near, but it is uncertain whether she fired or not. On the side of the Americans it is affirmed that she raked the Richard at least once; but, by the report of her own commander, it would appear that, on account of the obscurity and the smoke, he was afraid to discharge his guns. Unwilling to lie by, and to be exposed to useless injury, Captain Piercy edged away from the combatants, exchanging a broadside or two, at a great distance, with the Alliance, and shortly afterwards was engaged at close quarters by the Pallas, which ship compelled him to strike, after a creditable resistance of about an hour.

The Serapis kept her luff, sailing and working better than the Richard, and it was the intention of Captain Pearson to

pay broad off across the latter's fore-foot, as soon as he had got far enough ahead; but making the attempt, and finding he had not room, he put his helm hard down to keep clear of his adversary, when the double movement brought the two ships nearly in a line, the Serapis leading. By these uncertain evolutions, the English ship lost some of her way, while the American, having kept her sails trimmed, not only closed, but actually ran aboard of her antagonist, bows on, a little on her weather quarter. The wind being light, much time was consumed in these different manœuvres; and near an hour had elapsed between the firing of the first guns, and the moment when the vessels got foul of each other in the manner just described.

The English now thought it was the intention of the Americans to board, and a few minutes passed in the uncertainty which such an expectation would create; but the positions of the vessels were not favourable for either party to pass into the opposing ship. There being at this moment a perfect cessation of the firing, Captain Pearson demanded, "Have you struck your colours?" "I have not yet begun to fight," was the answer.

The yards of the Richard were braced aback, and, the sails of the Serapis being full, the ships separated. As soon as far enough asunder, the Serapis put her helm hard down, laid all aback forward, shivered her after-sails, and wore short round on her heel, or was box-hauled, with a view, most probably, of luffing up athwart the bow of her enemy, in order to again rake her. Commodore Jones, by this time, was conscious of the hopelessness of success against so much heavier metal, and after having backed astern some distance, he filled on the other tack, luffing up with the intention of meeting the enemy as he came to the wind, and of laying him athwart hawse. In the smoke one party or the other miscalculated the distance, for the two vessels came foul again, the bowsprit of the English ship passing over the poop of the American. As neither had much way, the collision did but little injury, and Commodore Jones, with his own hands, immediately lashed the enemy's head-gear to his mizzen-mast. The pressure on the after-sails of the Serapis, which vessel was nearly before the wind at the time, brought her hull round, and the two ships gradually fell close alongside of each other, head and stern, the jib-boom of the Serapis giving way with the strain. A spare anchor of the English ship now hooked in the quarter of the

American, and additional lashings were got out on board the latter to secure her in this position.

Captain Pearson, who was as much aware of his advantage in a regular combat as his opponent could be of his own inferiority, no sooner perceived the vessels foul, than he dropped an anchor, in the hope that the Richard would drift clear of him. But such an expectation was perfectly futile, as the yards were interlocked, the hulls were pressed close against each other, there were lashings fore and aft, and even the ornamental work aided in holding the ships together. When the cables of the Serapis took the strain, the vessels slowly tended, with the bows of the Serapis and the stern of the Richard to the tide. At this instant the English made an attempt to board, but were repulsed with trifling loss.

All this time the battle raged. The lower ports of the Serapis having been closed to prevent boarding, as the vessel swung, they were now blown off, in order to allow the guns to be run out; and cases actually occurred in which the rammers had to be thrust into the ports of the opposite ship in order to be entered into the muzzles of their proper guns. It is evident that such a conflict must have been of short duration. In effect, the heavy metal of the Serapis, in one or two discharges, cleared all before it, and the main-deck guns of the Richard were in a great measure abandoned. Most of the people went on the upper-deck, and a great number collected on the forecastle, where they were safe from the fire of the enemy, continuing to fight by throwing grenades and using muskets.

In this stage of the combat, the Serapis was tearing her antagonist to pieces below, almost without resistance from her enemy's batteries; only two guns on the quarter-deck, and three or four of the twelves, being worked at all. To the former, by shifting a gun from the larboard side, Commodore Jones succeeded in adding a third, all of which were used with effect, under his immediate inspection, to the close of the action. He could not muster force enough to get over a second gun. But the combat would now have soon terminated, had it not been for the courage and activity of the people aloft. Strong parties had been placed in the tops, and, at the end of a short contest, the Americans had driven every man belonging to the enemy below; after which they kept up so animated a fire, on the quarter-deck of the Serapis in particular, as to drive nearly every man off it, that was not shot down.

Thus, while the English had the battle nearly to themselves

below, their enemies had the control above the upper-deck. Having cleared the tops of the Serapis, some American seamen lay out on the Richard's main-yard, and began to throw hand-grenades upon the two upper decks of the English ship; the men on the forecastle of their own vessel seconding these efforts, by casting the same combustibles through the ports of the Serapis. At length one man, in particular, became so hardy as to take his post on the extreme end of the yard, whence, provided with a bucket filled with combustibles, and a match, he dropped the grenades with so much precision, that one passed through the main hatch-way. The powder-boys of the Serapis had got more cartridges up than were wanted, and, in their hurry, they had carelessly laid a row of them on the main-deck, in a line with the guns. The grenade just mentioned set fire to some loose powder that was lying near, and the flash passed from cartridge to cartridge, beginning abreast of the main-mast, and running quite aft.

The effect of this explosion was awful. More than twenty men were instantly killed, many of them being left with nothing on them but the collars and wristbands of their shirts, and the waistbands of their duck trowsers; while the official returns of the ship, a week after the action, show that there were no less than thirty-eight wounded on board, still alive, who had been injured in this manner, and of whom thirty were then said to be in great danger. Captain Pearson described this explosion as having destroyed nearly all the men at the five or six aftermost guns. On the whole, near sixty of the enemy's people must have been instantly disabled by this sudden blow.

The advantage thus obtained, by the coolness and intrepidity of the topmen, in a great measure restored the chances of the combat, and, by lessening the fire of the enemy, enabled Commodore Jones to increase his. In the same degree that it encouraged the crew of the Richard, it diminished the hopes of the people of the Serapis. One of the guns under the immediate inspection of Commodore Jones had been pointed some time against the main-mast of his enemy, while the two others had seconded the fire of the tops, with grape and canister. Kept below decks by this double attack, where a scene of frightful horror was present in the agonies of the wounded, and the effects of the explosion, the spirits of the English began to droop, and there was a moment when a trifle would have induced them to submit. From this despondency they were tem-

HAZARD AND ACTIVE. Page 106.

VOL.

porarily raise
racterise the
After exch
already ment
kept standing
out of the dir
she appeared
the Richard,
to say which
had drawn o
put up, and
about until th
Scarborough,
these vessels.
treated Captai
allow him to
up to windwa
modore.

After some
of assisting h
long stretches
at which we h
rectly to wind
liance to the w
her fire, doing
ing away a lit
soon on the l
affirmed, that
abeam.

Fifty voices
they were firi
shown, in a li
regular signal
was directed t
the enemy ab
order was com
tive.

As the moo
to distinguish
while the Sera
to have been
attacked intent
the Alliance, t

porarily raised, by one of those unlooked-for events that characterise the vicissitudes of battle.

After exchanging the ineffective and distant broadsides, already mentioned, with the Scarborough, the Alliance had kept standing off and on, to leeward of the two principal ships, out of the direction of their shot, when, about half-past eight she appeared crossing the stern of the Serapis and the bow of the Richard, firing at such a distance as to render it impossible to say which vessel would suffer the most. As soon as she had drawn out of the range of her own guns, her helm was put up, and she ran down near a mile to leeward, hovering about until the firing had ceased between the Pallas and the Scarborough, when she came within hail and spoke both of these vessels. Captain Cottineau of the Pallas earnestly entreated Captain Landais to take possession of his prize, and allow him to go to the assistance of the Richard, or to stretch up to windward in the Alliance himself, and succour the Commodore.

After some delay, Captain Landais took the important duty of assisting his consort, into his own hands, and making two long stretches, under his topsails, he appeared, about the time at which we have arrived in the narration of the combat, directly to windward of the two ships, with the head of the Alliance to the westward. Here the latter ship once more opened her fire, doing equal damage, at least, to friend and foe. Keeping away a little, and still continuing her fire, the Alliance was soon on the larboard quarter of the Richard, and, it is even affirmed, that her guns were discharged until she had got nearly abeam.

Fifty voices now hailed to tell the people of the Alliance that they were firing into the wrong ship, and three lanterns were shown, in a line, on the off side of the Richard, which was the regular signal of recognition for a night action. An officer was directed to hail, and to command Captain Landais to lay the enemy aboard; and the question being put whether the order was comprehended, an answer was given in the affirmative.

As the moon had been up some time, it was impossible not to distinguish between the vessels, the Richard being all black, while the Serapis had yellow sides; and the impression seems to have been general in the former vessel, that she had been attacked intentionally. At the discharge of the first guns of the Alliance, the people left one or two of the twelves on board

the Richard, which they had begun to fight again, saying that the Englishmen in the Alliance had got possession of the ship, and were helping the enemy. It appears that this discharge dismounted a gun or two, extinguished several lanterns on the main deck, and did a great deal of damage aloft.

The Alliance hauled off to some distance, keeping always on the off-side of the Richard, and soon after she reappeared edging down on the larboard beam of her consort, hauling up athwart the bows of that ship and the stern of her antagonist. On this occasion, it is affirmed that her fire recommenced, when, by possibility, the shot could only reach the Serapis through the Richard. Ten or twelve men appear to have been killed and wounded on the forecastle of the latter ship, which was crowded at the time, and among them was an officer of the name of Caswell, who, with his dying breath, maintained that he had received his wound by the fire of the Richard's consort.

After crossing the bows of the Richard, and the stern of the Serapis, delivering grape as she passed, the Alliance ran off to leeward, again standing off and on, doing nothing, for the remainder of the combat.

The fire of the Alliance added greatly to the leaks of the Richard, which ship, by this time, had received so much water through the shot-holes, as to begin to settle. It is even affirmed by many witnesses, that the most dangerous shot-holes on board the Richard, were under her larboard bow, and larboard counter, in places where they could not have been received from the fire of the Serapis. This evidence, however, is not unanswerable, as it has been seen that the Serapis luffed up on the larboard-quarter of the Richard in the commencement of the action, and, forging ahead, was subsequently on her larboard bow, endeavouring to cross her fore-foot. It is certainly possible that shot may have struck the Richard in the places mentioned, on these occasions, and that, as the ship settled in the water, from other leaks, the holes then made may have suddenly increased the danger. On the other hand, if the Alliance did actually fire while on the bow and quarter of the Richard, as would appear by a mass of uncontradicted testimony, the dangerous shot-holes may very well have come from that ship.

Let the injuries have been received from what quarter they might, soon after the Alliance had run to leeward, an alarm was spread in the Richard that the ship was sinking. Both

vessels had been on fire several times, and some difficulty had been experienced in extinguishing the flames; but here was a new enemy to contend with, and, as the information came from the carpenter, whose duty it was to sound the pump-wells, it produced a good deal of consternation. The Richard had more than a hundred English prisoners on board, and the master-at-arms, in the hurry of the moment, let them all up from below, in order to save their lives. In the confusion, the master of the letter of marque, that had been taken off the north of Scotland, passed through a port of the Richard into one of the Serapis, when he informed Captain Pearson, that a few minutes would probably decide the battle in his favour, or carry his enemy down, he himself having been liberated in order to save his life. Just at this instant the gunner, who had little to attend to at his quarters, came on deck, and not perceiving Commodore Jones, or Mr. Dale, both of whom were occupied with the liberated prisoners, and believing the master, the only other superior he had in the ship, to be dead, he ran up on the poop to haul down the colours. Fortunately the flag-staff had been shot away, and, the ensign already hanging in the water, he had no other means of letting his intention be known, than by calling out for quarter. Captain Pearson now hailed to inquire if the Richard demanded quarter, and was answered by Commodore Jones himself, in the negative. It is probable that the reply was not heard, or, if heard, supposed to come from an unauthorised source; for, encouraged by what he had learned from the escaped prisoner, by the cry, and by the confusion that prevailed in the Richard, the English captain directed his boarders to be called away, and, as soon as mustered, they were ordered to take possession of the prize. Some of the men actually got on the gunwale of the latter ship, but finding boarders ready to repel boarders, they made a precipitate retreat. All this time, the top-men were not idle, and the enemy were soon driven below again with loss.

In the mean while, Mr. Dale, who no longer had a gun that could be fought, mustered the prisoners at the pumps, turning their consternation to account, and probably keeping the Richard afloat by the very blunder that had come so near losing her. The ships were now on fire again, and both parties, with the exception of a few guns on each side, ceased fighting, in order to subdue this common enemy. In the course of the combat, the Serapis is said to have been set on

fire no less than twelve times, while, towards its close, as will be seen in the sequel, the Richard was burning all the while.

As soon as order was once more restored in the Richard, her chances of success began greatly to increase, while the English, driven under cover, almost to a man, appear to have lost, in a great degree, the hope of victory. Their fire materially slackened, while the Richard again brought a few more guns to bear; the main-mast of the Serapis began to totter, and her resistance, in general, to lessen. About an hour after the explosion, or between three hours and three hours and a half after the first gun was fired, and between two hours and two hours and a half after the ships were lashed together, Captain Pearson hauled down the colours of the Serapis with his own hands, the men refusing to expose themselves to the fire of the Richard's tops.

When it was known that the colours of the English had been lowered, Mr. Dale got upon the gunwale of the Richard, and laying hold of the main-brace-pendant, he swung himself on board the Serapis. On the quarter-deck of the latter he found Captain Pearson, almost alone, that gallant officer having maintained his post, throughout the whole of this close and murderous conflict. Just as Mr. Dale addressed the English captain, the first lieutenant of the Serapis came up from below to inquire if the Richard had struck, her fire having entirely ceased. Mr. Dale now gave the English officer to understand that he was mistaken in the position of things, the Serapis having struck to the Richard, and not the Richard to the Serapis. Captain Pearson confirming this account, his subordinate acquiesced, offering to go below and silence the guns that were still playing upon the American ship. To this Mr. Dale would not consent, but both the English officers were immediately passed on board the Richard. The firing was then stopped below. Mr. Dale had been closely followed to the quarter-deck of the Serapis, by Mr. Mayrant, a midshipman, and a party of boarders, and as the former struck the quarter-deck of the prize, he was run through the thigh, by a boarding-pike, in the hands of a man in the waist, who was ignorant of the surrender. Thus did the close of this remarkable combat resemble its other features in singularity, blood being shed and shot fired, while the boarding officer was in amicable discourse with his prisoners!

As soon as Captain Pearson was on board the Richard, and Mr. Dale had received a proper number of hands in the prize,

Commodore Jones ordered the lashings to be cut, and the vessels to be separated, hailing the Serapis, as the Richard drifted from alongside of her, and ordering her to follow his own ship. Mr. Dale, now had the head sails of the Serapis braced sharp aback, and the wheel put down, but the vessel refused to answer her helm or her canvass. Surprised and excited at this circumstance, the gallant lieutenant sprang from the binnacle on which he had seated himself, and fell his length on the deck. He had been severely wounded in the leg by a splinter, and until this moment was ignorant of the injury! He was replaced on the binnacle, when the master of the Serapis came up and acquainted him with the fact that the ship was anchored.

By this time, Mr. Lunt, the second lieutenant, who had been absent in the pilot boat, had got alongside, and was on board the prize. To this officer Mr. Dale now consigned the charge of the Serapis, the cable was cut, and the ship followed the Richard, as ordered.

Although this protracted and bloody combat had now ended, neither the danger nor the labours of the victors were over. The Richard was both sinking and on fire. The flames had got within the ceiling, and extended so far that they menaced the magazine, while all the pumps, in constant use, could barely keep the water at the same level. Had it depended on the exhausted people of the two combatants, the ship must have soon sunk, but the other vessels of the squadron sent hands on board the Richard, to assist at the pumps. So imminent did the danger from the fire become, that all the powder was got on deck, to prevent an explosion. In this manner did the night of the battle pass, with one gang always at the pumps, and another contending with the flames, until about ten o'clock in the forenoon of the 24th, when the latter were got under. After the action, eight or ten Englishmen in the Richard, stole a boat from the Serapis, and ran away with it, landing at Scarborough. Several of the men were so alarmed with the condition of their ship, as to jump overboard and swim to the other vessels.

When the day dawned, an examination was made into the condition of the Richard. Abaft, on a line with those guns of the Serapis that had not been disabled by the explosion, the timbers were found to be nearly all beaten in, or beaten out, for in this respect there was little difference between the two sides of the ship; and it was said that her poop and upper decks would have fallen into the gun-room, but for a few fut-

tocks that had been missed. Indeed, so large was the vacuum, that most of the shot fired from this part of the Serapis, at the close of the action, must have gone through the Richard without touching any thing. The rudder was cut from the stern-post, and the transoms were nearly driven out of her. All the after part of the ship, in particular, that was below the quarter-deck, was torn to pieces, and nothing had saved those stationed on the quarter-deck, but the impossibility of sufficiently elevating guns that almost touched their object.

The result of this examination was to convince every one of the impossibility of carrying the Richard into port, in the event of its coming on to blow. Commodore Jones was advised to remove his wounded while the weather continued moderate, and he reluctantly gave the order to commence. The following night and the morning of the succeeding day were employed in executing this imperious duty; and about nine o'clock, the officer of the Pallas, who was in charge of the ship, with a party at the pumps, finding that the water had reached the lower deck, reluctantly abandoned her. About ten, the Bon Homme Richard wallowed heavily, gave a roll, and settled slowly into the sea, bows foremost.

The Serapis suffered much less than the Richard, the guns of the latter having been so light, and so soon silenced; but no sooner were the ships separated, than her main-mast fell, bringing down with it the mizzen-top-mast. Though jury-masts were erected, the ship drove about, nearly helpless, in the North Sea, until the 6th of October, when the remains of the squadron, with the two prizes, got into the Texel, the port to which they had been ordered to repair.

In the combat between the Richard and the Serapis, an unusual number of lives was lost, though no regular authentic report appears to have been given by either side. Captain Pearson states the loss of the Richard at about 300 in killed and wounded; a total that would have included very nearly all hands, and which was certainly a great exaggeration, or at least a great mistake. According to a muster-roll of the officers and people of the Richard, excluding the marines, which is still in existence, 42 men were killed, or died of their wounds shortly after the battle, and 41 were wounded. This would make a total of 83, for this portion of the crew, which on the roll amounted to 227 souls. But many of the persons named on this list are known not to have been in the action at all; such as neither of the junior lieutenants, and some thirty men

that were with them, besides those absent in prizes. As there were a few volunteers on board, however, who were not mustered, if we set down 2 as the number of the portion of the regular crew that was in the action, we shall probably not be far from the truth. By estimating the soldiers that remained on board at 120, and observing the same proportion for their casualties, we shall get 49 for the result, which will make a total of 132, as the entire loss of the Richard. It is known, however, that, in the commencement of the action, the soldiers, or marines, suffered out of proportion to the rest of the crew, and general report having made the gross loss of the Richard 150 men, we are disposed to believe that it was not far from the fact.

Captain Pearson reported a part of his loss at 117 men, admitting at the same time, that there were many killed and wounded whose names he could not discover. It is probable that the loss of men, in the two ships, was about equal, and that nearly or quite half of all those who were engaged, were either killed or wounded. Commodore Jones, in a private letter, written some time after the occurrence, gives an opinion, however, that the loss of the Richard was less than that of the Serapis. That two vessels of so much force should lie lashed together more than two hours, making use of artillery, musketry, and all the other means of annoyance known to the warfare of the day, and not do even greater injury to the crews, strikes us with astonishment; but the fact must be ascribed to the peculiarities of the combat, which, by driving most of the English under cover, and by keeping the Americans above the line of fire, protected each party from the missiles of the other. As it was, it proved a murderous and sanguinary conflict, though its duration would probably have been much shorter, and its character still more bloody, but for these unusual circumstances.

CHAPTER X.

The arrival of Paul Jones, in Holland, excited a great deal of interest in the diplomatic world. The English demanded that the prisoners should be released, and that Jones himself should be given up as a pirate. The Dutch government, though well disposed to favour the Americans, was not prepared for war, and it was induced to temporise. A long correspondence followed, which terminated in one of those political expedients that are so common, and in which the pains and penalties of avowing the truth are avoided by means of a mystification. The Serapis, which had been re-masted and equipped, was transferred to France, as was the Scarborough, while Commodore Jones took command of the Alliance, Captain Landais having been suspended, and was ordered to quit the country.

The Alliance went to sea on the 27th of December, 1779, and reached the roads of Groix again, in safety, on the 10th of February, 1780. She passed down the Channel, was near enough to the squadron in the Downs to examine its force, was several times chased, and made a short cruise in the Bay of Biscay, after having touched in Spain. Captain Conyngham, who had been captured in a privateer and escaped, joined the Alliance, and went round to l'Orient in the ship.

Although it will be anticipating the events of another year, we shall finish the history of this vessel, so far as she was connected with the officer who first commanded her, Captain Landais. This gentleman had been sent for to Paris, to account for his conduct to the American minister, and subsequently his claim to command the Alliance was referred to Mr. Arthur Lee, who was on the spot, and who had long been in Europe, as a conspicuous agent of the government. The decision of this commissioner restored the Alliance to Captain Landais, on the ground that his command having been given to him by the highest authority of the country, a vote of Congress, he could not legally be deprived of it by any subordinate authority. In June, Captain Landais sailed in the ship for America, where she was given to an officer better fitted to show her excellent qualities, and who, in the end, succeeded in

redeeming her character. During the passage home, Captain Landais was deposed from the command, under the idea that he was insane, and soon after he was discharged from the navy. It is thought that the absence of Commodore Jones, alone, prevented his receiving severer punishment.

Commodore Jones, anxious to get back to America, took command of the Ariel 20, a little ship that the king of France lent to his allies, to aid in transporting military stores; and in this vessel, with a portion of the officers and men who had belonged to the Richard, he sailed from under Groix on the 7th of September. When a day or two out, the Ariel encountered a severe gale, in which she came near being lost. The ship was so pressed upon by the wind, that her lower yard-arms frequently dipped, and though an anchor was let go, she refused to tend to it. In order to keep her from foundering, the fore-mast was cut away, and the heel of the main-mast having worked out of the step, that spar followed, bringing down with it the mizzen-mast.

Returning to l'Orient to refit, the Ariel sailed a second time for America, on the 18th of December. During the passage, she fell in with an enemy of about her own size, in the night, and after much conversation, a short combat followed, when the English ship intimated that she had struck, but taking advantage of her position, she made sail and escaped. Some unaccountable mistake was made by, or an extraordinary hallucination appears to have come over Commodore Jones, in reference to this affair; for, in his journal, he speaks of his enemy as having been an English twenty-gun ship called the Triumph, and the result as a victory. The Triumph, if such was truly the name of the English ship, was probably a letter of marque, unable to resist a vessel of war of any force, and though not free from the imputation of treachery, she escaped by out-manœuvring the Ariel. On the 18th of February, 1781, after an absence of more than three years, Paul Jones reached Philadelphia in safety.

Before we return to the American seas, and to the more regular incidents of the year 1779, we will add that, after an inquiry into the conduct of Captain Jones, as it was connected with all his proceedings in Europe, Congress gave him a vote of thanks, and, by a formal resolution, bestowed on him the command of the America 74, the only one of the six ships of that class that was ever laid down under the law of 1776. The America never got to sea under the national colours, Con-

gress presenting the ship to their ally, Louis XVI., to replace the Magnifique 74, which had been lost in the port of Boston.

To return to the more regular order of events.

During the summer of 1779, the Deane 32, Captain Samuel Nicholson, and the Boston 24, Captain Tucker, made a cruise in company. In August of that year, these two ships took many prizes, though no action of moment occurred. Among others were the Sandwich (a packet,) 16, two privateers, with the Glencairn 20, and the Thorn 18. The last of these vessels was a man-of-war.

In the spring of this year, the Providence 12, Captain Hacker, took a vessel of equal force, called the Diligent, after a sharp action. The particulars of this engagement are lost, though they are known to have been highly creditable to the American officer. The Diligent appears to have been taken into the service.

A bloody action also occurred, about the same time, between the Massachusetts state-cruiser Hazard 14, Captain John Foster Williams, and the Active 18, a vessel that Schomberg states to have belonged to the king. The combat lasted half an hour, and was determined in favour of the Hazard. The Active is said to have had 33 killed and wounded, and the Hazard 8. Shortly after this handsome affair, Captain Williams was appointed to the ship Protector 20, belonging to the same state, and in June he had a severe action with one of those heavy letters of marque it was so much the custom to send to sea, at the period of which we are writing, called the Duff; a ship said to have been quite equal in force to the Protector. After a sharp contest of more than an hour, the Duff blew up. The Protector succeeded in saving 55 of her crew, having had 6 of her own people killed and wounded in the battle.

The enemy having established a post on the Penobscot, and placed in it a strong garrison, the State of Massachusetts determined to drive them from its territory, without calling upon Congress for assistance. For this purpose, Massachusetts made a draft of 1500 of her own militia, and got an order for the U. S. ship Warren 32, Captain Saltonstall, the Diligent 14, Captain Brown, and the Providence 12, Captain Hacker, to join the expedition; these being the only regular cruisers employed on the occasion. Three vessels belonging to Massachusetts were also put under the orders of Captain Saltonstall, and a force consisting of thirteen privateers was added. In

addition there were many transports and store-vessels. General Lovel commanded the brigade.

This armament made its appearance off the Penobscot on the 25th of July. While the militia were making their descent, the Warren, and another vessel of some force, engaged the enemy's works. The cannonading was severe, and the Warren is said to have had 30 men killed and wounded, in the action with the batteries, and in landing the troops. The latter duty, however, was successfully performed by General Lovel, with a loss of about one hundred men, including all arms. Finding it impossible to carry the place with his present force, the commanding officer now sent for reinforcements. On the 13th of August, while waiting for a return of the messenger, information was received from the Tyrannicide, the look-out vessel, that Sir George Collier, in the Rainbow 44, accompanied by four other vessels of war, was entering the bay. The troops immediately re-embarked, and a general, hurried, and confused flight ensued. The British squadron, consisting of five vessels of war, quickly appeared, and a pursuit up the river was commenced, and continued for a long distance. The enemy soon got near enough to use their chase guns, and the fire was returned by the Americans. It was undoubtedly the wish of Captain Saltonstall, to reach the shallow waters before he was overtaken; but finding this impracticable, he ran his ship ashore, and set her on fire. Others followed this example, and most of the vessels were destroyed, though three or four fell into the hands of the enemy.

Captain Saltonstall was much, and, in some respects, perhaps, justly censured, for this disaster, though it is to be feared that it arose more from that habit of publicity, which is common to all countries much influenced by popular feeling, than from any other cause. Had a due regard been paid to secresy, time might have been gained in that remote region, to effect the object, before a sufficient force could be collected to go against the assailants. In a military sense, the principal faults appear to have been a miscalculation of means, at the commencement, and a neglect to raise such batteries as might have protected the shipping against the heavy vessels of the enemy. It could not surely have been thought that privateers, armed with light guns, were able to resist two-deckers; and the fact that the English had a fleet of such vessels on the coast was generally known.

The disastrous result of this expedition inflicted a severe blow

on American nautical enterprises. Many privateers and state vessels, that had been successful against the enemy's commerce, were either captured or destroyed. Among the vessels blown up, was the Providence 12, one of the first cruisers ever sent to sea by the United States, and which had become noted for exploits greatly exceeding what might have been expected from her force.

CHAPTER XI.

At the commencement of the year 1780, the French fleet under Comte d'Estaing retired to the West-Indies, leaving the entire American coast at the command of the British. Sir Henry Clinton profited by the opportunity to sail against Charleston, with a strong force in ships and troops, which town he reduced after a short but vigorous siege. Several American ships of war were in the harbour at the time, under the command of Captain Whipple, and finding escape impossible, this officer carried his squadron into the Cooper, sunk several vessels at its mouth, and landed all the guns and crews for the defence of the town, with the exception of those of one ship. The Providence 28, Captain Whipple, the Queen of France 28, Captain Rathburne, the Boston 24, Captain Tucker, the Ranger 18, Captain Simpson, and several smaller vessels, fell into the hands of the enemy.

The English government, by this time, found the system of privateering so destructive to their navigation, that it had come to the determination of refusing to exchange any more of the seamen that fell into their power. By acting on this policy, they collected a large body of prisoners, sending them to England in their return-ships, and sensibly affected the nautical enterprises of the Americans, who, of course, had but a limited number of officers and men fit to act on the ocean.

By the fall of Charleston, too, the force of the regular American marine, small as it had always been, was still more reduced. Of the frigates, the Alliance 32, the Hague (late Deane) 32, Confederacy 32, Trumbull 28, and a ship or two bought or borrowed in Europe, appear to be all that were left,

while the smaller cruisers, like the pitcher that is broken by going too often to the well, had not fared much better.

In consequence of all these losses, the advanced state of the war, and the French alliance, which had brought the fleets of France upon the American coast, Congress appears to have thought any great efforts for increasing the marine unnecessary at the moment. The privateers and state cruisers were out and active as usual, though much reduced in numbers, and consequently in general efficiency. In contrast to these diminished efforts we find the British Parliament authorizing the ministry to keep no less than 85,000 men employed in the English navy, including the marines.

The first action of moment that occured this year between any United States' vessel and the enemy, nevertheless, has the reputation of having been one of the most hotly and obstinately contested combats of the war. June 2d, 1780, the Trumbull 28, then under the command of Captain James Nicholson, the senior officer of the navy, while cruising in lat. 35° 54′, long. 66° W., made a strange sail to windward from the mast-heads. The Trumbull immediately furled all her canvass, in the hope of drawing the stranger down upon her before she should be seen. At eleven, the stranger was made out to be a large ship, steering for the Trumbull's quarter; but soon hauling more astern, sail was got on the American ship to close. After some manœuvring, in order to try the rate of sailing and to get a view of the stranger's broadside, the Trumbull took in her light sails, hauled up her courses, the chase all this time betraying no desire to avoid an action, but standing directly for her adversary. When near enough, the Trumbull filled, and outsailing the stranger, she easily fetched to windward of her. The chase now fired three guns, showed English colours, and edged away, under short sail, evidently with an intention to pursue her course. Captain Nicholson harangued his men, and then made sail to bring his ship up with the enemy. When about a hundred yards distant, the English ship fired a broadside, and the action began in good earnest. For two hours and a half the vessels la nearly abeam of each other, giving and receiving broadsides without intermission. At no time were they half a cable's length asunder, and more than once the yards nearly interlocked. Twice was the Trumbull set on fire by the wads of her opponent, and once the enemy suffered in the same way.

At last the fire of the Englishman slackened sensibly, until it nearly ceased.

Captain Nicholson now felt satisfied that he should make a prize of his antagonist, and was encouraging his people with that hope, when a report was brought to him, that the main-mast was tottering, and that if it went while near the enemy, his ship would probably be the sacrifice. Anxious to secure the spar, sail was made, and the Trumbull shot ahead again, her superiority of sailing being very decided. She was soon clear of her adversary, who made no effort to molest her. The vessels, however, were scarcely musket-shot apart, when the main and mizzen top-masts of the Trumbull went over the side, and, in spite of every effort to secure them, spar after spar came down, until nothing was left but the fore-mast. Under such circumstances, the enemy, who manifested no desire to profit by her advantage, went off on her proper course. Before she was out of sight, her main top-mast also was seen to fall.

It was afterwards ascertained that the ship engaged by the Trumbull was a letter of marque called the Watt, Captain Coulthard, a vessel of size, that had been expressly equipped to fight her way. Her force is not mentioned in the English accounts, but her commander, in his narrative of the affair, in which he claims the victory, admits his loss to have been 92 men, in killed and wounded. Captain Nicholson estimates her force at 34 or 36 guns, mostly twelve-pounders; and he states that of the Trumbull to have been 24 twelve-pounders and 6 sixes, with 199 souls on board when the action commenced. The Trumbull lost 39, in killed and wounded, among the former of whom were two of her lieutenants.

In the way of a regular cannonade, this combat is generally thought to have been the severest that was fought in the war of the Revolution. There is no question of the superiority of the Watt in every thing but sailing, she having been essentially the largest and strongest ship, besides carrying more guns and men than her opponent. Owing to the difficulty of obtaining seamen, which has been so often mentioned, the Trumbull's crew was composed, in a great degree, of raw hands, and Captain Nicholson states particularly that many of his people were suffering under sea-sickness when they went to their guns.

This action was not followed by another, of any importance, in which a government cruiser was concerned, until the month

of October, when the U. S. sloop of war Saratoga 16, Captain Young, fell in with, and captured a ship and two brigs, the former, and one of the latter of which, were well armed. The conflict with the ship, which was called the Charming Molly, was conducted with a spirit and promptitude that are deserving of notice. Running alongside, Captain Young delivered his fire, and threw fifty men on the enemy's decks, when a fierce but short struggle ensued, that ended in the capture of the British ship. Lieutenant Joshua Barney, afterwards so distinguished in the service, led the boarders on this occasion; and the crew that he overcame is said to have been nearly double in numbers to his own party.

After making these and other captures, the Saratoga made sail for the Capes of the Delaware, with the intention of conveying her prizes into port. The following day, however, the convoy was chased by the Intrepid 74, Captain Molloy, which ship retook all the prizes, but was unable to get the Saratoga under her guns. It is said, and we find no evidence to contradict it, that the Saratoga never returned to port, the vessel foundering, and her crew perishing at sea, unheard of.

The brevity of the regular naval annals of the three last years of the war, compels us to compress their incidents into a single chapter.

It has been stated already that Captain Landais was dismissed from the service soon after his return home, when the command of the Alliance 32 was given to Captain John Barry, the officer who had made so gallant a resistance in the Raleigh, not long previously. In February, 1781, Captain Barry sailed from Boston for France, in command of this favourite ship, with Colonel Laurens on board, which well-known and much-regretted young officer was charged with an important mission to the French court. On the outward passage, the Alliance captured a small privateer called the Alert, but no event of any moment occurred. After landing Mr. Laurens, the frigate sailed from l'Orient on a cruise, with the Marquis de la Fayette 40, bound to America with stores, in company. Three days afterwards, or on the 2d of April, 1781, they fell in with and captured two Guernsey privateers, one of which, the Mars, is said to have been a heavy vessel of 26 guns and 112 men, and the other, the Minerva, to have had an armament of 10 guns, and a crew of 55 souls. Neither of these cruisers appears to have made any resistance.

After this success, the Alliance parted company with her

consort and the prizes, and continued to cruise until the 28th of May, when she made two sail, that were standing directly for her. It was late in the day, and the strangers, when near enough to remain in sight during the darkness hauled up on the same course with the Alliance, evidently with a view to defer the action until morning. At daylight on the succeeding day, it was nearly a dead calm, and when the mist cleared away, the two strangers were seen at no great distance, with English colours flying. They were now distinctly made out to be a sloop of war apparently of 16 guns, and a brig of 14. The sea was perfectly smooth, and there being no wind, the two light cruisers were enabled to sweep up, and to select their positions, while the Alliance lay almost a log on the water, without steerage way. Owing to these circumstances, it was noon before the vessels were near enough to hail, when the action commenced. For more than an hour the Alliance fought to great disadvantage, the enemy having got on her quarters, where only a few of the aftermost guns would bear on them. The advantage possessed by the English vessels, in consequence of the calm, at one time, indeed, gave their people the greatest hopes of success, for they had the fight principally to themselves. While things were in this unfortunate state, Captain Barry received a grape-shot through his shoulder, and was carried below. This additional and disheartening calamity added to the disadvantages of the Americans, who were suffering under the close fire of two spirited and persevering antagonists. Indeed, so confident of success did the enemy now appear to be, that when the ensign of the Alliance was shot away, this fact, coupled with the necessary slackness of her fire, induced their people to quit their guns, and give three cheers for victory. This occurred at a moment when a light breeze struck the Alliance's sails, and she came fairly under steerage way. A single broadside from a manageable ship changed the entire state of the combat, and sent the enemy to their guns, again, with a conviction that their work yet remained to be done. After a manly resistance, both the English vessels, in the end, were compelled to haul down their colours.

The prizes proved to be the Atalanta 16, Captain Edwards, with a crew of 130 men, and the Trepassy 14, Captain Smith, with a crew of 80 men. Both vessels were much cut up, and they sustained a joint loss of 41 men in killed and wounded. The Alliance did not escape with impunity, having had 11

killed and 21 wounded, principally by the fire of her enemies, while they lay on her quarter and across her stern. Captain Barry made a cartel of the Trepassy, and sent her into an English port with the prisoners; but the Atalanta was retaken by the enemy's squadron that was cruising off Boston, while attempting to enter that harbour.

Fortune now became capricious, and we are compelled to present the other side of the picture. Among the ships built late in the war, was the Confederacy 32. This vessel had been launched in 1778, at or near Norwich, in Connecticut; and the command of her was given to Captain Seth Harding, the officer who was in the Defence 14, in the action in Nantasket Roads with the two transports captured in 1776. Captain Harding had been commissioned in the navy, in which his first command appears to have been this ship. The Confederacy sailed for Europe in 1779, with Mr. Jay, the minister to Spain, on board, and was suddenly dismasted, a little to the eastward of Bermuda. Spar followed spar, in this calamity, until the ship lay a log on the water, with even her bowsprit gone. This, like so many similar misfortunes that have succeeded it, must probably be attributed to the rigging's having slackened, when the ship got into a warm latitude, after having been set up in cold weather at home.

After several anxious weeks, the Confederacy got into Martinique, where Mr. Jay obtained a passage in the French frigate l'Aurore, and the American vessel remained to refit. From that time to the commencement of the present year, the Confederacy was employed, like most of the large vessels of the service in that stage of the war, in keeping open the communications between the country and the different ports where supplies were obtained, and in transporting stores. Early in 1781, she went to Cape François, and, on the 22d of June, while on her return, with clothing and other supplies on board, and with a convoy in charge, she was chased by a large ship, which succeeded in getting alongside of her. Captain Harding had gone to quarters, and was about to open his fire, when the enemy ran out a lower tier of guns, and a frigate being in company a short distance astern, the American struck. Several of the convoy were also taken.

Captain Nicholson continued in command of the Trumbull, after his severe conflict with the Watt, and we find him at sea again in that ship, in the summer of 1781. She left the Delaware on the 8th of August, with a crew short of 200 men, of

which near 50 were of the questionable materials to be found among the prisoners of war. She had a convoy of twenty-eight sail, and a heavy privateer was in company. Off the Capes, the Trumbull made three British cruisers astern. Two of the enemy, one of which was a frigate, stood for the Trumbull, which ship, by hauling up, was enabled to gain the wind of them. Night was near, and it blew heavily. The merchantmen began to diverge from the course, though, by carrying easy sail, the Trumbull was enabled to keep most of them ahead, and in their stations. While standing on in this manner, hoping every thing from the darkness, a squall carried away the Trumbull's fore-top-mast, which in falling brought down with it the main-top-gallant-mast. As the weather was thick and squally, the vessels in company of the Trumbull took advantage of the obscurity and scattered, each making the best of her way according to her particular rate of sailing. The Trumbull herself was compelled to bear up, in order to carry the canvass necessary to escape; but with the wreck over her bows, and a crew that was not only deficient in numbers, but which was raw, and in part disaffected, her situation became in the last degree embarrassing. Indeed, her condition has been described as being so peculiarly distressing, as to form a strong instance of the difficulties that sometimes accompany naval warfare.

About ten o'clock at night, the British frigate Iris 32, one of the vessels in chase, closed with the Trumbull, which ship, on account of the heaviness of the weather, had not yet been able to clear the wreck. In the midst of rain and squalls, in a tempestuous night, with most of the forward hamper of the ship over her bows, or lying on the forecastle, with one of the arms of the fore-topsail-yard run through her fore-sail, and the other jammed on deck, and with a disorganised crew, Captain Nicholson found himself compelled to go to quarters, or to strike without resistance. He preferred the first; but the English volunteers, instead of obeying the order, went below, extinguished the lights, and secreted themselves. Near half of the remainder of the people imitated this example, and Captain Nicholson could not muster fifty of even the diminished crew he had, at the guns. The battle that followed, might almost be said to have been fought by the officers. These brave men, sustained by a party of the petty officers and seamen, managed a few of the guns for more than an hour, when the General

Monk 18, coming up and joining in the fire of the Iris, the Trumbull submitted.

In this singular combat, it has even been asserted that at no time were forty of the Trumbull's people at quarters. It was probably owing to this circumstance, that her loss was so small, for the ship herself is said to have been extensively cut up. She had five men killed and eleven wounded. Among the latter were two of the lieutenants, and Mr. Alexander Murray, a gentleman of Maryland, who had been educated to the seas, and had been in the action with the Watt, but who was now serving as a volunteer, and who, after commanding several private cruisers, entered the navy, and subsequently died at the head of the service in 1821. Mr. Murray was particularly distinguished in this affair, and the conduct of Captain Nicholson met with much applause. The Iris suffered more than could have been expected under such circumstances, and reported seven men killed and wounded.

As affording some relief to the loss of the Trumbull, we now come to a handsome exploit that occurred soon after, which ought, perhaps, properly, to take its place among the deeds of the private cruisers, but which is of sufficient importance to be mentioned here, and this so much the more, as a portion of those engaged belonged to the regular service of the country. A private cruiser called the Congress had been fitted out in Philadelphia, in the course of the summer, and in September she was cruising on the coast of the Carolinas and Georgia. The Congress had an armament of 20 guns, according to the American accounts, and of 24 according to the English, and she was commanded by Captain Geddes. Few of her people were seamen, of which there was now a great scarcity in the country, but her complement was, in a great degree, made up of landsmen.

On the morning of the 6th of September, cruising to the eastward of Charleston, the Congress made a sail, to which she gave chase. The stranger was soon discovered to be a cruiser, and at first showed a disposition to engage, but after some manœuvring he stood off. At half-past ten the Congress began to fire her bow guns, and at eleven being close up on the enemy's quarter, she opened a heavy fire of musketry, which did a good deal of execution. Drawing ahead, the Congress now delivered her broadside, and it was returned with spirit. At first the enemy got a cross-fire upon the Congress, and the latter ship meeting with an accident, fell astern to refit. But

soon closing again, the combat was renewed with fresh vigour, and the Congress having got her enemy fairly under her guns, in less than an hour she left her a nearly unmanageable wreck on the water. Notwithstanding his condition, the Englishman showed no disposition to submit, and the Congress ran so close alongside, that the men were said to be reciprocally burned by the discharges of the guns. The quarter-deck and forecastle of the enemy had scarcely a man left on it, and his fire began to slacken in consequence of several of his guns having been dismounted. In this stage of the engagement, shot were even thrown by hand and did execution. At length the mizzen-mast of the English ship fell, and the main-mast threatening to follow it, her boatswain appeared on the forecastle, with his hat in his hand, and called out that his commander had struck. The prize proved to be the British sloop of war Savage 16, Captain Sterling.

We have now reached the year 1782, which was virtually the last of the war of the Revolution, though some events will remain to be recorded in the early part of the year 1783. In the commencent of this year, the Deane 32, made a successful cruise, in which she took several private armed vessels of the enemy. On this occasion, the Deane was commanded by Captain Samuel Nicholson.

The favourite ship, the Alliance 32, Captain Barry, was much employed this year, her superior sailing making her a vessel in constant demand. Among other services that she performed, this ship was sent to Havana for specie, whence she sailed, in company with the Luzerne, a ship loaded with supplies. Shortly after quitting port, some enemy's vessels fell in with them, and gave chase. While running from this force, a large sail was seen on the Alliance's weather bow, which was soon made out to be a French 50, of two decks. Exchanging signals, and supposing that the French frigate would sustain him, Captain Barry immediately wore round and brought the leading vessel of the enemy to action; the others manœuvring in a way to engage the attention of the fifty. The latter, however, kept her wind; and after a sharp fight of more than half an hour, the English ship engaged with the Alliance, finding herself hard pushed, made signals to her consorts to join, when Captain Barry hauled off. The Alliance now stood for the French ship, and speaking her, it was determined to bring the enemy to action again, in company. On making sail in chase, however, it was soon found

that the fifty was too dull a sailor to give the least hope of overtaking the enemy, and the attempt was abandoned.

In this action, the Alliance had 3 killed and 11 wounded; while it is said that the loss of the enemy was very heavy. Some statements place the latter as high as 87 men; but no accounts can be discovered, that give a very clear history of this affair. The English ship was the Sibyl 20, mounting 30 guns. One of the enemy, by some of the accounts, was said to be a ship of the line, and the vessel engaged by the Alliance, a heavy sloop of war.*

The command of the Hague, one of the two frigates now left in the American marine, was given to Captain Manly, after her return from the cruise under Captain Nicholson; and this officer who had virtuallly begun the maritime war, on the part of the United States, in a manner closed it, by an arduous and brilliant chase, in which he escaped from several of the enemy's ships in the West-Indies, after being for a considerable time under the guns of a vastly superior force. This occurrence may be said to have brought the regular naval warfare of the United States to an end, so far as the government cruisers were concerned, peace having been made early in 1783.

CHAPTER XII.

In March, 1782, the Delaware was much infested by barges and small cruisers of the enemy, which not unfrequently made prizes of vessels belonging to the Americans, as well as molesting the people who dwelt near the water. With a view to keep the navigation open against these marauders, the State of Pennsylvania determined to fit out a few vessels at its own expense, and with such materials as could be hastily collected. With this object, a small ship called the Hyder Ally was purchased. So suddenly did the local government come to its

* She is said to have had thirty-seven men killed, and more than fifty wounded.

resolution, that the vessel just named, when bought, had actually dropped down the river, on an outward-bound voyage, loaded with flour. She was brought back, her cargo was discharged, and an armament of 16 six-pounders was put upon her. So little, however, was this ship ready for war, that she had to be pierced in order to receive her guns. Indeed, so pressing was the emergency, that the merchants of Philadelphia anticipated the passage of the law to authorise the purchase and equipment of this ship, by advancing funds for that purpose; and the act had not entirely gone through all its legal forms, until after the exploit we are about to record had been performed! The commissioners entrusted with the duty of preparing the ship, selected Lieutenant Joshua Barney, of the United States navy, as her commander, a young officer of great decision of character and personal bravery, who had already distinguished himself in subordinate stations, on board of different cruisers of the general government, but who, like so many more of the profession, was obliged frequently to choose between idleness and a service less regular than that to which he properly belonged.

A crew of 110 men was put on board the Hyder Ally; and within a fortnight after he was appointed to command her, Captain Barney sailed. It was not the intention of the authorities of Pennsylvania, that this ship should go to sea, but merely that she should keep the navigation of the river and bay open, and drive off privateers, and other small cruisers. On the 8th of April, the Hyder Ally got into the bay with a considerable convoy of outward-bound merchantmen. The whole fleet had anchored in the roads off Cape May, in waiting for a wind to get to sea, when two ships and a brig, one of the former a frigate, were seen rounding the Cape, with a view to attack them. Captain Barney immediately ran up a signal for the convoy to trip, and to stand up the bay again, the wind being to the southward. This order was promptly obeyed, and in a few minutes, the merchant vessels, with one exception, were running off before the wind, with every thing set that would draw, the Hyder Ally covering their retreat, under easy sail. The vessel that remained, endeavoured to get to sea, by hauling close round the cape, but grounded and fell into the hands of the enemy. Another vessel got on the shoals, and was taken by a boat from the nearest of the English cruisers.

An extensive shoal, called the "Over Falls," forms two channels, in the lower part of Delaware Bay, and while the

convoy passed up the easternmost of these channels, or that which is known as the "Cape May Channel," the frigate stood towards the western, which offered a better chance to head the fugitives at the point where the two united, and which had the most water. The remaining ship and the brig, stood on in the direction of the Hyder Ally.

It was not long before the brig, which proved to be a British privateer out of New York, called the Fair American, came up with the Hyder Ally, when the latter offered her battle. But firing a broadside, the privateer kept aloof, and continued up the bay. Captain Barney declined to return this fire, holding himself in reserve for the ship astern, a large sloop of war, which was fast coming up. When the latter got quite near, the Hyder Ally, which had kept close to the shoal, luffed, threw in her broadside, and immediately righting her helm, kept away again. The enemy stood boldly on, and just as his forward guns were beginning to bear, the two vessels being within pistol-shot, the Hyder Ally attempted to luff athwart his hawse, when the jib-boom of the English ship ran into her fore-rigging, and the two vessels got foul. It is said that Captain Barney obtained this advantage by deceiving his enemy, having given an order to port the helm, in a loud voice, when secret instructions had been given to the quarter-master at the wheel, to put his helm hard a-starboard. The Hyder Ally now opened a severe raking fire, and in less than half an hour from the commencement of the action, the stranger struck, the ships remaining foul of each other.

The frigate, which had not actually got into the western channel, perceiving the state of things, changed her course, with a view to get round to the combatants, and Captain Barney had no time to lose. Throwing his first lieutenant, with a party, on board the prize, he ordered her to continue up the bay, while he covered the retreat with his own ship. In the mean while, the brig had run aground above, in chase of the convoy. There is some reason to suppose that the commander of the frigate did not know the result of the action, for he made signals to the prize, and anchored about sunset, leaving the Hyder Ally, which had been kept a long distance astern of the other vessels, with a view to divert his attention, to proceed to Philadelphia without further molestation.

Up to this moment, Captain Barney did not know even the name of his prize. He now made sail, however, and running alongside of her, for the first time he learned that he had cap-

tured his Britannic Majesty's ship General Monk 18, Captain Rogers. This vessel had formerly been the American privateer, General Washington, and having fallen into the power of Admiral Arbuthnot, he had taken her into the king's service, given her a new name, and promoted a favourite officer to her command. The Monk mounted twenty nines, and is said to have had a crew of 136 men. Captain Rogers reported his loss at six killed, and twenty-nine wounded; but Captain Barney stated it at twenty killed, and thirty-six wounded. It is probable that the latter account is nearest to the truth, as the commander of a captured vessel has not always as good an opportunity as his captor, to ascertain his own loss. The Hyder Ally had four killed, and eleven wounded.

This action has been justly deemed one of the most brilliant that ever occurred under the American flag. It was fought in the presence of a vastly superior force that was not engaged; and the ship taken was, in every essential respect, superior to her conqueror. The disproportion in metal, between a six-pounder and a nine-pounder, is one-half; and the Monk, besides being a heavier and a larger ship, had the most men. Both vessels appeared before Philadelphia a few hours after the action, bringing with them even their dead; and most of the leading facts were known to the entire community of that place.

The steadiness with which Captain Barney protected his convoy, the gallantry and conduct with which he engaged, and the perseverance with which he covered the retreat of his prize, are all deserving of high praise. Throughout the whole affair, this officer discovered the qualities of a great naval captain; failing in no essential of that distinguished character.

The Monk, her old name having been restored, was taken into the service of the State of Pennsylvania, and was shortly after sent on duty in behalf of the United States, to the West-Indies. During this cruise, Captain Barney, who commanded her, had a warm engagement with an English brig, supposed to be a privateer, of equal force, but she escaped from him, the meeting occurring in the night, and the enemy manœuvring and sailing particularly well. The name of his antagonist is not known. In this affair, the Washington received some damage in her spars, but met with no serious loss.

Massachusetts and South Carolina were the two states that most exerted themselves, in order to equip cruisers of their own. As early as September, 1776, one of the vessels of the

CONSTELLATION CAPTURES L'INSURGENTE.

Page 181.

VOL. I.

former is
a sharp ac
vague acc
Among
the State i
was a suc
was lost in
lieved that
But the fa
Captain Jo
the Hazard
already re
many hane
officer of r
After qu
red to the
he had the
with the D
this gallant
this brillian
which was
against the
been better
officer to th
sion. This
put an end
however, t
cause.
Of the v
In the early
ployed, but
plan of obt
striking a
With this v
head of its
of colonial
the necessa
plains of th
much time
in both Fra
entered into
particular r
laid down b

former is said to have captured an English sloop of war, after a sharp action; but we can discover no more than general and vague accounts of the affair.

Among the vessels of Massachusetts was one named after the State itself, and a brig called the Tyrannicide. The latter was a successful cruiser, and made many captures, but she was lost in the unfortunate affair in the Penobscot. It is believed that the Tyrannicide was built expressly for a cruiser. But the favourite officer of this service appears to have been Captain John Foster Williams, who commanded a brig called the Hazard, in 1779. In this vessel, in addition to the action already related with the Active, Captain Williams performed many handsome exploits, proving himself, on all occasions, an officer of merit.

After quitting the Hazard, Captain Williams was transferred to the Protector 20, equally a state ship. In this vessel he had the two actions mentioned in another chapter,—that with the Duff, and that with the Thames,—in both of which this gallant officer greatly distinguished himself. Soon after this brilliant cruise he resumed the command of the Hazard, which was also lost to the state in the unfortunate expedition against the British in the Penobscot. It would probably have been better for Massachusetts had it named this meritorious officer to the command of the naval armament on that occasion. This unhappy affair appears, in a great degree, to have put an end to the maritime efforts of Massachusetts, a state, however, that was active to the last, in aiding the general cause.

Of the vessels of Carolina mention has already been made. In the early part of the war several light cruisers were employed, but as the contest advanced, this State entertained a plan of obtaining a few vessels of force, with an intention of striking a heavier blow than common against the enemy. With this view Commodore Gillon, the officer who was at the head of its little marine, went to Europe, and large amounts of colonial produce were transmitted to him, in order to raise the necessary funds. In his correspondence, this officer complains of the difficulty of procuring the right sort of ships, and much time was lost in fruitless negotiations for that purpose, in both France and Holland. At length an arrangement was entered into, for one vessel, that is so singular as to require particular notice. This vessel was the Indien, which had been laid down by the American commissioners, at Amsterdam, and

subsequently presented to France. She had the dimensions of a small 74, but was a frigate in construction, carrying, however, an armament that consisted of 28 Swedish thirty-sixes on her gun-deck, and of 12 Swedish twelves on her quarter-deck and forecastle, or 40 guns in the whole. This ship, though strictly the property of France, had been lent by Louis XVI. to the Duke of Luxembourg, who hired her to the State of South Carolina for three years, on condition that the State would insure her, sail her at its own expense, and render to her owner one-fourth of the proceeds of her prizes. Under this singular compact, the ship, which was named the South Carolina for the occasion, got out in 1781, and made a successful cruise in the narrow seas, sending her prizes into Spain. Afterwards she proceeded to America, capturing ten sail, with which she went into the Havana. Here Commodore Gillon, with a view to distress the enemy, accepted the command of the nautical part of an expedition against the Bahamas, that had been set on foot by the Spaniards, and in which other American cruisers joined. The expedition was successful, and the ship proceeded to Philadelphia. Commodore Gillon now left her, and after some delay, the South Carolina went to sea in December, 1782, under the orders of Captain Joyner, an officer who had previously served on board her as second in command. It is probable that the movements of so important a vessel were watched, for she had scarcely cleared the capes, when, after a short running fight, she fell into the hands of the British ship Diomede 44, having the Astrea 32, and the Quebec 32, in company.

The South Carolina was much the heaviest ship that ever sailed under the American flag, until the new frigates were constructed during the war of 1812, and she is described as having been a particularly fast vessel; but her service appears to have been greatly disproportioned to her means. She cost the state a large sum of money, and is believed to have returned literally nothing to its treasury. Her loss excited much comment.

Admiral Arbuthnot reports among the "rebel ships of war" taken or sunk at the capture of Charleston, "the Bricole, pierced for 60, mounting 44 guns, twenty-four and eighteen-pounders," &c. As there never was a vessel of this name in the navy of the United States, it is probable that this ship was another heavy frigate obtained by the State of South Carolina, in Europe. Although this state had the pecuniary means to

equip a better marine than common, it had neither vessels building-yards, nor seamen. Most of its vessels were purchased, and its mariners were principally obtained from places out of its limits, Commodore Gillon and Captain Joyner being both natives of Holland.

Thus terminated the first war in which America was engaged as a separate nation, after a struggle that had endured seven years and ten months. Orders of recall were immediately given to the different cruisers, and the commissions of all privateers and letters of marque were revoked. The proclamation announcing a cessation of hostilities was made on the 11th of April, when the war finally terminated at all points.

It remains only to say that the navy of the Revolution, like its army, was disbanded at the termination of the struggle, literally leaving nothing behind it, but the recollections of its services and sufferings.

CHAPTER XIII.

The country was too much exhausted by the war of the revolution to incur the expense of a marine during a time of peace. But the growing commerce of the country, as well as its unprotected state, excited the cupidity of the Dey of Algiers, who captured the schooner Maria, of Boston, on the 25th of July, 1785. This unprovoked outrage was succeeded by others, until the government of the United States, after negotiating in the best manner it could for the release of the vessels and captives, found itself under the necessity of arming. This decided measure was not taken, however, until after the organization of the government under the new constitution, and during the Presidency of Washington. The construction of six frigates was authorised by law, and the keels of the following vessels were laid, viz: the Constitution 44, United States 44, President 44, Chesapeake 38, Constellation 38, and Congress 38.

This was the commencement of the actual and permanent marine of the country. Three of the ships just named are

now in use, and two are on foreign stations. In consequence of an arrangement of the difficulties with Algiers, neither of these vessels was launched for some years, the work on them being suspended by an order of government. A navy was so far created, notwithstanding, that the gentlemen appointed to command the frigates, continued in service, as did some of the inferior officers. Their duties were chiefly limited to taking care of the ships that were still on the stocks, and the stores that had been collected. The time was drawing near, however, when a more active and serviceable marine was established.

The President, in his annual speech to Congress, December, 1796, strongly recommended laws for the gradual increase of the navy. It is worthy of remark, as appears by documents published at the time, that, the peace obtained from the Dey of Algiers cost the government of the United States near a million of dollars, a sum quite sufficient to have kept the barbarian's port hermetically blockaded until he should have humbly sued for permission to send a craft to sea.

While these events were gradually leading to the formation of a navy, the maritime powers of Europe became involved in what was nearly a general war, and their measures of hostility against each other had a direct tendency to trespass on the privileges of neutrals. It would exceed the limits of this work to enter into the history of that system of gradual encroachments on the rights of the American people, which distinguished the measures of both the two great belligerents, in the war that succeeded the French Revolution; or the height of audacity to which the cruisers of France, in particular, carried their depredations, most probably mistaking the amount of the influence of their own country, over the great body of the American nation. Not only did they capture British ships within our waters, but they actually took the same liberties with Americans also. All attempts to obtain redress from the French government failed, and unable to submit any longer to such injustice, the president, in April, 1798, recommended to Congress a plan of armament and defence, that it was hoped would have the effect to check these aggressions, and avert an open conflict. Down to this period, the whole military organization of the country, was entrusted to one department, that of war; and a letter from the secretary of this branch of the government, to the chairman of a committee to devise means of protection and defence, was the form in which this high interest

was brought before the nation, through its representatives. Twenty small vessels were advised to be built, and, in the event of an open rupture, it was recommended to Congress to authorise the President to cause six ships of the line to be constructed. This force was in addition to the six frigates authorised by the law of 1794.

The United States 44, Constitution 44, and Constellation 38, had been got afloat the year previous.

The United States was the first vessel that was got into the water, under the present organisation of the navy. She was launched at Philadelphia, on the 10th of July, 1797, and the Constellation followed her on the 7th of September.

Congress acted so far on the recommendation of the secretary of war, as to authorise the President to cause to be built, purchased, or hired, twelve vessels, none of which were to exceed twenty-two guns, and to see that they were duly equipped and manned. To effect these objects $950,000 were appropriated. This law passed on the 27th of April, 1798, and on the 30th, a regular navy department was formally created. Benjamin Stoddart, of Georgetown, in the District of Columbia, was the first secretary put at the head of this important branch of the government, entering on his duties in June of the same year.

Down to this moment, the old treaty of alliance, formed between France and the United States during the war of the Revolution, and some subsequent conventions, were legally in existence; but Congress by law solemnly abrogated them all, on the 7th of July, 1798, on the plea that they had been repeatedly disregarded by France, and that the latter country continued, in the face of the most solemn remonstrances, to practise a system of predatory warfare on the commerce of the country.

On the 11th of July, 1798, a new marine corps was established by law, the old one having been disbanded with the navy of the Revolution, to which it had properly belonged. On the 16th of the same month, a law was passed to construct three more frigates. This act was expressed in such terms as to enable the government immediately to complete the ships commenced under the law of 1794, and which had been suspended under that of 1796. The whole force authorised by law, on the 16th of July, consequently, consisted of twelve frigates; twelve ships of a force between 20 and 24 guns, inclusive; and six smaller sloops, besides galleys and revenue cutters; making a total of thirty active cruisers.

CHAPTER XIV.

ALTHOUGH three of the frigates were launched in 1797, neither was quite ready for service when the necessities of the country required that vessels should be sent to sea. The want of suitable spars and guns, and other naval stores, had retarded the labour on the frigates, while vessels had been readily bought for the sloops of war, which, though deficient in many of the qualities and conveniences of regular cruisers, were made to answer the exigencies of the times. Among others that had been thus provided, was an Indiaman, called the Ganges. Retaining her name, this vessel was brought into the service, armed and equipped as a 24, and put under the command of Captain Richard Dale, who was ordered to sail on a cruise on the 22d of May. This ship, then, was the first man-of-war that ever got to sea since the present organisation of the navy, or since the United States have existed under the constitution. Captain Dale was instructed to do no more than pertains generally to the authority of a vessel of war, that is cruising on the coast of the country to which she belongs, in a time of peace; the law that empowered seizures not passing until a few days after he had sailed. His cruising ground extended from the east end of Long Island to the capes of Virginia, with a view to cover, as much as possible, the three important ports of Baltimore, Philadelphia, and New York; and, in anticipation of the act of the 28th of May, Captain Dale was directed to appear off the capes of the Delaware on the 12th of June, to receive new orders. On that day, instructions were accordingly sent to him to capture all French cruisers that were hovering on the coast with hostile views on the American commerce, and to recapture any of their prizes he might happen to fall in with.

The Constellation 38, Captain Truxtun, and the Delaware 20, Captain Decatur, went to sea, early in June, under the last of the foregoing orders, and with directions to cruise to the southward of Cape Henry, as far as the coast of Florida. When a few days out, the Delaware fell in with the French privateer schooner Le Croyable 14, with a crew of 70 men. Being satisfied that this vessel had already made several prizes,

and that she was actually cruising on soundings, in search of more, Captain Decatur took her, and sent her into the Delaware. As the law directing the capture of all armed French vessels passed soon after her arrival, Le Croyable was condemned, and bought into the navy. She was called the Retaliation, and the command of her was given to Lieutenant Bainbridge.

Le Croyable was, consequently, not only the first capture made, in what it is usual to term the war of 1798, but she was the first vessel ever taken by the present navy, or under the present form of government.

The activity employed by the administration, as well as by the navy, now astonished those who had so long been accustomed to believe the American people disposed to submit to any insult, in preference to encountering the losses of a war. The United States 44, Captain Barry, went to sea early in July, and proceeded to cruise to the eastward. This ship carried out with her many young gentlemen, who have since risen to high rank and distinction in the service. But the law of the 9th of that month, occurring immediately afterwards, the government altered its policy entirely, and determined to send, at once, a strong force among the West-India islands, where the enemy abounded, and where the commerce of the country was most exposed to his depredations. On the 11th, instructions were sent to Captain Barry, who now hoisted a broad pennant, to go off Cape Cod, with the Delaware 20, Captain Decatur, where he would find the Herald 18, Captain Sever, that officer preferring active service in a small vessel, to waiting for the frigate to which he had been appointed, and then to proceed directly to the West-Indies, keeping to windward.

That well-known frigate, the Constitution 44, had been launched at Boston, September 20th 1797; and she first got under way, July 20th of this year, under Captain Samuel Nicholson, who, in August, with four revenue vessels in company, was directed to cruise on the coast, to the southward of Cape Henry.

Early in August, the Constellation 38, Captain Truxtun, and the Baltimore 20, Captain Phillips, went to the Havana, and brought a convoy of sixty sail in safety to the United States; several French cruisers then lying in the port, ready to follow the merchantmen, but for this force, the presence of which prevented them from appearing outside the castle. By the

close of the year, a force consisting of three frigates eleven sloops and brigs, and nine smaller vessels, was at sea; most of the vessels being either in the West Indies, or employed in convoying between the islands and the United States.

Besides the vessels named, many more were already laid down; and so great was the zeal of the commercial towns, in particular, that no less than two frigates, and five large sloops were building by subscription, in the different principal ports. In addition to this force, must be enumerated eight large galleys, that were kept on the southern coast, to defend their inlets.

It has been stated that the privateer Le Croyable 14, captured by the Delaware 20, had been taken into the service, under the name of the Retaliation. In November, 1798, the Montezuma 20, Captain Murray, Norfolk 18, Captain Williams, and the Retaliation 12, Lieutenant-Commandant Bainbridge, were cruising in company off Guadaloupe, when three sails were made to the eastward, and soon after two more to the westward. Captain Murray, who was the senior officer, was led to suppose, from circumstances, that the vessels in the eastern board were British; and speaking the Retaliation, he ordered Lieutenant Bainbridge to reconnoitre them, while with the Norfolk in company, he gave chase, himself, in the Montezuma, to the two vessels to the westward. The Retaliation, in obedience to these orders, immediately hauled up towards the three strangers, and getting near enough for signals, she showed her own number, with a view to ascertain if they were Americans. Finding that he was not understood, Lieutenant Bainbridge mistook the strangers for English cruisers, knowing that several were on the station, and unluckily permitted them to approach so near, that when their real characters were ascertained, it was too late to escape. The leading ship, a French frigate, was an uncommonly fast sailer, and she was soon near enough to open her fire. It was not long before another frigate came up, when the Retaliation was compelled to lower her flag. Thus did this unlucky vessel become the first cruiser taken by both parties, in this war. The frigates by which the Retaliation was captured, proved to be the Volontaire 36, and the Insurgente 32, the former carrying 44, and the latter 40 guns. Mr. Bainbridge was put on board the Volontaire, while the Insurgente, perceiving that the schooner was safe, continued to carry sail in chase of the

Montezuma and Norfolk. As soon as a prize crew could be thrown into the Retaliation, the Volontaire crowded sail after her consort. The chase now became exceedingly interesting, the two American vessels being fully aware, by the capture of the schooner, that they had to deal with an enemy. The Insurgente was one of the fastest ships in the world, and her commander an officer of great skill and resolution. The two American vessels were small for their rates, and, indeed, were over-rated, the Montezuma being a little ship of only 347 tons, and the Norfolk a brig of 200. Their armaments were merely nines and sixes; shot that would be scarcely regarded in a conflict with frigates. The officers of the Volontaire collected on the forecastle of their ship to witness the chase; and the Insurgente being, by this time, a long way ahead, Captain St. Laurent, the commander of the Volontaire, asked Mr. Bainbridge, who was standing near him, what might be the force of the two American vessels. With great presence of mind, Mr. Bainbridge answered, that the ship carried 28 twelves, and the brig 20 nines. As this account quite doubled the real force of the Americans, Captain St. Laurent, who was senior to the commander of the Insurgente, immediately threw out a signal to the latter to relinquish the chase. This was an unmilitary order, even admitting the fact to have been as stated, for the Insurgente would have been fully able to employ two such vessels until the Volontaire could come up; but the recent successes of the English had rendered the French cruisers wary, and the Americans and English, as seamen, were probably identified in the minds of the enemy. The signal caused as much surprise to Captain Murray, in the Montezuma, as to Captain Barreault, of the Insurgente; for the latter, an excellent and spirited officer, had got so near his chases as to have made out their force, and to feel certain of capturing both. The signal was obeyed, however, and the Montezuma and Norfolk escaped.

When the two French vessels rejoined each other, Captain Barreault naturally expressed his surprise at having been recalled under such circumstances. An explanation followed, when the *ruse* that had been practised by Mr. Bainbridge, was discovered. It is to the credit of the French officers, that, while they were much vexed at the results of this artifice, they never visited the offender with their displeasure.

The United States 44, and Delaware 20, captured the pri-

vateers Sans Pareil 16, and Jaloux 14, in the course of the autumn, and sent them in.

Thus terminated the year 1798, leaving the United States with a hastily collected, an imperfectly organised, and unequally disciplined squadron of ships, it is true; but a service that contained the germ of all that is requisite to make an active, an efficient, and a glorious marine.

CHAPTER XV.

THE year 1799 opened with no departure from the policy laid down by the government, and the building and equipping of the different ships in various parts of the country, were pressed with as much diligence as the public resources would then allow. In the course of this season, many vessels were launched, and most of them got to sea within the year. Including all, those that were employed in 1798, those that were put in commission early in the ensuing year, and those that were enabled to quit port nearer to its close, the entire active naval force of the United States, in 1799, would seem to have been composed of the following vessels, viz:

United States	44,	Delaware	20,
Constitution	44,	Baltimore	20,
Congress	38,	Patapsco	20,
Constellation	38,	Maryland	20,
Essex	32,	Herald	18,
General Greene	28,	Norfolk	18,
Boston	28,	Richmond	18,
Adams	28,	Pinckney	18,
John Adams	28,	Warren	18,
Portsmouth	24,	Eagle,	18,
Connecticut	24,	Pickering	14,
Ganges	24,	Augusta	14,
Geo. Washington,	24,	Scammel	14,
Merrimack	24,	Enterprise	12.

To these must be added a few revenue vessels, though most of this description of cruisers appear to have been kept on the

coast throughout this year. As yet, the greatest confusion and irregularity prevailed in the rating, no uniform system appearing to have been adopted. The vessels built by the different cities, and presented to the public, in particular, were rated too high, from a natural desire to make the offering as respectable as possible; and it does not appear to have been thought expedient, on the part of the government, prematurely to correct the mistakes.

On the 9th of February, the Constellation 38, Commodore Truxtun, was cruising on her prescribed ground, Nevis bearing W. S. W., distant five leagues, when she made a large ship in the southern board. The Constellation being to windward at the moment, Commodore Truxtun ran down towards the stranger, who now set American colours, when the private signals were shown. As the chase was unable to answer, he seemed to think further disguise unnecessary, for he hoisted the French ensign, and fired a gun to windward, by way of a challenge, keeping under easy sail, to invite the contest. This was the first opportunity that had occurred since the close of the Revolution, for an American vessel of war to get alongside of an enemy, of a force likely to render a combat certain, and the officers and men of the Constellation displayed the greatest eagerness to engage. On the other hand, the stranger betrayed no desire to disappoint his enemy, waiting gallantly for her to come down. When the Constellation had got abeam of the French frigate, and so near as to have been several times hailed, she opened her fire, which was returned promptly and with spirit. The Constellation drew gradually ahead, both ships maintaining a fierce cannonade. The former suffered most in her sails and rigging, and while under the heaviest of the fire of her antagonist, the fore-topmast was badly wounded, quite near the lower cap. The fore-top was commanded by Mr. David Porter, a midshipman of great promise, and finding that his hails to communicate this important circumstance were disregarded, in the heat of the combat, this young officer took on himself the responsibility of cutting the stoppers and of lowering the yard. By thus relieving the spar of the pressure of the sail, he prevented the fall of the topmast and all its hamper. In the mean time the weight and effect of the fire were altogether in favour of the Constellation, and notwithstanding the injury she received in her fore-topmast, that ship was soon able to throw in two or three raking broadsides, which decided

the combat. After maintaining a close contest of about an hour, the Constellation shot out of the smoke, wore round, and hauling athwart her antagonist's stern, was ready again with every gun to rake her, when the enemy struck.

The prize proved to be the French frigate l'Insurgente, Captain Barreault, the vessel that has already been mentioned, as having captured the Retaliation, and chasing the Montezuma and Norfolk, and one of the fastest ships in the world. She was much cut up, and had sustained a loss of 70 men, in killed and wounded; 29 of the former, and 41 of the latter. The Constellation, besides the loss of the fore-topmast, which had to be shifted, was much damaged aloft, suffering no material injury in her hull, however, and had only 3 men wounded. Among the latter, was Mr. James M'Donough, a midshipman, who had a foot shot off. Early in the combat, one of the men flinched from his gun, and he was killed by the third lieutenant, to whose division he belonged.

The Insurgente's armament consisted of 40 guns, French twelves, on her main-deck battery, and her complement of men was 409. She was a ship a little heavier than a regular 32, which would probably have been her rate in the English marine, although a French twelve-pound shot weighs nearly thirteen English pounds. On this occasion, the Constellation is said to have carried but 38 guns, twelve less than have been put upon her since the introduction of carronades, and she had a crew of 309 men. But the main-deck battery of the Constellation was composed of twenty-fours, a gun altogether too heavy for her size and strength, and from which she was relieved at the termination of this cruise, by exchanging her armament for eighteens.

The Insurgente struck about half past three in the afternoon, and Mr. Rodgers,* the first lieutenant of the Constellation, together with Mr. Porter,† and eleven men, were thrown on board her, to take possession, and to superintend the removal of the prisoners. It began to blow, and when the darkness rendered it necessary to defer the duty, 173 of the prize's crew were still in her. The wind continued to rise, and, notwithstanding every effort, the ships separated in the darkness.

The situation of Mr. Rodgers was now exceedingly critical. The vessel was still covered with the wreck, while the wound-

* Late Commodore Rodgers. † Late Commodore Porter.

ed, and even the dead were lying scattered about her decks, and the prisoners early discovered a disposition to rise. The gratings had been thrown overboard by the people of the Insurgente after she struck, and no handcuffs could be found. Fortunately, Mr. Rodgers was a man of great personal resolution, and of herculean strength, while Mr. Porter, though young and comparatively slight, was as good a second, in such trying circumstances, as any one could desire. As soon as it was ascertained that the prisoners could not be got out of the ship that night, they were all sent into the lower hold, the firearms were secured, and a sentinel was placed at each hatchway, armed to the teeth, with positive orders to shoot every man who should attempt to appear on deck, without permission. In this awkward situation, Mr. Rodgers and his party continued three days, unable to sleep, compelled to manage a frigate, and to watch their prisoners with the utmost vigilance, as the latter were constantly on the look-out for an opportunity to retake the ship. At the end of that time, they carried the Insurgente, in triumph, into St. Kitts, where they found that the Constellation had already arrived.

One of the effects of the victory of the Constellation was to render the navy still more popular, and the most respectable families of the nation discovered greater anxiety than ever to get their sons enrolled on its lists. The new ships were put into the water as fast as possible, and, as soon as manned and equipped, were sent on the different cruising grounds. L'Insurgente was taken into the service as a thirty-six, the command of her was given to Captain Murray, late of the Montezuma 20, and she was permitted to cruise with a roving commission.

In the mean time, the care of the government appeared to extend itself, and it began to cast its eyes beyond the hazards of the American seas.

At the close of the year, the Congress 38, Captain Sever, and Essex 32, Captain Preble, sailed with orders to convoy vessels as far as Batavia. The former of these vessels met with an accident to which all new ships are liable on quitting America in the winter. Her rigging having been set up in cold weather, it became slack when she got into the gulf stream, where she also encountered a strong southerly gale, and she lost not only all her masts, but her bowsprit. The main-mast went while Mr. Bosworth, the fourth lieutenant, was aloft, endeavouring to lower the main-topmast, by which acci-

dent that officer was lost. The crew of the top were all happily saved.

The Congress returned to port, for repairs, but Captain Preble proceeded on his cruise, carrying the pennant, for the first time in a regular cruiser, to the eastward of the Cape of Good Hope.

The active measures resorted to by the American government having better disposed that of France to negotiate, and pledges having been given that new ministers would be received with more respect than had been shown to those last sent, who had met with insults and neglect, the United States 44, Commodore Barry, sailed from Newport, Rhode Island, on the 3d of November, having on board envoys to the French Directory. Notwithstanding these measures to obtain peace, Congress proceeded in the legislation necessary to establish a marine. Many of the laws for the government of the navy were amended, and new regulations were introduced as substitutes for such of the old ones as were found defective. The appropriation for the support of the navy, during the year 1800, the marine corps included, amounted to $2,482,953 90.

The new year consequently opened with increased efforts to continue the singular war that had now existed eighteen months. Many acquisitions were made to the navy, and the following is a list of the vessels that appear to have been employed in the course of the season, principally in the West-Indies, viz:

United States	44,	Portsmouth	24,
Constitution	44,	Merrimack	24,
President	44,	Delaware	20,
Constellation	38,	Baltimore	20,
Congress	38,	Maryland	20,
Chesapeake	38,	Patapsco	20,
Philadelphia	38,	Herald	18,
New York	36,	Norfolk	18,
Insurgente	36,	Richmond	18,
Essex	32,	Pinckney	18,
General Greene	28,	Warren	18,
Adams	28,	Eagle	14,
John Adams	28,	Pickering	14,
Boston	28,	Augusta	14,
Geo. Washington	24,	Scammel	14,
Connecticut	24,	Enterprise	12,
Ganges	24,	Experiment	12.
Trumbull	24,		

By this time, the revenue vessels, with the exception of one or two, appear to have been retained at home, and in the foregoing list, no mention is made of galleys. Laws had been previously passed for the construction of six seventy-fours, and contracts were already made for the collection of the necessary materials.

The cruising portion of the vessels was distributed in two principal squadrons, the one on the St. Domingo station under the orders of Commodore Talbot, whose broad pennant was flying in the Constitution 44, and the other on the Guadaloupe station, under the orders, first of Commodore Truxtun, in the Constellation 38, and next under the orders of Commodore Decatur, in the Philadelphia 38. The force of the former varied from seven to twelve vessels, while that of the latter, in April, consisted of thirteen sail.

Notwithstanding this exhibition of a respectable and active force, the great facilities offered by the islands, and the strong temptations that were to be found in the American West-India trade, then one of the most considerable of the country, induced the enemy to be constantly on the alert, and the seas were still swarming with French cruisers, principally privateers. Guadaloupe, in particular, was distinguished for the number of captures made by its vessels; and it was for this reason that we now find the heaviest American squadron cruising in that vicinity.

On the 1st of February, 1800, the Constellation 38, Commodore Truxtun, was again off the island of Guadaloupe, alone, Basseterre bearing east five leagues, when a sail was seen to the southeast, steering westward. Commodore Truxtun at first supposed the ship in sight to be a large English merchantman, from Martinico, of which he had some knowledge, and, unwilling to be drawn to leeward of his cruising ground, he hoisted English colours, by way of inducing her to run down and speak him. This invitation being disregarded, sail was made in chase, the Constellation gaining fast on the stranger. As the former drew nearer, the ship to leeward was discovered to be a French vessel of war, when the English colours were hauled down, and the Constellation cleared for action. The chase was now distinctly made out to be a heavy frigate mounting 52 guns. As her metal was in all probability equal to her rate, the only circumstance to equalise this disparity against the Constellation, was the fact that the stranger

was very deep, which was accounted for by a practice of sending valuable articles to France, at that time, in the ships of war, as the safest means of transmission. Commodore Truxtun was not discouraged by his discovery, but continued to carry every stitch of canvass that would draw. Towards noon, however, the wind became light, and the enemy had the advantage in sailing. In this manner, with variable breezes, and a smooth sea, the chase continued until noon on the 2d, when the wind freshened, and the Constellation again drew ahead. By the middle of the afternoon, the wind had every appearance of standing, and the chase was rising fast. It was eight in the evening, nevertheless, before the two ships were within speaking distance of each other, the stranger having come up to the wind a little, and the Constellation doubling on her weather quarter. Commodore Truxtun was about to speak to the enemy, when the latter opened a fire from his stern and quarter guns. In a few moments the Constellation, having drawn still more on the weather quarter of the chase, poured in a broadside, and the action began in earnest. It was a little past eight when the firing commenced, and it was maintained with vigour until near one in the morning, the two ships, most of the time, running free, side by side, when the stranger hauled up, and drew out of the combat. Orders were given on board the Constellation to brace up in chase; but at this moment, a report was brought to Commodore Truxtun that the main-mast was supported almost solely by the wood, every shroud having been shot away, and many of them so repeatedly cut as to render the use of stoppers impossible. At that time, as has been said already, masts were usually, in the American navy, of single sticks, and the spars, when they gave way, went altogether. Aware of this danger, Commodore Truxtun ordered the men from the guns, to secure this all-important mast, with the hope of getting alongside of his enemy again, and, judging by the feebleness of her resistance for the last hour, with the certainty of taking her, could this object be effected. But no exertion could obviate the calamity, the mast coming by the board within a few minutes after the enemy had sheered off. All the topmen, including Mr. Jarvis, the midshipman in command aloft, went over the side with the spars, and, that gallant young officer, who had refused to abandon his post, with all but one man, was lost.

The Constellation was no longer in a situation to resume

the action, and her enemy was in a far worse condition, with the exception that she still retained spars enough to enable her to escape. Finding it impossible to reach any friendly port to windward, as soon as the wreck was clear of his ship, Commodore Truxtun bore up for Jamaica, where he arrived in safety.

In this close and hard-fought action, the Constellation had 14 men killed and 25 wounded, 11 of the latter dying of their injuries. Her antagonist afterwards got into Curaçoa, dismasted, and in a sinking condition, reporting herself to have had 50 of her people killed, and 110 wounded, in an engagement with the Constellation, that had lasted five hours within pistol-shot. This statement is now known to be essentially true, and it enables us to form a comparative estimate of the merits of the action. The French vessel proved to be la Vengeance, Captain Pitot.

The armament of the Constellation had been changed since her action with the Insurgente, and her main-deck battery now consisted of 28 eighteens, and she had 10 twenty-four-pound carronades on her quarter-deck, which were among the first, if not the very first guns of this description ever introduced into the American navy. Her crew was composed of 310 souls.

The force of la Vengeance has been ascertained to have been 28 eighteens, 16 twelves, and 8 forty-two-pound carronades. Her crew has been variously stated as having been between 400 and 500 men. The metal was all according to the French mode of weighing, which adds one pound to every twelve.

There is no question that the Constellation engaged a materially superior force, or any doubt that she would have brought la Vengeance into port, but for the loss of the mast. It is even said that la Vengeance did strike her colours three times, during the action, but finding that the Constellation continued her fire, they were re-hoisted. If such an event occurred, it must have arisen from the fact that it was not perceived in the obscurity of the night. Commodore Truxtun gained a great name by this action, and on his return to America for repairs, he was appointed to the President 44, then fitting for sea. Congress gave him a gold medal for his good conduct, and the gallantry of Mr. Jarvis was approved in a solemn resolution. The Constellation was now given to Captain Murray, who had just returned from a short cruise in the

Insurgente, and that officer went in her to the West-Indies, where she joined the squadron under Commodore Talbot.

The latter officer had been cruising for some months on the St. Domingo station, and about this time he planned an expedition that was quite in character with his own personal enterprises during the war of the Revolution.

It was ascertained that a valuable French letter of marque, was lying in Port Platte, a small harbour on the Spanish side of the Island of St. Domingo, and as she was a dangerous ship on account of her sailing, Commodore Talbot determined to attempt cutting her out. This vessel had been the British packet the Sandwich, and she only waited to complete a cargo of coffee, to make a run for France. The legality of the enterprise was more than questionable, but the French picaroons received so much favour in the Spanish colonies, that the American officers were less scrupulous than they might otherwise have been.

As soon as it was determined to make the effort, Mr. Hull, the first lieutenant of the Constitution went in, at night, with one of the frigate's cutters, and reconnoitred. Commodore Talbot was compelled to defer the expedition, for want of a craft proper to avoid suspicion, when fortunately one was found by accident. An American sloop called the Sally had been employed on the coast of the island, under circumstances that rendered her liable to detention, and she was brought out of one of the small French ports, by a boat of the frigate. This sloop had recently left Port Platte, with an intention of soon returning there, and she, at once, afforded all the facilities that could be desired.

Commodore Talbot, accordingly, threw a party of seamen and marines into the Sally, and giving the command to Mr. Hull, that officer was directed to proceed on the duty without further delay. The sloop was manned at sea, to escape detection, and she sailed at an hour that would enable her to reach Port Platte, about noon of the succeeding day. In the course of the night, while running down for her port, under easy sail, a shot suddenly flew over the Sally, and, soon after, an English frigate ranged up alongside. Mr. Hull hove-to, and when the boarding lieutenant got on the sloop's deck, where he found so large a party of men and officers in naval uniforms, he was both startled and surprised. He was told the object of the expedition, however, and expressed his disap-

pointment, as his own ship was only waiting to let the Sandwich complete her cargo, in order to cut her out herself!

The Sally's movements were so well timed, as to permit her to arrive off the harbour's mouth at the proper hour. The Sandwich was lying with her broadside bearing on the approach, and there was a battery at no great distance to protect her. As soon as near enough to be seen, Mr. Hull sent most of his people below, and getting an anchor ready over the stern, to bring the sloop up with, he stood directly for the enemy's bows. So admirably was every thing arranged, that no suspicion was excited, the Sally ran the Sandwich aboard, and the Constitution's people went into her, and carried her without the loss of a man. At the same moment, Captain Carmick landed with the marines, entered the battery, and spiked the guns.

Notwithstanding a great commotion on shore, the Americans now went to work to secure their prize. The Sandwich was stripped to a girtline, and every thing was below. Before sunset she had royal yards across, her guns were scaled, her new crew was quartered, and soon after she weighed, beat out of the harbour, and joined the frigate.

No enterprise of the sort was ever executed with greater steadiness, or discipline. Mr. Hull gained great credit by the neatness with which he fulfilled his orders, and it was not possible for an officer to have been better sustained; the absence of loss, in all cases of surprise, in which the assailed have the means of resistance, being one of the strongest proofs not only of the gallantry and spirit, but of the coolness of the assailants.

In the end, however, this capture, which was clearly illegal, cost the Constitution dear. Not only was the Sandwich given up, but all the prize money of the cruise went to pay damages.

Early in May, the Chesapeake 38, went to sea, under the command of Captain S. Barron. Her first duty was to convey a quantity of specie from Charleston to Philadelphia, after which she proceeded to cruise between the coast and the West-India islands.

The Insurgente 36 had been given to Captain Fletcher, when Captain Murray was transferred to the Constellation, and in July she sailed on a cruise, with instructions to keep between longitudes 66° and 68°, and to run as far south as 30° N. L. After this ship left the capes of Virginia, no authentic accounts, with the exception of a few private letters

sent in by vessels spoken at sea, were ever received of her. She had been ordered to cruise a short time in the latitude and longitude mentioned, after which her commander was left at liberty to pursue his own discretion, provided he returned to Annapolis within eight weeks. Notwithstanding the many years which have since elapsed, no further tidings of any belonging to this ill-fated ship have ever reached their friends.

The Pickering 14, Captain Hillar, also sailed in August, for the Guadaloupe station, and never returned. As in the case of the Insurgente, all on board perished, no information that could be relied on ever having been obtained of the manner in which these vessels were lost. Vague rumours were set afloat at the time, and it was even affirmed that they had run foul of each other in a gale, a tale that was substantiated by no testimony, and which was probably untrue, as the Pickering was sent to a station, which the Insurgente, under discretionary orders, would be little apt to seek, since it was known to be already filled with American cruisers. These two ships swelled the list of vessels of war that had been lost in this manner to three, viz: the Saratoga 16, the Insurgente 36, and the Pickering 14; to which may be added the Reprisal 16, though the cook of the latter sloop was saved.

The nature of the warfare, which was now confined principally to chases and conflicts with small fast-sailing privateers, and a species of corsair that went by the local name of picaroons, or with barges that ventured no great distance at sea, soon satisfied the government that, to carry on the service to advantage, it required a species of vessel different from the heavy, short, sloop of twenty, or twenty-four guns, of which so many were used in the beginning of the contest. Two schooners had been built with this view, and each of them fully proved their superiority over the old clumsy cruiser, that had been inherited, as it might be, from the Revolution. One of these vessels was called the Experiment, and the other the Enterprise, and they were rated at twelve guns. The modern improvements, however, did not extend to the armaments of even these schooners, the old-fashioned six-pounder being still used, where an 18lb. carronade would now be introduced. The Enterprise, Lieutenant Commandant Shaw, was very active this year, capturing la Citoyenne, privateer, of 6 guns and 57 men; la Seine 4, and 54 men; l'Aigle 10, and 78 men; la Pauline 6, and 40 men; and la Guadaloupéenne 7, and 45 men. Most of these vessels resisted, though neither was of a

force to afford much hope of success. La Citoyenne had 4 killed and 10 wounded before she struck; la Seine made an obstinate resistance, holding out until she had 24 of her crew killed and wounded, which was near half her complement; and l'Aigle lost 12 men, among whom was her first lieutenant, in an action of fifteen minutes. In the last affair the Enterprise had three men wounded.

Near the close of her cruise, the Enterprise made a strange sail a long distance to windward, late in the day, and hauled up for her. Night coming on, the chase was lost sight of in the darkness, when the schooner hove-to, to keep her station. When the day dawned the stranger, a brig, was seen to windward as before, and nearly in the position in which she had last been observed. Both vessels now discovered a disposition to close. At noon the Enterprise made the American signal, which was not answered, the brig showing English colours. The signals that had been established between the English and the American commanders were next shown, but the stranger could not reply. Believing the brig to be an enemy of a force at least equal to his own, Lieutenant Commandant Shaw now set his ensign as a challenge to come down, but, instead of complying, the chase immediately hauled his wind. The Enterprise began turning to windward on short tacks, and sailing uncommonly fast, it was soon apparent that the enemy would be overhauled.

As soon as the French were satisfied that escape was impossible, they cleared for action, and waiting until the Enterprise was within half a mile to leeward, they began to fire. Instead of returning a gun, Lieutenant Commandant Shaw kept the schooner under all her canvass, and, about half an hour after the brig had opened on him, he tacked in her wake, and ranged up handsomely under her lee, within pistol-shot. As her guns bore, the Enterprise now poured in a close and destructive fire, which lasted for a little more than an hour, when the brig's fore-topmast being shot away, and the vessel otherwise seriously injured, she struck.

The prize was the Flambeau privateer. She mounted 12 guns, and had more than 110 men. Her loss was very heavy, forty of her crew having been killed and wounded. The Enterprise had 3 men killed and 7 wounded. This little affair was considered one of the warmest combats of the war, and it is seldom that so sharp a conflict occurs between vessels of so small a force.

Lieutenant Shaw was justly applauded for his activity while in command of this schooner, recapturing eleven American vessels, besides taking those just mentioned, in a cruise of only eight months. It was a proof of the greater efficiency of this description of vessel than any other, in a warfare of such a nature, that the Enterprise, a schooner of only 165 tons, carrying an armament of 12 light guns, and with a crew that varied from 60 to 83 men, destroyed more of the enemy's privateers, and afforded as much protection to the trade of the country, as any frigate employed in the war.

In March, the Boston 28, Captain Little, being near the Point of St. Marks, having a merchant brig in tow, on her way to Port-au-Prince, nine barges were discovered pulling towards the vessels, coming from the small island of Gonaives, with every appearance of hostile intentions. The barges were large, as usual, pulled 20 oars, and contained from 30 to 40 men each. As soon as their characters were properly made out, the guns of the Boston were housed, and the ship was otherwise disguised. This stratagem succeeded so far as to draw the barges within gun-shot; but discovering their mistake before they got as near as could be wished, they turned and began to retreat. The Boston now cast off her tow, made sail in chase, ran out her guns, and opened her fire. For two hours she was enabled to keep some of the barges within reach of her shot, and three of them, with all their crews, were sunk. The remainder did not escape without receiving more or less injury.

After this punishment of the picaroons, which were often guilty of the grossest excesses, the Boston, having been home to refit, was directed to cruise a short time, previously to going on the Guadaloupe station again, between the American coast and the West-India islands. While in the discharge of this duty, November, 1800, in lat. 22° 50′ N., and long. 51° W., she made a French cruiser, which, instead of avoiding her, evidently sought an encounter. Both parties being willing, the ships were soon in close action, when, after a plain, hard-fought combat of two hours, the enemy struck. The prize proved to be the French corvette le Berceau, Captain Senes, mounting 24 guns, and with a crew a little exceeding 200 men. The Berceau was much cut up, and shortly after the action her fore and main-masts went. Her loss in killed and wounded was never ascertained, but from the number of the latter found in her, it was probably between 30 and 40

men. Among the former were her first lieutenant, master, boatswain, and gunner. The Boston mounted eight more light guns than the Berceau, and had about an equal number of men. She had 4 killed and 11 wounded. Among the latter was her purser, Mr. Young, who died of his injuries. The Berceau was a singularly fine vessel of her class, and had the reputation of being one of the fastest ships in the French marine. Like the combat between the Constellation and l'Insurgente, the superiority of force was certainly in favour of the American ship, on this occasion, but the execution was every way in proportion to the difference.

The year 1800 was actively employed on both sides in the West-Indies, for while the force of the French in vessels of war seemed to decrease, as those of England and America increased, the privateers still abounded. A great many American merchantmen were captured, and the recaptures also amounted to a number that it is now difficult to ascertain, but which is known to have been large. Most of the privateers were small schooners, filled with men, sufficient to subdue a letter of marque by boarding; but, as they offered no resistance to any of the cruisers except the smallest, a brief catalogue of the prizes taken by the different large vessels, will at once give an idea of the nature of the service that was performed by the West-India squadrons during this year. The Baltimore 20, Captain Cowper, took la Brilliante Jeunesse 12, with a crew of 62 men, and a vessel whose name is not known; the Merrimack 24, Captain Brown, the Phenix 14, with 128 men; the Connecticut 24, Captain Tryon, le Piège 2, with 50 men, l'Unité 1, with 50 men, and le Chou Chou; the Boston 28, Captain Little, la Fortune, l'Heureux, and an open boat; Pickering 14, Captain Hillar, la Voltigeuse 10, with 60 men, the Fly, and l'Active 12, with 60 men; Boston 28 in company with different vessels, the Flying Fish, la Gourde, le Pelican, and l'Espoir; Herald 18 and Augusta 14, la Mutine 6, with 60 men; John Adams 28, Captain Cross, le Jason, with 50 men, la Decade; the Trumbull 24, Captain Jewett, la Peggie, la Vengeance 10, and la Tullie; Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett, l'Amour de la Patrie 6, with 72 men; the Patapsco 18, Captain Geddes, la Dorade 6, with 46 men; the Adams 28, Captain Morris, l'Heureuse Rencontre 4, with 50 men, le Gambeau, 4 swivels and 16 men, la Renommée, the Dove, and le Massena 6, with 49 men. Several of the frigates also made prizes of different small priva-

teers, barges, and boats; and many vessels were chased on shore, and either destroyed by boats or were bilged in striking. The privateers taken and brought into port, during the years 1798, 1799, and 1800, amounted in all to rather more than fifty sail. To these must be added several letters of marque. But few merchant ships were taken, the French venturing but little on the ocean, except in fast-sailing armed vessels. Still, some valuable prizes of this nature were made, and several ships of this class were driven ashore among the islands.

The constant changes that occurred among the commanders of the different vessels, render it difficult to give clear accounts of the movements of either. These changes were owing to the rapidity and irregularities of the promotions in an infant service, officers who went out at the commencement of the season lieutenants, in many instances, returning home captains, at its close. In short, the officers, like the crews, were constantly passing from vessel to vessel, several serving in two or three ships in as many years.

The Experiment 12, made her first cruise under the command of Lieutenant Commandant Maley, and was much employed in convoying through the narrow passages, where the vessels were exposed to attacks from large barges manned from the shores. About the close of the year 1799, or at the commencement of 1800, this schooner was becalmed in the Bight of Leogane, with several sail of American merchantmen in company and under convoy. While the little fleet lay in this helpless condition, a good deal scattered, ten of the barges mentioned, filled with negroes and mulattoes, came out against it. The barges contained from 30 to 40 men each, who were armed with muskets, cutlasses, and pikes, and in some of the boats were light guns and swivels. As the Experiment was partially disguised, the enemy came within reach of her grape before the assault was made, when Lieutenant Commandant Maley ran out his guns and opened his fire. This was the commencement of a long conflict, in which the barges were beaten off. It was not in the power of the Experiment, however, to prevent the enemy from seizing two of her convoy, which had drifted to such a distance as to be beyond protection. A third vessel was also boarded, but from her the brigands were driven by grape, though not until they had murdered her master and plundered the cabin.

The barges went twice to the shore, landed their killed and wounded, and took on board reinforcements of men. The

second attack they made was directed especially at the Experiment, there being no less than three divisions of the enemy, each of which contained three heavy barges. But, after a protracted engagement, which, with the intermissions, lasted seven hours, the enemy abandoned further designs on this convoy, and retreated in disorder. The Experiment endeavoured to follow, by means of her sweeps, but finding that some of the more distant of the barges threatened two of her convoy that had drifted out of gun-shot, she was obliged to give up the chase.

In this arduous and protracted engagement the Experiment was fought with spirit, and handled with skill. The total absence of wind gave the enemy every advantage; but notwithstanding their vast superiority in numbers, they did not dare to close. Two of the barges were sunk, and their loss in killed and wounded was known to have been heavy, while the Experiment had but two wounded, one of whom was Lieutenant David Porter.

Shortly after this affair, the command of the Experiment was given to Lieutenant Charles Stewart, late of the United States 44. Not long after he had got upon his station, this officer fell in with, and took, after a slight resistance, the French privateer les Deux Amis, of 8 guns, and between 40 and 50 men. The Deux Amis was sent in.

About a month after this occurrence, while cruising on her station, the Experiment made two sail, which had the appearance of enemy's cruisers. The Frenchmen were a brig of 18 guns, and a three-masted schooner of 14, and they gave chase to the American. Lieutenant-Commandant Stewart, having soon satisfied himself of the superior sailing of his own vessel, manœuvred in a way to separate the enemy, and to keep them at a distance until after dark. At length, finding that the Frenchmen had given up the chase, and that the brig was about a league ahead of the schooner, he cleared for action, closed with the latter, by running up on her weather quarter, and gave her a broadside. The attack was so vigorous and close, that the enemy struck in a few minutes. Throwing his first lieutenant, Mr. David Porter, into the prize, Lieutenant-Commandant Stewart immediately made sail after the brig; but she had gained so much ahead, during the time lost with the schooner, that she was soon abandoned, and the Experiment returned to her prize, which she carried into St. Kitts.

Mr. Stewart probably owed his success to the boldness of his manœuvres, as the brig was of a force sufficient to capture him in a few minutes.

The vessel taken by the Experiment proved to be the French man-of-war schooner la Diane, Lieutenant Perradeau, of 14 guns, and about 60 men. She was bound to France, with General Rigaud on board; and in addition to her regular crew, 30 invalid soldiers had been put in her, having served their time in the islands. Her commander had been the first lieutenant of l'Insurgente, and the prize-officer of the Retaliation.

Returning to her station, the Experiment had next a combat that was of a less agreeable nature. A suspicious sail had been made in the course of the day, and chase was given until dark. Calculating the courses and distances, Lieutenant-Commandant Stewart ordered the Experiment to be kept in the required direction until midnight, when, if he did not close with the stranger, he intended to give up the chase. At that hour, the schooner was hauled by the wind, accordingly; but, in a few minutes, a sail was seen quite near, and to windward. The Experiment went to quarters, ran up under the stranger's lee, and hailed. Finding the other vessel indisposed to give an answer, Lieutenant-Commandant Stewart ordered a gun fired into him, which was returned by a broadside. A sharp action now commenced, but, it blowing heavily, and the schooner lying over, it was found impossible to depress the guns sufficiently to hull the enemy. Planks were cut and placed beneath the trucks of the gun-carriages, when the shot of the Experiment told with so much effect, that her antagonist struck. Mr. Porter, the first lieutenant of the Experiment, was directed to take possession of the prize, but, on getting alongside, he was refused permission to board. As soon as this was known in the schooner, the boat was directed to pull out of the line of fire, with a view to re-commence the action, when the stranger hailed to say he submitted.

This vessel proved to be a privateer called the Louisa Bridger, out of Bermuda, with an armament of 8 nine-pounders, and a crew of between 40 and 50 men. She was much cut up, and had four feet water in her hold when she surrendered. Her captain was among the wounded.

As soon as the nature of this unfortunate mistake was known, every aid was afforded the privateer, the Experiment lying by her all next day, to assist in repairing her damages.

The Experiment received a good deal of injury in her rigging, and had one man killed, and a boy wounded.

Active negotiations had commenced, and in the autumn of 1800 the hopes of peace became so strong, that the efforts to increase the navy were sensibly relaxed, and the sailing of many ships, that had been intended for distant stations, was suspended.

Negotiations for peace with France had been going on at Paris, and a treaty to that effect was ratified by the Senate, on the 3d of February, 1801. All the necessary forms having been complied with on both sides, the Herald 18, Captain Russel, was sent to the West-Indies, with orders of recall for the whole force.

Thus ended the short and irregular struggle with France, in which the present marine of the United States was founded, most of the senior officers now in service having commenced their careers as midshipmen during its existence.

The commencement of the year 1801, was distinguished by a change of administration, for the first time since the adoption of the constitution; Mr. Jefferson and his political friends, who were usually known by the name of the republican party, expelling the federalists from power. A president of the United States, however, is little more than an executive officer while confined to the circle of his constitutional duties; and the Congress that terminated on the 4th of March, 1801, the day the change occurred, had passed a law, in some measure regulating a peace establishment for the navy. This law gave great discretionary authority to the president, it is true; for it empowered him, whenever he should deem it expedient, to sell any, or all of the vessels of the navy, with the exception of thirteen of the frigates, which were named in the act, if, in his opinion the good of the country might require it. To this part of the law no great objections could be taken, even by the friends of an enlarged and liberal policy, as most of the vessels not excepted had been bought into, and were unsuited to the service, more especially at a period, when new improvements in naval architecture, that had been borrowed from the French, were fast superseding the old mode of construction.

The law also directed the guns and stores of the vessels sold to be preserved; a provision that proved singularly unprofitable in the end, as the carronade now began to supersede the small long gun, and two of the sloops would probably have

furnished all the nines and sixes that have been used in the navy for the last five-and-thirty years. The great error of this law was in the limitation it set to the number of the different ranks of officers. The whole of the sea-officers, sailing-masters excepted, were confined to nine captains, thirty-six lieutenants, and one hundred and fifty midshipmen; the rank of master commandant being abolished, should the president see fit to discharge those then in commission. The phraseology, as well as the provisions of this law, betrayed that ignorance of the details of the service, which has been so common in the legislation of the country, omitting many directions that were indispensable in practice, and laying stress on others that were of little or no moment.

The administration of 1801 exercised its authority under the statute, which, it will be remembered, was enacted previously to its accession to office, with a reasonable discretion; and though it may have made a few of those mistakes that are incidental to the discharge of all such trusts, it conformed to the spirit of the law, with a due regard to liberality. The selection of the officers to be retained was one of great delicacy and importance, as the future character of the navy depended more on the proper discharge of this duty than on that of any other. The great defect of the law, indeed, was the narrow limits to which the list of the superior sea-officers was confined, it being at all times easier to build ships, than to form professional men fit to command them. This part of his delegated duties the president discharged in perfect good faith, apparently altogether disregarding party considerations.

Although some meritorious officers were necessarily dismissed, on this occasion, there is no question that the navy was greatly benefited by the reduction; the hurried manner in which the appointments were originally made, having been the means of introducing many persons into the service who were unfitted for its duties.

The law of Congress directed that thirteen vessels, named in the act, should not be disposed of, leaving it discretionary with the president to sell the remainder or not. The following ships were retained, viz:

Constitution	44,
United States	44,
President	44,

Congress	38,
Constellation	38,
Chesapeake	38,
Philadelphia	38,
New York	36,
Essex	32,
General Greene	28,
Boston	28,
Adams	28,
John Adams	28,
Enterprise	12.

The reduction of the navy was greatly exaggerated at the time, so far as the vessels alone were concerned. At the peace with France, the cruising vessels in the service were thirty-four in number, and of these, fourteen of the best were retained. No frigate, unless the George Washington could be considered one, was sold, and this ship had been purchased into the service, and not built for the public. As regards force, materially more than one-half, perhaps four-fifths, was preserved, the eight largest frigates retained being more than strong enough to contend with all the vessels sold.

CHAPTER XVI.

We have now reached the period when the American marine assumed a fixed and permanent character. No more reductions were anticipated by those who understood the necessities of the country, nor have any ever been seriously attempted.

As early as in 1800, the Bashaw of Tripoli, Jussuf Caramalli, who had deposed his brother Hamet, and now sat on the throne of this dependency of the Porte, manifested a disposition to war. He had learned the concessions made to Algiers, the manner in which the Dey of that regency had been bribed to do justice, and, by a course of reasoning that was certainly plausible, if not true, he inferred that the government which had been induced to pay tribute to one pirate, might be induced to pay tribute to another. The complaints on which this semblance of royalty grounded his justification for war, are such as ought to be generally known. He accused the American government of having bribed the subordinates of Tunis at a higher price than it had bribed him; he added, that Algiers had received a frigate, while he had received none; and even in a letter to the president he said significantly, in reply to some of the usual diplomatic professions of friendship, "we could wish that these your expressions were followed by deeds, and not by empty words. You will therefore endeavour to satisfy us by a good manner of proceeding"—"But if only flattering words are meant, without performance, every one will act as he finds convenient. We beg a speedy answer, without neglect of time, as a delay on your part cannot but be prejudicial to your interests."

Shortly after, the Bashaw informed the American consul at Tripoli, that he would wait six months for a present in money, and if it did not arrive within that time, he would formally declare war against the United States. Jussuf Caramalli was as good as his word. No tidings of the money having reached Tripoli, the flag-staff of the American consulate was cut down on the 14th of May, 1801, and war was proclaimed in the act.

While Tripoli went so directly to work, difficulties existed with the other states of Barbary. Algiers complained that the

tribute was in arrears, and Tunis found fault with the quality of various articles that had been sent to her, by way of bribing her not to seize American vessels. Certain planks and oars were too short, and guns of a particular description were much wanted. Morocco was also distrusted, although the prince of that country had not yet deigned to intimate his wishes.

Timid as was the policy of the United States, and disgraceful as was that of all christendom, at that period, in reference to the Barbary powers, the former was too much flushed with its recent successes against France, and too proud of its infant marine, to submit to all these exactions without resistance. Before it was known that Tripoli had actually declared war, a squadron was ordered to be fitted for the Mediterranean, with a view to awe the different sovereigns of Barbary, by its presence. The vessels selected for this purpose consisted of the President 44, Captain J. Barron; Philadelphia 38, Captain S. Barron; Essex 32, Captain Bainbridge, and Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett. At the head of this force was Captain Dale, an officer whose career we have had frequent occasion to notice, and who now hoisted his broad pennant in the President 44.

The ships rendezvoused in Hampton Roads, and sailed for their place of destination. On the 1st of July they anchored at Gibraltar, where they found the Tripolitan admiral, a renegado of the name of Lisle, in a ship of 26 guns, with a brig of 16, in company. There is no question that the timely appearance of the American squadron prevented these two vessels from getting into the Atlantic, where they might have struck a severe blow at the commerce of the country. The admiral, however, protested there was no war, though the information derived from other sources, induced Commodore Dale to distrust his sincerity. The Essex was sent along the north shore to collect the American trade, and to give it convoy; the Philadelphia was ordered to cruise in the straits to watch the two Tripolitans, while the President and Enterprise shaped their course towards Algiers, as ordered. The latter, however, soon parted company from the President on duty.

The appearance of a ship of the President's force at Algiers and Tunis, had an extremely quieting effect on the resentments of their two princes; and Mr. O'Brien, the consul at the former regency, gave it as his opinion, that the arrival of the squadron in the Mediterranean, had more weight in preserving the peace,

than if the George Washington, which vessel was soon expected, had come in with the tribute.

On the 1st of August, while running for Malta, the Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett, fell in with and spoke a polacre-rigged ship of 14 guns and 80 men, belonging to Tripoli, that was known to be out on a cruise against the American commerce. Running close alongside, an action was commenced within pistol-shot, and it continued with little intermission for three hours, when the Turk submitted. During the combat, however, the Tripolitan struck three several times, twice re-hoisting his colours, and opening his fire again, when he thought an advantage might be obtained by attacking the Americans unprepared. Irritated by this treachery, on the last occasion the Enterprise resumed her fire, with an intention to sink her opponent, but after some further though fruitless resistance, the Turkish captain appeared in the waist of his ship, and threw his ensign into the sea, bending his body and supplicating for quarter by signs, when the fire of the schooner was stopped.

The name of the captured ship was the Tripoli, and that of her rais, or commander, Mahomet Sous. Although the Turks showed courage — desperation would be a better term — this first trial of skill with their trans-atlantic enemies was far from creditable to them. The Enterprise raked her enemy repeatedly, and the consequences were dreadfully apparent in the result, 50 of the corsair's people having been killed and wounded in the battle. The ship herself was a wreck, and her mizzen-mast was shot away. On the other hand, the Enterprise sustained but little injury even aloft, and had not a man hurt. Neither did she suffer materially in her hull.

The instructions of Lieutenant Sterrett did not permit him to carry the Tripoli in, and Lieutenant David Porter took possession, and proceeded to dismantle her. Her armament was thrown overboard, and she was stripped of every thing but one old sail, and a single spar, that were left to enable her to reach port. After attending to the wounded, the prize was abandoned, and it is understood a long time elapsed before she got in. When her unfortunate rais appeared in Tripoli, even his wounds did not avail him. He was placed on a jackass, paraded through the streets, and received the bastinado. The effect of this punishment appears to have been different from what was expected, for it is said the panic among the sailors became so great, in consequence, that it was found difficult to

obtain men for the corsairs that were then fitting for sea. One thing is certain, that, though this war lasted three years, and in the end became both spirited and active, very few Tripolitan cruisers ventured from port during its continuance; or if they quitted port, they were cautious to an extreme about venturing from the land.

The President appeared off Tripoli on the 24th of August, when an ineffectual attempt was made to establish a truce. Remaining eighteen days in the vicinity of the town, and discovering no movement in or about the port, Commodore Dale ran down the coast some distance, when he crossed over to Malta, in order to water his ship. As soon as this necessary duty was performed, the President returned to Tripoli, and on the 30th of August, she overhauled a Greek ship bound in, with a cargo of merchandise and provisions. On board this vessel was an officer and twenty Tripolitan soldiers besides twenty other subjects of the regency. All these persons were taken on board the frigate, and an attempt was made, by means of this lucky capture, to establish a system of exchange. The negotiations were carried on through Mr. Nissen, the Danish consul, a gentleman whose name, by means of his benevolence, philanthropy, and probity, has become indissolubly connected with the history of the American marine.

It was soon discovered that the Bashaw cared very little about his subjects, as he declared that he would not exchange one American for all the soldiers. There was a little of the art of the negotiator in this, however, as he agreed in the end to give three Americans for all the soldiers, the officer included, and three more for eight of the merchants, disclaiming the remaining six merchants as his subjects. Commodore Dale appears to have become disgusted with this unworthy mode of bargaining, for he sent his prisoners on board the Greek again, and allowed the ship to go into Tripoli, relinquishing his claim on the merchants altogether as non-combatants, and consenting to take the three Americans for the soldiers.

Finding it necessary to go down to Gibraltar, the commodore now left Tripoli, and proceeded direct to the former place. He was soon succeeded by the Essex, which also appeared off the different Barbary ports.

In the mean time, the two Tripolitan cruisers at Gibraltar, on its being ascertained that it was impossible for them to get out while they were so closely watched, were dismantled, and

their crews were privately sent across to Tetuan in boats, to find their way home by land; men enough being left to take care of the ships, and to navigate them, should an opportunity occur to get to sea. The Bashaw complained loudly of the blockade, as an innovation on the received mode of warfare; and the governments of Algiers and Tunis, which appeared to distrust the precedent, manifested a disposition to join in the protest. The Dey of Algiers even went so far as to ask passports for the crews of the two vessels at Gibraltar, with a view to aid his neighbour; but the request was denied.

The return of Commodore Dale's squadron was ordered to take place on the 1st of December, at the latest; but discretionary powers appear to have been subsequently given to him, as he left the Philadelphia and Essex behind him, and proceeded home with his own ship and the Enterprise. The practice of entering men for only a twelvemonth still prevailed, and it was often imperative on vessels to quit stations at the most unfortunate moments. The Philadelphia was left to watch the Tripolitans, making Syracuse in Sicily her port of resort; while the Essex was kept at the straits, to blockade the two vessels at Gibraltar, and guard the passage into the Atlantic. Both ships gave convoys when required.

Thus ended the first year of the war with Tripoli. Although little had been effected towards bringing the enemy to terms, much was done in raising the tone and discipline of the service. At Gibraltar, Malta, and other ports, the finest cruisers of Great Britain were constantly met; and the American ships proving to be entirely their equals, in construction, sailing, and manœuvring, a strong desire was soon excited to render them, in all other respects, as good as those that were then deemed the model-ships of the world. A similar opportunity had occurred while cruising in the West-Indies; but then a large proportion of the vessels employed were of inferior qualities, and some of the officers were unfit to hold commissions in any service. All the purchased ships had now been sold, and the reduction law had cleared the lists of those who would be likely to lessen the ambition, or alarm the pride of an aspiring and sensitive marine. Each day added to the knowledge, tone, esprit de corps, and seamanship of the younger officers; and as these opportunities continued to increase throughout the whole of the Mediterranean service, the navy rapidly went on improving, until the commander of an American ship was as ready to meet comparisons, as the commander of any vessel of war that floated.

CHAPTER XVII.

EARLY in the year 1802, Congress enacted laws that obviated some constitutional scruples of the executive, and which fully authorised the capture and condemnation of any Tripolitan vessels that might be found. It is worthy of remark, that this law itself did not contain a formal declaration of war, while it provided for all the contingencies of such a state of things, even to empowering the president to issue commissions to privateers and letters of marque; and it may be inferred from this fact, that it was supposed the act of the enemy was sufficient to render the country technically a belligerent. One of the sections of this law, however, was of great service to the navy, by enabling crews to be shipped for two years.

As the President and Enterprise had returned home, and the time of service of the people of the two ships that were left in the Mediterranean was nearly up, preparations were now made to send out a relief squadron. For this service the following ships were commissioned, viz. the Chesapeake 38, Lieutenant Chauncey, acting captain; Constellation 38, Captain Murray; New York 36, Captain James Barron; John Adams 28, Captain Rodgers; Adams 28, Captain Campbell; and Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett. Commodore Truxtun was selected to command this squadron, and he had proceeded to Norfolk for that purpose, when a question arising about allowing him a captain in the flag-ship, he was induced to resign. Commodore Morris was appointed to succeed Commodore Truxtun, and shortly after he hoisted his broad pennant in the Chesapeake.

The vessels fitting for the Mediterranean being in different states of forwardness, and there existing a necessity for the immediate appearance of some of them in that sea, they did not sail in a squadron, but as each was ready. The Enterprise was the first that left home, sailing in February; and she was followed, in March, by the Constellation. The Chesapeake did not get out until April, and the Adams followed her in June. The two other ships were detained until September. There was, however, one other vessel at sea, all this time, to which it will be necessary to make a brief allusion.

Shortly after his accession to office, in 1801, Mr. Jefferson appointed Mr. Robert R. Livingston minister to France, and the Boston 28, Captain M'Niell, was directed to carry the new envoy to his place of destination. This duty performed, the ship had been ordered to join the squadron in the Mediterranean, for service in that sea. The departure of the Boston was so timed as to bring her on the station under both commands, that of Commodore Dale, and that of Commodore Morris. This cruise has become memorable in the service, on account of the eccentricities of the officer in command of the ship. After encountering a heavy gale of wind in the Bay of Biscay, in which he showed perfect seamanship, and the utmost coolness, under circumstances particularly trying, Captain M'Niell landed his passengers, and proceeded to the Mediterranean. Here he cruised for some time, avoiding his senior officers, whenever he could, passing from port to port, appearing off Tripoli, and occasionally affording a convoy. After a time, the Boston returned home, and was put out of commission, her commander quitting the service under the reduction law. The Essex and Philadelphia also returned home, as soon as relieved.

We have now reached the summer of 1802, and must confine the narrative of events to the movements of the different vessels that composed the squadron under the orders of Commodore Morris. In some respects, this was the best appointed force that had ever sailed from America. The ships were well officered and manned, and the crews had been entered for two years, or double the usual period. The powers given to the commanding officer, appear to have been more ample than common; and so strong was the expectation of the government that his force was sufficient to bring the enemy to terms, that Commodore Morris was associated with Mr. Cathcart, the late consul at Tripoli, in a commission to negotiate a peace. He was also empowered to obtain gun-boats, in order to protect the American trade in the Straits of Gibraltar.

As there were no means of bringing the Bashaw of Tripoli to terms but blockade and bombardment, two material errors seem to have been made in the composition of the force employed, which it is necessary to mention. There was no frigate in this squadron that carried a long gun heavier than an eighteen-pounder, nor was there any mortar vessel. Heavy carronades had come into use, it is true, and most ships carried more or less of them; but these are guns unsuited to batter-

ing under any circumstances, and were particularly unfitted for an assault on works that it is difficult to approach very near, on account of reefs of rocks. There was also a singular deficiency in small vessels, without which a close blockade of a port like Tripoli, was extremely difficult, if not impossible. It will be remembered, that the schooner Enterprise was the only vessel left in the navy by the reduction law, that was not frigate-built, and none had yet been launched to supply the defect. The government, however, had become aware of the great importance of light cruisers, and several were laid down in the summer of this year, under authority granted for that purpose.

As has been seen, the Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett, was the first vessel of the new squadron that reached the Mediterranean. She was soon followed by the Constellation 38, Captain Murray, which ship arrived off Tripoli early in May, where she found the Boston 28, Captain M'Niell, blockading the port. The latter ship, in a few days, quitted the station, and never re-appeared on it. A Swedish cruiser was also off the port, assisting to blockade.*

After being off the port some time, the Constellation was lying three or four leagues from the town, when the look-out aloft reported several small vessels to the westward, stealing along shore. The wind was quite light, and the Swedish frigate, at the moment, was a long distance outside. Sail was got on the Constellation, and towards noon the strangers were made out to be seventeen Tripolitan gun-boats, which, as it was afterwards ascertained, had gone out at night, with the intention of convoying into port, an American prize that was expected from Tunis, but which had failed to appear. Fortunately the wind freshened as the Constellation drew in with the land, and about one o'clock hopes were entertained of cutting off all, or a portion of the enemy. The latter were divided into two divisions, however, and that which led, by pulling directly to windward, effected its escape. The division in the rear, consisting of ten boats, was less fortunate, the Constellation being enabled to get it, for a short time, under her fire.

The wind blew nearly from the direction of the town, and the Tripolitans still endeavoured to cross the bows of the ship,

* Sweden was at war with Tripoli, at this time, also; but peace was made in the course of the summer.

as she was standing in; but Captain Murray, having run into ten fathoms, opened upon the enemy, time enough to cut off all but one boat of the rear division. This boat, notwithstanding a hot discharge of grape, succeeded in getting to windward, and was abandoned to attend to the remainder. The enemy now opened a fire in return, but the Constellation having, by this time, got the nearest boats fairly under her broadside, soon compelled the whole nine to bear up, and to pull towards the shore. Here they got into nooks behind the rocks, or in the best places of refuge that offered, while a large body of cavalry appeared on the sand-hills above them, to prevent a landing. Deeming it imprudent to send in the boats of a single frigate against so formidable a force, Captain Murray wore and stood off shore, soon after speaking the Swede, who had not been able to close in time to engage.

This little affair was the first that occurred off the port of Tripoli, in this war; and it had the effect of rendering the enemy very cautious in his movements. The gun-boats were a good deal cut up, though their loss was never ascertained. The cavalry, also, suffered materially, and it was said that an officer of high rank, nearly allied to the Bey, was killed. The Constellation sustained some trifling damage aloft, but the gun-boats were too hard pressed to render their fire very serious. The batteries opened upon the ship, also, on this occasion, but all their shot fell short.

After waiting in vain for the re-appearance of the Boston, Captain Murray was compelled to quit the station for want of water, when Tripoli was again left without any force before it.

The Chesapeake 38, Acting Captain Chauncey, wearing the broad pennant of Commodore Morris, reached Gibraltar May 25th, 1802, where she found the Essex 32, Captain Bainbridge, still blockading the Tripolitan cruisers. The latter vessel was sent home, and the Chesapeake, which had need of repairs, having sprung her mainmast, continued in the straits for the purpose of refitting, and of watching the enemy. Commodore Morris also deemed it prudent to observe the movements of the government of Morocco, which had manifested a hostile disposition. The arrival of the Adams 28, Captain Campbell, late in July, finally placed the flag-ship at liberty, and she sailed with a convoy to various ports on the north shore, having the Enterprise in company. This long delay below, of itself, almost defeated the possibility of acting effi-

ciently against the town of Tripoli that summer, since, further time being indispensable to collect the different vessels and to make the necessary preparations, it would bring the ships before that place too late in the season. The fault, however, if fault there was, rested more with those who directed the preparations at home, than with the commanding officer, as the delay at Gibraltar would seem to have been called for by circumstances. The Chesapeake, following the north shore, and touching at many ports, anchored in the roads of Leghorn, on the 12th of October. At Leghorn the Constellation was met, which ship shortly after returned home, in consequence of a discretionary power that had been left with the Commodore. Orders were now sent to the different vessels of the squadron to rendezvous at Malta, whither the Commodore proceeded with his own ship. Here, in the course of the month of January, 1803, were assembled the Chesapeake 38, Acting Captain Chauncey; New York 36, Captain J. Barron; John Adams 28, Captain Rodgers, and Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett. Of the remaining vessels that had been put under the orders of Commodore Morris, the Constellation 38, Captain Murray, had gone into a Spanish port to repair some damages received in a gale of wind, and she shortly after sailed for home; the Boston 28, Captain M'Niell, had not joined, and the Adams 28, Captain Campbell, was cruising off Gibraltar. On the 30th of January, 1803, the ships first named left Malta with an intention to go off Tripoli, but a severe gale coming on, which lasted eleven days, the Commodore was induced to bear up, and to run down to Tunis, where it was understood the presence of the squadron would be useful. On the 11th of March he left Tunis, touched at Algiers, and anchored again at Gibraltar on the 23d of the month.

The reason assigned for carrying the ships below, when it had been the original design to appear off the enemy's port, was the want of provisions, as well as to make the transfers and arrangements dependent on shifting the pennant of the commanding officer, from the Chesapeake to the New York, the former ship having been ordered home by the navy department. The squadron was now reduced to the New York 36, the Adams 28, the John Adams 28, and the Enterprise 12. Acting Captain Chauncey accompanied the Commodore to the first of these vessels, and Captain Barron was transferred to the Chesapeake. The Adams was despatched with a convoy,

with orders to go off Tripoli, as soon as the first duty was performed.

The ships appear to have been detained some time at Malta by the repairs that were rendered necessary in consequence of an accident that had occurred to the New York. On the 3d of May, however, the John Adams was sent off Tripoli, alone, with orders to blockade that port. Shortly after this ship reached her station, she made a sail in the offing, which she intercepted. This vessel proved to be the Meshouda, one of the cruisers that had been so long blockaded at Gibraltar, and which was now endeavouring to get home under an assumed character. She had been sold by the Bashaw to the Emperor of Morocco, who had sent her to Tunis, where she had taken in supplies, and was now standing boldly for the harbour of Tripoli. The reality of the transfer was doubted, and as she was attempting to evade a legal blockade, the Meshouda was detained.

About the close of the month, Commodore Morris hove in sight, in the New York, with the Adams and Enterprise in company. As the flag-ship neared the coast, several small vessels, convoyed by a number of gun-boats, were discovered close in with the land, making the best of their way towards the port. Chase was immediately given, and finding themselves cut off from the harbour, the merchant vessels, eleven in all, took refuge in old Tripoli, while the gun-boats, by means of their sweeps, were enabled to pull under the batteries of the town itself. No sooner did the vessels, small latine-rigged coasters loaded with wheat, get into Old Tripoli, than preparations were made to defend them. A large stone building stood on a bank some twelve or fifteen feet from the shore, and it was occupied by a considerable body of soldiers. In the course of the night, breast-works were erected on each side of this building, by means of the sacks of wheat which composed the cargoes of the feluccas. The latter were hauled upon the beach, high and dry, immediately beneath the building, and a large force was brought from Tripoli, to man the breast-works.

Mr. Porter, the first lieutenant of the flag-ship, volunteered to go in that night, with the boats of the squadron, and destroy the enemy's craft; but, unwilling to expose his people under so much uncertainty, the commodore decided to wait for daylight, in order that the ships might co-operate, and in the hope of intimidating the Tripolitans by a show of all his force.

Mr. Porter, however, went in alone and reconnoitred in the dark, receiving a heavy fire from the musketry of the troops when discovered.

Next morning, the offer of Mr. Porter was accepted, and sustained by Lieutenant James Lawrence of the Enterprise, and a strong party of officers and men from the other ships, he went boldly in, in open day. As the boats pulled up within reach of musketry, the enemy opened a heavy fire, which there was very little opportunity of returning. Notwithstanding the great superiority of the Turks in numbers, the party landed, set fire to the feluccas, and regaining their boats opened to the right and left, to allow the shot of the ships to complete the work. The enemy now appeared desperately bent on preserving their vessels, and, regardless of the fire of the ships, they rushed on board the feluccas, succeeded in extinguishing the flames, and, in the end, preserved them.

This attack was made in the most gallant manner, and reflected high credit on all engaged. The parties were so near each other, that the Turks actually threw stones at the Americans, and their fire was sharp, heavy, and close. The loss of the enemy could never be ascertained, but a good many were seen to fall. Of the Americans, 12 or 15 were killed and wounded; and among the latter, was Mr. Porter, who received a slight wound in the right, and a musket-ball through the left thigh, while advancing to the attack, though he continued to command to the last. Mr. Lawrence was particularly distinguished, as was Mr. John Downes, one of the midshipmen of the New York.

Commodore Morris determined to follow up this attack on the wheat vessels, by making another on the gun-boats of the enemy.

These gun-boats were stationed well out, near the rocks and the mole, in a manner to admit of their giving and receiving a fire; and on the afternoon of the 28th of May, the preparations having been previously made, a signal was shown from the New York, for the John Adams to bear down upon the enemy and commence an attack. Captain Rodgers obeyed the order with promptitude, taking a position within reach of grape; but owing to the lightness of the wind, the two other ships were unable to second him, as was intended. In consequence of these unforeseen circumstances, the attack proved a failure, in one sense, though the boats soon withdrew behind the rocks.

and night brought the affair to an end. It is believed that neither party suffered much on this occasion.

The next day Commodore Morris made an attempt to negotiate a peace, through the agency of M. Nissen, the Danish consul, a gentleman who, on all occasions, appears to have been the friend of the unfortunate, and active in doing good. To this proposal the Bey listened, and one of his ministers was empowered to meet the American commander on the subject. Having received proper pledges for his safe return, Commodore Morris landed in person, and each party presented its outlines of a treaty. The result was an abrupt ending of the negotiation.

This occurred on the 8th of June; and on the 10th, the New York and Enterprise left the station for Malta. At the latter place, Commodore Morris received intelligence concerning the movements of the Algerine and Tunisian corsairs, that induced him to despatch the Enterprise, with orders to Captain Rodgers to raise the blockade of Tripoli, and to join him, as soon as circumstances would permit, at Malta.

After the departure of the flag-ship, the John Adams 28, Captain Rodgers, and the Adams 28, Captain Campbell, composed the force left before the enemy's port. The speedy return of the Enterprise 12, which was then commanded by Lieutenant Commandant Hull, who had succeeded Lieutenant Commandant Sterrett, added that light vessel to the squadron. Some movements in the harbour, on the evening of the 21st of June, induced Captain Rodgers, the senior officer present, to suspect that it was intended to get a cruiser to sea that night, or to cover the return of one to port. With a view to defeat either of these plans, the Adams was sent to the westward, the Enterprise to the eastward, while the John Adams remained in the offing.

On the following morning, about 7 o'clock, the Enterprise was seen to the southward and eastward with a signal for an enemy flying. At that moment the John Adams was a few leagues out at sea, and it was 8 o'clock before the two vessels could speak each other. Captain Rodgers now found that a large ship belonging to the Bashaw, had run into a deep narrow bay, about seven leagues to the eastward of Tripoli, where she had taken a very favourable position for defence, and anchored with springs on her cable. At the same time it was ascertained that nine gun-boats were sweeping along the shore, to aid in defending her, while, as usual, a large body of cavalry was

hovering about the coast to resist any attack by means of boats. The ship was known to be the largest of the Bey's remaining corsairs, mounting 22 guns; and she was very full of men.

Captain Rodgers owed the opportunity that now offered to attack his enemy, to the steadiness and gallantry of Lieutenant Commandant Hull, who, on making his adversary at daylight, had cut him off from the town, with a spirit that did infinite credit to that officer. The Tripolitan was treble the force of the Enterprise, and had he chosen to engage the schooner, Mr. Hull would, probably, have been obliged to sacrifice his little vessel, in order to prevent his enemy from getting into port.

The dispositions of Captain Rodgers were soon made. He stood in, with the Enterprise in company, until the John Adams was within point-blank shot of the enemy, when she opened her fire. A smart cannonade was maintained on both sides, for forty-five minutes, when the people of the corsair abandoned their guns, with so much precipitation, that great numbers leaped overboard, and swam to the shore. The John Adams was now in quarter-less-five, by the lead, and she wore with her head off shore. At the same time, the Enterprise was ordered to occupy the attention of the enemy on the beach, while boats could be got out to take possession of the abandoned ship. But a boat returning to the corsair, the John Adams tacked and renewed her fire. In a few minutes the colours of the corsair were hauled down, and all her guns were discharged; those which were pointed towards the Americans, and those which were pointed towards the land. At the next moment she blew up.

The explosion was very heavy, and it tore the hull of the Tripolitan entirely to pieces. The two after-masts were forced into the air to twice their usual height, with all the yards, rigging, and hamper attached. The cause of this explosion is unknown, though it might have been thought intentional, were it not for the fact that the people of the boat that had returned to her, were blown up in the ship, none having left her after their arrival. As the shot of the John Adams was seen to hull the enemy repeatedly, the corsair is also supposed to have sustained a severe loss before her people first abandoned her.

The John Adams and Enterprise attempted to cut off the division of gun-boats, but found the water shoal too far to seaward of them to render the fire of their guns effective. Knowing the whole coast intimately, the latter were enabled to escape.

The ships before Tripoli, in obedience to the orders of Commodore Morris, now sailed for Malta to join this officer, when the whole squadron proceeded to different ports in Italy, together. From Leghorn, the John Adams was sent down to the straits with a convoy; the Adams to Tunis and Gibraltar, and the Enterprise back to Malta, in quest of despatches. Soon after, the New York herself went below, touching at Malaga, where Commodore Morris found letters of recall. The command was left temporarily with Captain Rodgers, who hoisted a broad pennant in the New York, while Commodore Morris took charge of the Adams, to proceed to America. Captain Campbell, late of the Adams, was transferred to the John Adams.

Commodore Morris reached home on the 21st of November, 1803; and the government, which professed great dissatisfaction at the manner in which he had employed the force entrusted to his discretion, demanded the usual explanations. These explanations not proving satisfactory, a Court of Inquiry was convened, by order of the department, dated March 10, 1804, and the result was an opinion that this officer had not exercised due diligence and activity in annoying the enemy, on various occasions, between the 8th of January, 1803, and the period of the expiration of his command. In consequence of the finding of the Court of Inquiry, the president dismissed Commodore Morris from the navy. This step has generally been considered high-handed and unjust.

The death of Commodore Barry, the resignations of Commodore Dale and Commodore Truxtun, with the dismissals of Commodore Morris and Captain M'Niell, reduced the list of captains to nine, the number named in the reduction law; for that act does not appear to have been rigidly regarded from the moment of its passage. After the death of Commodore Barry, Commodore S. Nicholson became the senior officer of the service, making the second member of the same family who had filled that honourable station.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The government soon became aware of the necessity of possessing some light cruisers, which, to a marine, are what the eyes and nerves are to man. Without vessels of this character, a commander could never conduct a vigorous blockade, like that required before Tripoli, in particular; and a law passed February, 1803, authorising the construction of two brigs and two schooners. In the course of the spring of that year, these vessels were built, and the navy received an addition to its list, of the Argus 16, Siren 16, Nautilus 12, and Vixen 12. The two former were beautiful and very efficient brigs, mounting 16 twenty-four pound carronades, and 2 long twelves; and the two latter were schooners, carrying 12 eighteen-pound carronades, and 2 light long guns, each. They were all finely modelled and serviceable vessels of their size, and are now intimately associated with the early traditions of the navy. There was a singular conformity in their fates, also, the whole four, in the end, falling into the hands of their enemies.

When Commodore Morris was recalled, the necessity of sending out a new squadron was foreseen, the time of the crews belonging to the ships left under the orders of Commodore Rodgers being so nearly expired. Indeed the latter officer, when he hoisted his broad pennant, was notified that a successor must soon arrive. The new squadron was so differently organised from the two which had preceded it, as to leave little doubt that the administration had discovered the error which had been made in sending so many light frigates on this service; vessels that were nearly useless in a bombardment, while they could not command the shores, and that had no other quality particularly suited to the warfare in which they were engaged, than a fitness to convoy. Even for the latter employment, the same force distributed in twice the number of vessels, would have been much more efficient and safe.

The ships now selected to carry on the war against Tripoli, were of an entirely different description. They consisted of the Constitution 44, Philadelphia 38, Argus 16, Siren 16,

Nautilus 12, Vixen 12, and Enterprise 12. The latter was already on the station, and it was intended to keep her there, by sending out men to supply the places of those who declined to enter anew. As usual, these vessels sailed as they were ready; the Nautilus 12, Lieutenant Commandant Somers, being the first that got to sea. This schooner reached Gibraltar on the 27th of July, 1803. She was soon followed by the Philadelphia 38, Captain Bainbridge, which arrived at the same place, August 24th. The Constitution 44, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Preble, who had been chosen to command the squadron, arrived September 12th; the Vixen 12, Lieutenant Commandant Smith, September 14th; the Siren 16, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart, October 1st; and the Argus 16, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur, November 1st. When the last fell in with the Enterprise, Mr. Decatur took command of that schooner, giving up the brig, by arrangement, to Mr. Hull, who was his senior officer.

The Philadelphia barely touched at Gibraltar, but hearing that two Tripolitans were cruising off Cape de Gatt, Captain Bainbridge proceeded, without delay, in quest of them. On the night of the 26th of August, blowing fresh, two sails were made from the Philadelphia, under Cape de Gatt; the largest of which, a ship, was carrying nothing but a fore-course. On running alongside this vessel, and hailing, with a good deal of difficulty, Captain Bainbridge learned that the stranger was a Barbary cruiser. Further examination showed that this vessel belonged to the Emperor of Morocco, and that she was the Meshboha 22, commanded by Ibrahim Lubarez, and had a crew of one hundred and twenty men.

The Moors were made to believe that the Philadelphia was an English frigate, and they admitted that the brig in company was an American. The suspicions of Captain Bainbridge were now awakened, for he could not well account for the brig's being under so little sail, and he sent his first lieutenant on board the Moor, to ascertain if there were any prisoners in his ship. When the boat reached the Meshboha, the Moors refused to let the officer come over the side. Captain Bainbridge now directed an armed force to go into the boat, when the officer succeeded in executing his orders.

Below deck, were found the master and crew of the brig in company, which was ascertained to be the Celia of Boston, a prize to the Meshboha. The brig had been captured near Malaga, nine days before; and there was no doubt that the Moors

were waiting for other vessels, Cape de Gatt being a headland commonly made by every thing that keeps the north shore of the Mediterranean aboard.

Captain Bainbridge, on receiving this intelligence, did not hesitate about taking possession of the Meshboha. Her people could not all be removed until near daylight; and during the time that was occupied in transferring them to the frigate, the brig had disappeared. On the afternoon of the 27th, however, she was seen doubling the cape, coming from the eastward, and hugging the land, while she steered in the direction of Almeria, probably with the hope of getting to the westward of the ships, in order to run to Tangiers. Owing to the light winds, it was midnight before she could be re-taken.

It was now all-important to discover on what authority this capture had been made. The Moorish commander, at first, stated that he had taken the Celia, in anticipation of a war; a serious misunderstanding existing between the Emperor and the American consul, when he left port. This story seemed so improbable that it was not believed, and Captain Bainbridge could only get at the truth by threatening to execute his prisoner as a pirate, unless he showed his commission. This menace prevailed, and Ibrahim Lubarez presented an order from the Governor of Tangiers, to capture all Americans that he might fall in with.

The Philadelphia returned to Gibraltar with her prizes, and leaving the latter, she went off Cape St. Vincent, in quest of a Moorish frigate that was said to be cruising there. Not succeeding in finding the Moor, Captain Bainbridge ran through the straits again, and went aloft. While at Gibraltar, Mr. David Porter joined him as first lieutenant.

Shortly after the Philadelphia had gone to her station off Tripoli, the New York 36, Commodore Rodgers, and the John Adams 28, Captain Campbell, reached Gibraltar, in the expectation of meeting the new flag-ship. In a day or two the Constitution came in, as did the Nautilus, which had been giving convoy up the Mediterranean. As soon as Commodore Preble was apprised of the facts connected with the capture of the Meshboha, he saw the necessity of disposing of the question with Morocco, before he left the entrance of the Mediterranean again open, by going off Tripoli. Commodore Rodgers was the senior officer, and his authority in those seas had properly ceased, but, in the handsomest manner he consented to accompany Commodore Preble to Tangiers, leaving

the latter his power to act, as negotiator and commander-in-chief. Accordingly the Constitution 44, New York 36, John Adams 28, and Nautilus 12, went into the Bay of Tangiers, October the 6th, 1803. Commodore Preble, on this occasion, discovered that promptitude, spirit and discretion, which were afterwards so conspicuous in his character; and after a short negotiation, the relations of the two countries were placed on their former amicable footing. The commodore had an interview with the Emperor, which terminated in the happiest results. On the part of Morocco, the act of the Governor of Tangiers was disavowed; an American vessel that had been detained at Mogadore, was released; and the Emperor affixed his seal anew to the treaty of 1786. The commodore then gave up the Meshboha, and it was also agreed to return the Meshouda, the ship taken by the John Adams. Congress, in the end, however, appropriated an equivalent to the captors of these two vessels, in lieu of prize-money.

As soon as the difficulties with Morocco were settled, Commodore Rodgers sailed for America; and Commodore Preble devoted himself with energy and prudence in making his preparations to bring Tripoli to terms. The latter had an arduous task before him; and its difficulties were increased by the circumstance that he was personally known to scarcely an officer under his command. During the war with France, the ships had been principally officered from the states in which they had been built; and Captain Preble, a citizen of New Hampshire, had hitherto commanded vessels under these circumstances. He had sailed for the East Indies in 1800, in the Essex 32, and had been much removed from the rest of the navy, in the course of his service. By one of those accidents that so often influence the affairs of life, all the commanders placed under the orders of Commodore Preble, with the exception of Mr. Hull, came from the middle or the southern states; and it is believed that most of them had never even seen their present commander, until they went in person to report themselves and their vessels. This was not only true of the commanders, but a large portion of the subordinate officers, also, were in the same situation; even most of those in the Constitution herself, having been personally strangers to the commander of the squadron. The period was now approaching when the force about to be employed before Tripoli was to assemble, and a service was in perspective that promised to let the whole squadron into the secret of its com-

mander's true character. Previously to relating the events that then occurred, however, it will be necessary to return to the movements of the Philadelphia 38, Captain Bainbridge.

CHAPTER XIX.

It has been seen that the Philadelphia captured the Meshboha, on the night of the 26th of August, 1803. The return to Gibraltar, the run off Cape Vincent, and the passage up the Mediterranean, brought it late in the season, before that ship could reach her station. Here the Vixen 12, Lieutenant Commandant Smith, which schooner had arrived at Gibraltar about the middle of September, appeared also, and the blockade was resumed by these two vessels, the Enterprise having gone below. Unfortunately, soon after his arrival, Captain Bainbridge sent the schooner in quest of a Tripolitan cruiser, that he learned from the master of a neutral had got to sea a short time previously. This left the frigate alone, to perform a very delicate service, the blockading vessels being constantly compelled to chase in-shore.

Towards the last of the month of October, the wind, which had been strong from the westward for some time previously, drove the Philadelphia a considerable distance to the eastward of the town, and on Monday, October the 31st, as she was running down to her station again, with a fair breeze, about nine in the morning, a vessel was seen in-shore, and to windward, standing for Tripoli. Sail was made to cut her off. Believing himself to be within long gun-shot a little before eleven, and seeing no other chance of overtaking the stranger in the short distance that remained, Captain Bainbridge opened a fire, in the hope of cutting something away. For near an hour longer, the chase and the fire were continued; the lead, which was constantly kept going, giving from seven to ten fathoms, and the ship hauling up and keeping away, as the water shoaled or deepened. At half-past eleven, Tripoli then being in plain sight, distant a little more than a league, satisfied that he could neither overtake the chase, nor force her ashore, Captain Bainbridge ordered the helm a-port, to haul directly

off the land into deep water. The next cast of the lead, when this order was executed, gave but eight fathoms, and this was immediately followed by casts that gave seven, and six and a half. At this moment, the wind was nearly abeam, and the ship had eight knots way on her. When the cry of "half-six" was heard, the helm was put hard down, and the yards were ordered to be braced sharp up. While the ship was coming up fast to the wind, and before she had lost any of her way, she struck a reef forwards, and shot up on it, until she lifted between five and six feet.

This was an appalling accident to occur on the coast of such an enemy, at that season of the year, and with no other cruiser near! It was first attempted to force the vessel ahead, under the impression that the best water was to sea-ward; but on sounding around the ship, it was found that she had run up with such force, as to lie nearly cradled on the rocks; there being only 14 feet of water under the fore-chains, while the ship drew, before striking, 18½ feet forward. Astern there were not 18 feet of water, instead of 20½, which the frigate needed. Such an accident could only have occurred by the vessel's hitting the reef at a spot where it sloped gradually, and where, most probably the constant washing of the element had rendered the surface smooth; and by her going up, on the top of one of those long, heavy, but nearly imperceptible swells, that are always agitating the bosom of the ocean.

The vessel of which the Philadelphia had been in chase was a large xebeck, and her commander, acquainted with the coast, stood on, inside of the reef, doubled the edge of the shoal, and reached Tripoli in safety. The firing, however, had brought out nine gun-boats, which now appeared, turning to windward. Not a moment was to be lost, as it would shortly be in the power of these vessels to assail the frigate almost with impunity. Finding, on further examination, deep water in shore, the yards were next braced aback, and the guns were run aft, in the equally vain hope of forcing the ship astern, or to make her slide off the sloping rocks on which she had run so hard. It was some time before this project was abandoned, as it was the most practicable means of getting afloat.

On a consultation with his officers, Captain Bainbridge next gave orders to throw overboard the guns, reserving a few aft for defence; the anchors, with the exception of the larboard bower, were cut from the bows. Before this could be effected the enemy came within gun-shot, and opened his fire. For-

tunately, the Tripolitans were ignorant of the desperate condition of the Philadelphia, and were kept at a respectful distance by the few guns that remained; else they might have destroyed most of the crew, it being certain that the colours would not be struck so long as there was any hope of getting the ship afloat. The cannonade, which was distant and inefficient, and the business of lightening the frigate, went on at the same time, and occupied several hours.

The enemy finally became so bold, that they crossed the stern of the frigate, where alone they were at all exposed to her fire, and took a position on her starboard, or weather quarter. Here it was impossible to touch them, the ship having heeled to port, in a way to render it impracticable to bring a single gun to bear, or, indeed, to use one at all, on that side.

Captain Bainbridge now called another council of his officers, and it was determined to make a last effort to get the vessel off. The water-casks, in the hold, were started, and the water was pumped out. All the heavy articles that could be got at, were thrown overboard, and finally the fore-mast was cut away, bringing down with it the main-top-gallant-mast. Notwithstanding all this, the vessel remained as immovable as the rocks on which she lay.

The gun-boats were growing bolder every minute, others were approaching, and night was at hand. Captain Bainbridge, after consulting again with his officers, felt it to be an imperious duty to haul down his flag, to save the lives of the people. Before this was done, however, the magazine was drowned, holes were bored in the ship's bottom, the pumps were choked, and every thing was performed that it was thought would make the final loss of the vessel sure. About five o'clock the colours were lowered.

It is a curious circumstance that this was the second instance in which an American vessel of war had been compelled to haul down her flag, since the formation of the new marine, and that in each case the same officer commanded. After the accounts given in this work, it is unnecessary to add that on both occasions an imperious necessity produced this singular coincidence.

The ship had no sooner struck than the gun-boats ran down alongside of her, and took possession. The barbarians rushed into the vessel, and began to plunder their captives. Not only were the clothes which the Americans had collected in their bags and in bundles, taken from them, but many officers and

men were stripped half-naked. They were hurried into boats, and sent to Tripoli, and even on the passage the business of plundering went on. The officers were respected little more than the common men, and, while in the boat, Captain Bainbridge himself was robbed of his epaulets, gloves, watch, and money. His cravat was even torn from his neck. He wore a miniature of his wife, and of this the Tripolitans endeavoured to deprive him also, but, a youthful and attached husband, he resisted so seriously that the attempt was relinquished.

It was near 10 o'clock at night, when the boats reached the town. The prisoners were landed in a body, near the bashaw's palace, and they were conducted to his presence. The prince received his captives in an audience hall, seated in a chair of state, and surrounded by his ministers. Here Captain Bainbridge was formally presented to him, as his prisoner, when the bashaw himself directed all the officers to be seated. The minister of foreign affairs, Mohammed D'Ghies, spoke French, and through him the bashaw held a conversation of some length with Captain Bainbridge. The latter was asked many questions concerning the Philadelphia, the force of the Americans in the Mediterranean, and he was civilly consoled for his captivity, by being reminded that it was merely the fortune of war.

When the conversation had ended, the officers were conducted to another apartment, where a supper had been provided, and as soon as this meal had been taken by those who had a desire to eat, they were led back to the audience hall, and paid their parting compliments to the bashaw. Here the captives were informed that they were put under the special charge of Sidi Mohammed D'Ghies, who conducted them to the house that had lately been the American consulate. The building was spacious and commodious, but almost destitute of furniture. It was one o'clock in the morning, but at that late hour even, appeared Mr. Nissen, the Danish consul, bringing with him the consolations of sympathy and hope. This benevolent man was introduced to Captain Bainbridge, by Mohammed D'Ghies, as his personal friend, and as one on whose honour, humanity and good faith, full reliance might be placed. Mohammed D'Ghies, himself, was known by reputation to Captain Bainbridge, and he had shown delicacy and feeling in the exercise of his trust. His recommendation, which was pointedly significant, coupled with the manner of Mr. Nissen, excited a confidence that in the end proved to be most worthily be-

stowed. Every thing that could be devised at that unseasonable hour, was done by Mr. Nissen. This was but the commencement of a series of indefatigable and unwearying kindnesses, that endured to the last moment of the captivity of the Americans.

The misfortune that befel the Philadelphia, made a material difference in the state of the war. Until this moment, the bashaw had received but little to compensate him for the inconvenience to which he was put by the blockade, and for the loss of his different cruisers. His corsairs had captured but very few merchant vessels, and they ran the greatest risks, whenever they appeared out of their own ports. As yet, it is true, nothing had been attempted against his town, but he knew it was at any time liable to a bombardment. It was thought, therefore, that he was not indisposed to peace, when accident threw the crew of the Philadelphia so unexpectedly into his power.

The bashaw, however, had now a hold upon his enemy, that, agreeably to the usages of Barbary, enabled him to take much higher ground in proposing his terms. In his previous negotiations, he had asked a large sum as the price of the few captives he then held, but the demand had been rejected as unreasonable and exorbitant. On board the Philadelphia were three hundred and fifteen souls, and among them were no less than twenty-two quarter-deck officers,* gentlemen in whose fortunes the bashaw well knew there would be a lively interest felt, to say nothing of the concern that a government like that of America was expected to manifest for the fate of its seamen. Under these circumstances, therefore, the divan of Tripoli felt strongly encouraged to continue the war, in the hope of receiving a high ransom for the prisoners, and in the expectation of holding a check on the measures of its enemy, by its means of retaliation.

* William Bainbridge, captain; David Porter, first lieutenant; Jacob Jones, second do.; Theodore Hunt, third do.; Benjamin Smith, fourth do.; William Osborn, lieutenant of marines; John Ridgely, surgeon; J. Cowdery, do. mate; Nicholas Harwood, do. do.; Keith Spence, purser; and Bernard Henry, James Gibbon, Benjamin Franklin Reed, James Renshaw, Wallace Wormley, Robert Gamble, James Biddle, Richard R. Jones, Daniel T. Patterson, Simon Smith, and William Cutbush, midshipmen; William Anderson, captain's clerk. Of these gentlemen, Messrs. J. Jones, Renshaw, Biddle, and Patterson, all wore broad pennants and died in the service. Dr. Cowdery, at his death, was the oldest surgeon in the navy

The Philadelphia ran on the reef on the 31st of October, and her people were landed during the night of the same day. The Tripolitans set about their arrangements to get the ship off, next morning, and as they were near their own port, had so many gun-boats and galleys at their disposal, and were unmolested by any cruiser, it was announced to the bashaw that there were hopes of saving the frigate. In the course of the 2d of November, it came on to blow fresh from the north-west, and the wind forcing the water up on the African coast, while it bore on the larboard quarter of the ship, her stern was driven round, and she floated, in part, though she continued to thump as the seas left her. Anchors were now carried out, all the disposable force of the town was applied, and on the 5th, the Philadelphia was got into deep water. The same day, she was brought within two miles of the city, where she was compelled to anchor, on account of the state of the weather. Here she was kept afloat by means of pumping, while men were employed in stopping the leaks. The business of scuttling appears to have been but imperfectly performed, a few holes having been merely bored in the bottom of the ship, instead of cutting through the planks, as had been ordered. The weather continuing remarkably pleasant, the Turks finally succeeded in not only getting the frigate into port, but in weighing all her guns and anchors which lay in shallow water on the reef, as well as in getting up nearly every thing else that had been thrown overboard. The ship was partially repaired, her guns were remounted, and she was moored off the town, about a quarter of a mile from the bashaw's castle.

Commodore Preble, on his return from Tangiers to Gibraltar, on the 15th of October, went round to Cadiz; soon after, he re-appeared at the former place, made a formal announcement of the blockade of Tripoli, on the 12th of November, on which day the ship he believed to be in the active execution of that duty, was in the possession of the enemy, and on the 13th, he sailed for Algiers. After landing a consul at the latter place, he proceeded to Malta, off which port he arrived on the 27th of November. Here he was met by letters from Captain Bainbridge, and he obtained a confirmation of the loss of the Philadelphia, a rumour of which event had reached him lower down the coast. The Constitution sailed immediately for Syracuse, and got in next day.

On the 17th of December, 1803, Commodore Preble, after making his preparations and disposing of his force in different

ways, sailed for Tripoli, with the Enterprise in company, off which place he now appeared for the first time. The 23d of the month, the Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur, fell in with and captured a ketch, with seventy souls on board. This ketch had been a French gun-vessel in Egypt, that had been taken by the English and had passed into the hands of the Tripolitans. She was now bound to Constantinople, with a present of female slaves for the Porte. A few days after this prize was taken, it came on to blow heavily from the northeast, and finding the frigate in danger of being lost on the coast, at that tempestuous season, Commodore Preble returned to Syracuse; not, however, until he had reconnoitred his enemy, and formed his plan of operations for the future. Means had been found to communicate with Captain Bainbridge, also; and several letters were received from that officer, pointing out different methods of annoying the enemy.

In a letter of the date of the 5th of December, 1803, Captain Bainbridge suggested the possibility of destroying the Philadelphia, which ship was slowly fitting for sea, there being little doubt of her being sent out as a cruiser, as soon as the mild season should return. Commodore Preble listened to the suggestion, and being much in the society of the commander of the vessel that was most in company with the Constitution, Lieutenant Stephen Decatur, he mentioned the project to that spirited officer. The expedition was just suited to the ardour and temperament of Mr. Decatur, and the possession of the prize at once afforded the means of carrying it into effect. The ketch was accordingly appraised, named the Intrepid, and taken into the service, as a tender. About this time, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart, of the Siren, the officer who was then second in command in the Mediterranean, and who had just arrived from below, offered to cut out the Philadelphia with his own brig; but Commodore Preble was pledged to Mr. Decatur, who, at first, had proposed to run in with the Enterprise and carry the ship. The more experienced Preble rejected the propositions of both these ardent young men, substituting a plan of his own.

Although Commodore Preble declined the proposal of Mr. Decatur to carry in the Enterprise, the projected service was assigned to the commander and crew of that schooner. It being necessary, however, to leave some of her own officers and people in her, a selection of a few gentlemen to join in the expedition, was made from the flag-ship, and orders to

that effect were issued accordingly. These orders were dated February the 3d, 1804, and they directed the different gentlemen named to report themselves to Lieutenant Commandant Decatur, of the Enterprise. As it was intended that the crew of the schooner should furnish the entire crew of the ketch, it was not thought proper to add any men to this draft. In short, the duty was strictly assigned to the Enterprise, so far as her complement could furnish the officers required. On the afternoon of the 3d, according to the orders they had just received, Messrs. Izard, Morris, Laws, Davis, and Rowe, midshipmen of the Constitution, went on board the schooner, and reported themselves for duty to her commander. All hands were now called in the Enterprise, when Lieutenant Commandant Decatur acquainted his people with the destination of the ketch, and asked for volunteers. Every man and boy in the schooner presented himself, as ready, and willing to go. Sixty-two of the most active men were selected, and the remainder, with a few officers, were left to take care of the vessel. As the orders to destroy the frigate, and not to attempt to bring her out, were peremptory, the combustibles, which had been prepared for this purpose, were immediately sent on board the Intrepid, her crew followed, and that evening the ketch sailed, under the convoy of the Siren 16, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart, who was properly the senior officer of the expedition, though, owing to the peculiar nature of the service, Mr. Decatur was permitted to conduct the more active part of the duty, at his own discretion.

The party in the ketch consisted of Lieutenant Commandant Decatur; Lieutenants Lawrence, Bainbridge, and Thorn; Mr. Thomas M'Donough,* midshipman, and Dr. Heerman, surgeon; all of the Enterprise;—Messrs. Izard, Morris, Laws, Davis, and Rowe, midshipmen of the Constitution; and Salvador Catalano the pilot, with sixty-two petty officers and common men, making a total of seventy-four souls.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the accommodations were none of the best, with so many persons cooped up in a vessel of between forty and fifty tons; and to make the matter worse, it was soon found that the salted meat put on board was spoiled, and that there was little besides bread and water left to subsist on. The weather, however, was pleasant, and the

* Mr. Thomas M'Donough, afterwards so distinguished, had belonged to the Philadelphia, but escaped captivity by being left at Gibraltar in the prize Meshboha.

wind favourable, and the two vessels got in sight of Tripoli on the afternoon of the 9th. To prevent suspicions, the Intrepid now went ahead of the Siren; and a little after dark, she had stretched in quite near to the coast, with a breeze at southwest, anchoring about a mile to the windward of the town. Shortly after, the Siren, disguised, brought-to a little to seaward of her. The night came on dark and threatening, but it was in some respects so favourable to the enterprise, that Mr. Decatur was reluctant to let it pass without making the attempt. The pilot, however, pronounced it extremely hazardous to venture in among the rocks at that moment, as he thought the sea must be breaking across the entrance, by which it was proposed to pass. Under the circumstances, Mr. Decatur, who displayed as much conduct and prudence as daring gallantry throughout this whole affair, sent Mr. Morris and the pilot, in a boat with muffled oars, to reconnoitre. This young officer pulled close up to the western passage, and ascertained that the sea was so high that it was, in fact, breaking entirely across the entrance; when he returned, and reported that it would be hazardous to go in, and that to come out would be impossible.

The report was scarcely needed, for, by this time, the wind had risen so high, and so much sea had got up, that in hoisting in the boat, it was stove, and when the anchor was weighed, for it was necessary to get off the land as soon as possible, it was found to be broken. The Siren had anchored a little without the ketch, and had hoisted out and armed her boats, which were to cover the retreat, but she, too, was compelled to get under way, by the increasing violence of the wind. Several hours were employed in a vain attempt to get her anchor, the brig rolling gunwales-to, and a good many of her people, together with Lieutenant Commandant Stewart, were hurt by the capstan's running away with the bars. In the end, the weather came on so bad, and the danger of being seen as the day dawned was so much increased, that the anchor and cable were left, the latter having been cut without the hawse-hole.

So sudden and violent was the gale, that there had been no communication between the two vessels, the Siren having no other intimation of the departure of the ketch, than by seeing her light as she stretched out to sea. Luckily, the wind was well to the westward, and both vessels got an offing before they were seen from Tripoli. Here they lay-to, with their heads off shore, certain of being far enough to leeward, to be

out of sight in the morning. The wind began to haul to the northward, and the gale lasted six days, during which time great fears were entertained of the ketch's foundering at sea, or of her being, at least, driven on the coast, the change in the wind having brought the vessels on a lee shore. Before the wind abated, they were driven up into the Gulf of Sydra, where they were fairly embayed.

On the 15th the weather moderated, and the brig and ketch, which had kept in company, notwithstanding the gale, endeavoured to fetch in with the land, and in the course of the night they got so near, as to reconnoitre and ascertain their position. Finding themselves too far to the eastward to effect any thing that night, they hauled off again, in order to escape detection. The next day, about noon, calculating that they were abreast of the town, and the wind and weather being, in all respects, favourable, both vessels kept away, the ketch leading some distance, in order that the enemy might not suppose her a consort of the Siren's, although the latter was so much disguised, as to render it impossible to recognise her. The wind was fair, but light, and every thing looking favourable, Mr. Decatur now seriously made his dispositions for the attack. Apprehensive that they might have been seen, and that the enemy had possibly strengthened the party on board the frigate, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart sent a boat and eight men from the Siren, to the ketch, under the orders of Mr. Anderson, one of his midshipmen; which reinforcement increased the number of the intended assailants to eighty-two, all told.

The orders of Lieutenant Commandant Decatur were clear and simple. The spar-deck was first to be carried, then the gun-deck; after which the following distribution of the party was made, in order to set fire to the ship. Mr. Decatur, with Messrs. Izard and Rowe, and fifteen men, was to keep possession of the upper deck. Mr. Lawrence, with Messrs. Laws and M'Donough and ten men, was to repair to the berth-deck and forward store-rooms. Mr. Bainbridge, with Mr. Davis and ten men, was to go into the ward-room and steerage; Mr. Morris, with eight men, was to go into the cockpit and after store-rooms; Mr. Thorn, with the gunner and surgeon, and thirteen men, was to look after the ketch; to Mr. Izard was assigned the command of the launch should she be needed; and Mr. Anderson, with the Siren's cutter, was to secure all boats alongside of the ship, and to prevent the people from swim-

ming ashore, with directions, however, to board as soon as the first duty was performed.

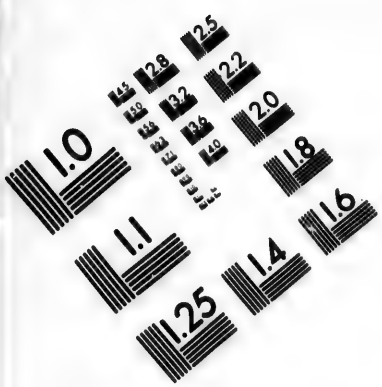
Fire-arms were to be used only in the last extremity, and the first object of every one was to clear the upper-deck and gun-deck of the enemy. The watch-word was "Philadelphia." These arrangements were plain and judicious.

As the ketch drew in with the land, the ship became visible. She lay not quite a mile within the entrance, riding to the wind, and abreast of the town. Her fore-mast, which had been cut away while she was on the reef, had not yet been replaced, her main and mizzen-top-masts were housed, and her lower yards were on the gunwales. Her lower standing rigging, however, was in its place, and as was shortly afterwards ascertained, her guns were loaded and shotted. Just within her, lay two corsairs, with a few boats, and a galley or two.

It was a mild evening for the season, and the sea and bay were smooth as in summer; as unlike as possible to the same place a few days previously, when the two vessels had been driven from the enterprise by a tempest. Perceiving that he was likely to get in too soon, when about five miles from the rocks, Mr. Decatur ordered buckets and other drags to be towed astern, in order to lessen the way of the ketch, without shortening sail, as the latter expedient would have been seen from the port, and must have awakened suspicion. In the mean time the wind gradually fell, until it became so light as to leave the ketch but about two knots' way on her, when the drags were removed.

About 10 o'clock the Intrepid reached the eastern entrance of the bay, or the passage between the rocks and the shoal. The wind was nearly east, and, as she steered directly for the frigate, it was well abaft the beam. There was a young moon, and as these bold adventurers were slowly advancing into the hostile port, all around them was tranquil and apparently without distrust. For near an hour they were stealing slowly along, the air gradually failing, until their motion became scarcely perceptible.

Most of the officers and men of the ketch had been ordered to lie on the deck, where they were concealed by low bulwarks, or weather-boards, and by the different objects that belong to a vessel. As it is the practice of those seas, to carry many men even in the smallest craft, the appearance of ten or twelve would excite no alarm, and this number was visible. The



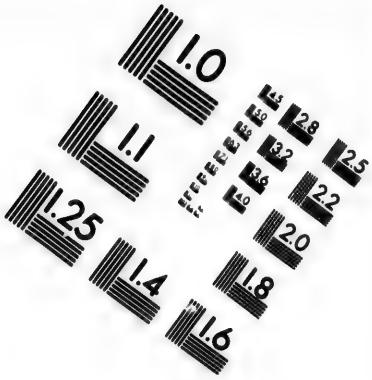
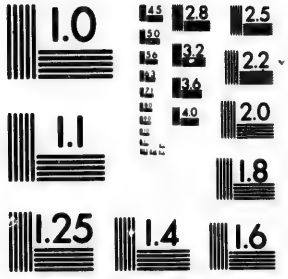
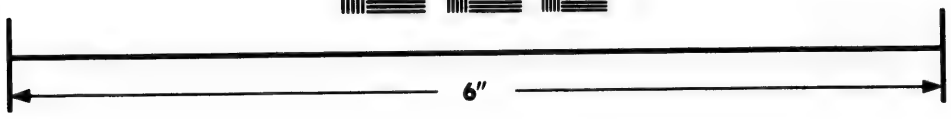
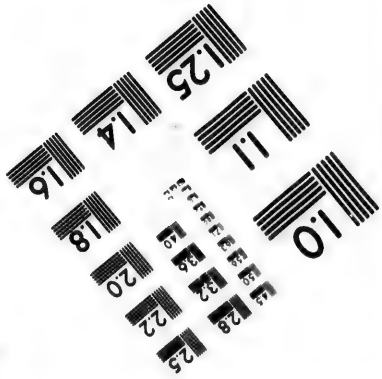


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

commanding officer, himself, stood near the pilot, M. Catalano,* who was to act as interpreter. The quarter-master at the helm, was ordered to stand directly for the frigate's bows, it being the intention to lay the ship aboard in that place, as the mode of attack which would least expose the assailants to her fire.

The Intrepid was still at a considerable distance from the Philadelphia, when the latter hailed. The pilot answered that the ketch belonged to Malta, and was on a trading voyage; that she had been nearly wrecked, and had lost her anchors in the late gale, and that her commander wished to ride by the frigate during the night. This conversation lasted some time, Mr. Decatur instructing the pilot to tell the frigate's people with what he was laden, in order to amuse them, and the Intrepid gradually drew nearer, until there was every prospect of her running foul of the Philadelphia, in a minute or two, and at the very spot contemplated. But the wind suddenly shifted, and took the ketch aback. The instant the southerly puff struck her, her head fell off, and she got a stern-board; the ship, at the same moment, tending to the new current of air. The effect of this unexpected change was to bring the ketch directly under the frigate's broadside, at the distance of about forty yards, where she lay perfectly becalmed, or, if any thing, drifting slowly astern, exposed to nearly every one of the Philadelphia's larboard guns.

Not the smallest suspicion appears to have been yet excited on board the frigate, though several of her people were looking over the rails, and notwithstanding the moonlight. So completely were the Turks deceived, that they lowered a boat, and sent it with a fast. Some of the ketch's men, in the mean time, had got into her boat, and had run a line to the frigate's fore-chains. As they returned, they met the frigate's boat, took the fast it brought, which came from the after part of the ship, and passed it into their own vessel. These fasts were put into the hands of the men, as they lay on the ketch's deck, and they began cautiously to breast the Intrepid alongside of the Philadelphia, without rising. As soon as the latter got near enough to the ship, the Turks discovered her anchors, and they sternly ordered the ketch to keep off, as she had deceived them; preparing, at the same time, to cut the fasts. All this passed in a moment, when the cry of "Amerikanos"

* Late sailing-master in the navy.

was heard in the ship. The people of the Intrepid, by a strong pull, brought their vessel alongside of the frigate, where she was secured, quick as thought. Up to this moment, not a whisper had betrayed the presence of the men concealed. The instructions had been positive to keep quiet until commanded to show themselves; and no precipitation, even in that trying moment, deranged the plan.

Lieutenant Commandant Decatur was standing ready for a spring, with Messrs. Laws and Morris quite near him. As soon as close enough, he jumped at the frigate's chain-plates, and while clinging to the ship himself, he gave the order to board. The two midshipmen were at his side, and all the officers and men of the Intrepid arose and followed. The three gentlemen named were in the chains together, and Lieutenant Commandant Decatur and Mr. Morris sprang at the rail above them, while Mr. Laws dashed at a port. To the latter would have belonged the honour of having been first in this gallant assault, but wearing a boarding-belt, his pistols were caught between the gun and the side of the port. Mr. Decatur's foot slipped in springing, and Mr. Charles Morris first stood upon the quarter-deck of the Philadelphia. In an instant, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur and Mr. Laws were at his side, while heads and bodies appeared coming over the rail, and through the ports in all directions.

The surprise appears to have been as perfect, as the assault was rapid and earnest. Most of the Turks on deck crowded forward, and all ran over to the starboard-side, as their enemies poured in on the larboard. A few were aft, but as soon as charged, they leaped into the sea. Indeed, the constant plunges into the water, gave the assailants the assurance that their enemies were fast lessening in numbers by flight. It took but a minute or two to clear the spar-deck, though there was more of a struggle below. Still, so admirably managed was the attack, and so complete the surprise, that the resistance was trifling. In less than ten minutes Mr. Decatur was on the quarter-deck again, in undisturbed possession of his prize.

There can be no doubt that this gallant officer now felt bitter regrets that it was not in his power to bring away the ship he had so nobly recovered. Not only were his orders on this point peremptory, however, but the frigate had not a sail bent, nor a yard crossed, and she wanted her foremast. It was

next to impossible, therefore, to remove her, and the command was given to pass up the combustibles from the ketch.

The duty of setting fire to the prize, appears to have been executed with as much promptitude and order, as every other part of the service. The officers distributed themselves, agreeably to the previous instructions, and the men soon appeared with the necessary means. Each party acted by itself, and as it got ready. So rapid were they all in their movements, that the men with combustibles had scarcely time to get as low as the cock-pit and after-store-rooms, before the fires were lighted over their heads. When the officer entrusted with the duty last mentioned had got through, he found the after-hatches filled with smoke, from the fire in the ward-room and steerage, and he was obliged to make his escape by the forward ladders.

The Americans were in the ship from twenty to twenty-five minutes, and they were literally driven out of her by the flames. The vessel had got to be so dry in that low latitude, that she burnt like pine; and the combustibles had been as judiciously prepared, as they were steadily used. The last party up, were the people who had been in the store-rooms, and when they reached the deck, they found most of their companions already in the Intrepid. Joining them, and ascertaining that all was ready, the order was given to cast off. Notwithstanding the daring character of the enterprise in general, Mr. Decatur and his party now ran the greatest risk they had incurred that night. So fierce had the conflagration already become, that the flames began to pour out of the ports, and the head-fast having been cast off, the ketch fell astern, with her jigger flapping against the quarter-gallery, and her boom foul. The fire showed itself in the window at this critical moment; and beneath, was all the ammunition of the party, covered with a tarpaulin. To increase the risk, the stern-fast was jammed. By using swords, however, for there was not time to look for an axe, the hawser was cut, and the Intrepid was extricated from the most imminent danger, by a vigorous shove. As she swung clear of the frigate, the flames reached the rigging, up which they went hissing, like a rocket, the tar having oozed from the ropes, which had been saturated with that inflammable matter. Matches could not have kindled with greater quickness.

The sweeps were now manned. Up to this moment, every thing had been done earnestly, though without noise, but as

soon as they felt that they had got command of their ketch again, and by two or three vigorous strokes had sent her away from the frigate, the people of the Intrepid ceased rowing, and as one man, they gave three cheers for victory. This appeared to arouse the Turks from their stupor; for the cry had hardly ended, when the batteries, the two corsairs, and the galley, poured in their fire. The men laid hold of the sweeps again, of which the Intrepid had eight of a side, and favoured by a light air, they went rapidly down the harbour.

The spectacle that followed, is described as having been both beautiful and sublime. The entire bay was illuminated by the conflagration, the roar of cannon was constant, and Tripoli was in a clamour. The appearance of the ship was, in the highest degree, magnificent; and, to add to the effect, as her guns heated, they began to go off. Owing to the shift of wind, and the position into which she had tended, she, in some measure, returned the enemy's fire, as one of her broadsides was discharged in the direction of the town, and the other towards Fort English. The most singular effect of this conflagration was on board the ship, where the flames having run up the rigging and masts, collected under the tops, and fell over, giving the whole the appearance of glowing columns and fiery capitals.

Under ordinary circumstances, the situation of the ketch would still have been thought sufficiently perilous, but after the exploit they had just performed, her people, elated with success, regarded all that was now passing as a triumphal spectacle. The shot constantly cast the spray around them, or were whistling over their heads; but the only sensation they produced, was by calling attention to the brilliant *jets d'eau* that they occasioned as they bounded along the water. But one struck the Intrepid, although she was within half a mile of many of the heaviest guns for some time, and that passed through her top-gallant-sail.

With sixteen sweeps, and eighty men elated with success, Mr. Decatur was enabled to drive the little Intrepid ahead with a velocity that rendered towing useless. Near the harbour's mouth, he met the Siren's boats, sent to cover his retreat, but their services were scarcely necessary. As soon as the ketch was out of danger, he got into one, and pulled aboard the brig, to report to Lieutenant Commandant Stewart, the result of his undertaking.

The Siren had got into the offing some time after the Intre-

pid, agreeably to arrangement, and anchored about three miles from the rocks. Here she hoisted out the launch and a cutter, manned and armed them, and sent them in, under Mr. Caldwell, her first lieutenant. Soon after the brig weighed, and the wind having entirely failed outside, she swept into eight fathoms water, and anchored again, to cover the retreat, should the enemy attempt to board the Intrepid, with his gun-boats. It will readily be supposed that it was an anxious moment, and as the moon rose, all eyes were on the frigate. After waiting in intense expectation near an hour, a rocket went up from the Philadelphia. It was the signal of possession, and Mr. Stewart ran below to get another for the answer. He was gone only a moment, but when he returned, the fire was seen shining through the frigate's ports, and in a few more minutes, the flames were rushing up her rigging, as if a train had been touched. Then followed the cannonade, and the dashing of sweeps, with the approach of the ketch. Presently a boat was seen coming alongside, and a man, in a sailor's jacket, sprang over the gangway of the brig. It was Decatur, to announce his victory!

The ketch and brig lay near each other, for about an hour, when a strong and favourable wind arose, and they made sail for Syracuse, which port they reached on the 19th. Here the party was received with salutes and congratulations, by the Sicilians, who were also at war with Tripoli, as well as by their own countrymen.

The success of this gallant exploit laid the foundation of the name which Mr. Decatur subsequently acquired in the navy. The country generally applauded the feat; and the commanding officer was raised from the station of a lieutenant to that of a captain. Most of the midshipmen engaged, were also promoted, and Lieutenant Commandant Decatur received a sword.

The Philadelphia was a frigate of the class that the English termed a thirty-eight, previously to the war of 1812. Her armament consisted of 28 eighteens, on her gun deck, and of 16 carronades and chase guns, above; or of 44 guns in the whole. No correct estimate has probably ever been made of the number of men in her, when she was recaptured. Twenty were reported to have been killed, and one boat loaded with Turks is said to have escaped; many also swam ashore, or to the nearest cruisers. Some, no doubt, secreted themselves below, of whom the greater part must have perished in the ship, as the party that set fire to the after-store-rooms had difficulty

in escaping from the flames. But one prisoner was made, a wounded Turk, who took refuge in the ketch. On the part of the Americans but a single man was hurt.

In whatever light we regard this exploit, it extorts our admiration and praise; the boldness in the conception of the enterprise, being even surpassed by the perfect manner in which all its parts were executed. Nothing appears to have been wanting, in a military point of view; nothing was deranged; nothing defeated. The hour was well chosen, and no doubt it was a chief reason why the corsairs, gun-boats, and batteries, were, in the first place, so slow in commencing their fire, and so uncertain in their aim when they did open on the Americans. In appreciating the daring of the attempt, we have only to consider what might have been the consequences had the assault on the frigate been repulsed. Directly under her guns, with a harbour filled with light cruisers, gun-boats, and galleys, and surrounded by forts and batteries, the inevitable destruction of all in the Intrepid must have followed. These were dangers that cool steadiness and entire self-possession, aided by perfect discipline, could alone avert. In the service, the enterprise has ever been regarded as one of its most brilliant achievements; and to this day, it is deemed a high honour to have been one among the Intrepid's crew. The effect on the squadron then abroad can scarcely be appreciated; as its seamen began to consider themselves invincible, if not invulnerable, and were ready for any service in which men could be employed.

CHAPTER XX.

Thus opened the year 1804. The great distance, however, that lay between the seat of war and the country, as well as the infrequency of direct communications, prevented the government at home, from getting early information of what was passing in the Mediterranean. As a consequence, at the very moment when Commodore Preble was beginning to show that energy for which he was so remarkable, the department was making preparations for superseding him in the command; not

from dissatisfaction, but, as was then believed, from necessity. There were but three captains in the navy junior to Preble, and one of these was a captive in Tripoli. The loss of the Philadelphia had rendered it indispensable to send out another frigate, at least; and the administration had now begun to take so serious a view of the state of the relations of the country with all the Barbary powers, as to see the importance of exhibiting a force that should look down any further attempts on a trade, which, in consequence of the general war that prevailed in Europe, was beginning to whiten the seas of the old world with American canvass. The Emperor of Morocco, who was said to be a relative of the Bashaw of Tripoli, was distrusted in particular, and many little occurrences had served to prove the interest that the former felt in the affairs of the latter.

The ships that it was now decided to send into the Mediterranean, were the President 44, Congress 38, Constellation 38, and Essex 32. They were put in commission early in the season, and as soon as the choice was made, Commodore Preble was apprised of it, and of the necessity that existed of sending out two officers who were his seniors in rank. About the same time, Mr. Decatur was made a captain, for the destruction of the Philadelphia, and the service received an important impulse in the revival of the rank of masters and commanders, which had been dropped altogether, under the reduction law of 1801.

The Siren and Intrepid returned to Syracuse, after the successful attempt on the Philadelphia, on the 19th of February of this year. On the 2d of March, Commodore Preble, who had so divided his force as to keep some of the small vessels off Tripoli blockading, proceeded to Malta, and on his return, he sailed again, on the 21st, for the station off the enemy's port. The Siren 16, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart, and Nautilus 12, Lieutenant Commandant Somers, were the blockading vessels at this time, and, early one morning, while coming from the eastward to recover lost ground, a vessel with the appearance of a brig of war, was seen lying-to in the offing. As soon as he made the Americans, the stranger endeavoured to beat back into the harbour again, out of which he had lately come, but, the Nautilus being sent close in to employ the gun-boats, should they attempt to come out, the Siren cut him off from the port, and soon got alongside. This vessel proved to be the Transfer, a privateer out of Malta, with a British commission, and she had an armament of 16 carronades, and a crew of 80

men. When the Siren ran alongside, the Transfer's people were at quarters; but, no resistance being attempted, she was captured for a violation of the blockade. Subsequent information induced Commodore Preble to believe that she belonged, in fact, to the Bashaw of Tripoli, and that the commission under which she sailed was obtained by means of the Tripolitan consul in Malta, who was a native of that island, and for whose appearance on board the brig was actually waiting when taken.

As the Transfer had been an English gun-brig, and was equipped for war, Commodore Preble sent her to Syracuse, where she was appraised, manned, and taken into the service for the time being. She was called the Scourge, and the command of her was given to Lieutenant Commandant Dent, the acting captain of the Constitution.

Remaining off Tripoli a few days, Commodore Preble was next actively employed in running from port to port, in order to look into the affairs of the different regencies, to communicate with the captives in Tripoli, and to make his arrangements for pursuing a warfare better suited to bringing the bashaw to terms. The king of the Two Sicilies being at war with Tripoli, also, in furtherance of the latter duty, the Constitution went to Naples, in order to obtain some assistance in executing these projects. Here an order for two bomb-vessels and six gun-boats was obtained, with the necessary equipments; and Commodore Preble sailed for Messina, where the different craft lay. From this time until the middle of July, he was as actively engaged as ever, in providing for the wants of the captives, in settling a serious difficulty with Tunis, and in preparing for an attack on Tripoli; and we shall quit him, for a moment, to return to the movements before that place.

In April, the Siren, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart; Argus, Lieutenant Commandant Hull; Enterprise, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur; Vixen, Lieutenant Commandant Smith, and Scourge, Lieutenant Commandant Dent, composed the blockading force, when a felucca was seen stealing along shore, coming from the westward, with a view to enter the harbour in a fog. A general chase ensued, and the felucca took refuge behind a reef of rocks, about ten miles to the westward of Tripoli, where she was run upon a beach of sand. The Siren now made a signal for the boats to go in, in order to destroy the enemy. Mr. Caldwell, the first lieutenant of the Siren, being nearest in, went ahead with the launch and cutter of that brig, while the others followed as the vessels came up. As he

approached the shore, the boat of Mr. Caldwell got on a sunken rock, and the enemy, who had begun to collect in force, particularly in cavalry, opened a sharp fire of musketry. Several of the Americans were killed and wounded, and perceiving that the enemy were both too strong and too well posted to be attacked by so feeble a force, Mr. Caldwell returned, directing the different boats, as he met them, to retire also.

The Argus and schooners now obtained positions where they could throw their shot into the felucca, which was soon rendered unseaworthy. While this was doing, the Siren ran down, opened a ravine in which the Turks were posted, and dislodged them by a smart discharge of grape. Afterwards, a broadside or two were thrown in among a strong body of cavalry, which had the effect of rendering them cautious in their operations on the coast. This little affair illustrates the nature of the ordinary warfare that was then carried on, the Tripolitans sending out bodies of soldiers to cover any vessel that was expected with supplies. On this occasion, the felucca was said to be loaded with salt, an article that then bore an enormous price in Tripoli.

It was July the 21st, 1804, when Commodore Preble was able to sail from Malta, with all the force he had collected, to join the vessels cruising off Tripoli. The blockade had been kept up with vigour for some months, and the Commodore felt that the season had now arrived for more active operations. He had with him the Constitution, Enterprise, Nautilus, the two bomb-vessels, and the six gun-boats. The bomb-vessels were of only thirty tons measurement, and carried a thirteen-inch mortar each. In scarcely any respect were they suited for the duty that was expected of them. The gun-boats were little better, being shallow, unseaworthy craft, of about twenty-five tons burthen, in which long iron twenty-fours had been mounted. Each boat had one gun, and thirty-five men; the latter, with the exception of a few Neapolitans, being taken from the different vessels of the squadron. The Tripolitan gun-boats, which have already been described, were altogether superior, and the duty should have been exactly reversed, in order to suit the qualities of the respective craft; the boats of Tripoli having been built to go on the coast, while those possessed by the Americans were intended solely for harbour defence. In addition to their other bad qualities, these Neapolitan boats were found neither to sail nor to row even tolerably well. It was necessary to tow them, by larger vessels, the

moment they got into rough water; and when it blew heavily, there was always danger of dragging them under. In addition to this force, Commodore Preble had obtained six long twenty-six pounders for the upper-deck of the Constitution, which were mounted in the waist.

When the American commander assembled his whole force before Tripoli, on the 25th of July, 1804, it consisted of the Constitution 44, Commodore Preble; Siren 16, Lieutenant Commandant Stewart; Argus 16, Lieutenant Commandant Hull; Scourge 14, Lieutenant Commandant Dent; Vixen 12, Lieutenant Commandant Smith; Nautilus 12, Lieutenant Commandant Somers; Enterprise 12, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur; the two bomb-vessels, and six gun-boats. In some respects this was a well-appointed force for the duty required, while in others it was lamentably deficient. Another heavy ship, in particular, was wanted, and the means for bombarding had all the defects that may be anticipated. The two heaviest brigs had armaments of twenty-four-pound carronades; the other brig, and two of the schooners, armaments of eighteen-pound carronades; while the Enterprise retained her original equipment of long sixes, in consequence of her ports being unsuited to the new guns. As the Constitution had a gun-deck battery of thirty long twenty-fours, with six long twenty-sixes, and some lighter long guns above, it follows that the Americans could bring twenty-two twenty-fours and six twenty-sixes to bear on the stone walls of the town, in addition to a few light chase-guns in the small vessels, and the twelve-pounders of the frigate's quarter-deck and forecastle. On the whole, there appears to have been in the squadron, twenty-eight heavy long guns, with about twenty lighter, that might be brought to play on the batteries simultaneously. Opposed to these means of offence, the bashaw had one hundred and fifteen guns in battery, most of them quite heavy, and nineteen gun-boats that, of themselves, so far as metal was concerned, were nearly equal to the frigate. Moored in the harbour were also two large galleys, two schooners, and a brig, all of which were armed and strongly manned. The American squadron was manned by one thousand and sixty persons, all told, while the bashaw had assembled a force that has been estimated as high as twenty-five thousand, Arabs and Turks included. The only advantage possessed by the assailants, in the warfare that was so soon to follow, were those which are dependent on spirit, discipline, and system.

The vessels could not anchor until the 28th, when they ran in, with the wind at E. S. E., and came-to, by signal, about a league from the town. This was hardly done, however, before the wind came suddenly round to N. N. W., thence to N. N. E., and it began to blow strong, with a heavy sea setting directly on shore. At 6 P. M., a signal was made for the vessels to weigh, and to gain an offing. Fortunately, the wind continued to haul to the eastward, or there would have been great danger of towing the gun-boats under, while carrying sail to claw off the land. The gale continued to increase until the 31st, when it blew tremendously. The courses of the Constitution were blown away, though reefed, and it would have been impossible to save the bomb-vessels and gun-boats, had not the wind hauled so far to the southward as to give them the advantage of a weather shore, and of comparatively smooth water. Fortunately, the gale ceased the next day.

On the third of August, 1804, the squadron ran in again and got within a league of the town, with a pleasant breeze at the eastward. The enemy's gun-boats and galleys had come outside of the rocks, and were lying there in two divisions; one near the eastern, and the other near the western entrance, or about half a mile apart. At the same time, it was seen that all the batteries were manned, as if an attack was not only expected, but invited.

At half-past 12, the Constitution wore with her head off shore, and showed a signal for all vessels to come within hail. As he came up, each commander was ordered to prepare to attack the shipping and batteries. The bomb-vessels and gun-boats were immediately manned, and such was the high state of discipline in the squadron, that in one hour, every thing was ready for the contemplated service.

On this occasion, Commodore Preble made the following distribution of that part of his force, which was manned from the other vessels of his squadron.

One bomb-ketch was commanded by Lieutenant Commandant Dent, of the Scourge.

The other bomb-ketch was commanded by Mr. Robinson, first lieutenant of the Constitution.

First Division of gun-boats.

No. 1. Lieut. Com. Somers, of the Nautilus.
" 2. Lieut. James Decatur, of the Nautilus.
" 3. Lieut. Blake, of the Argus.

Second division of gun-boats.

No. 4. Lieut. Com. Decatur, of the Enterprise.
" 5. Lieut. Bainbridge, of the Enterprise.
" 6. Lieut. Trippe, of the Vixen.

At half-past one, the Constitution wore again, and stood towards the town. At two, the gun-boats were cast off, and formed in advance, covered by the brigs and schooners, and half an hour later, the signal was shown to engage. The attack was commenced by the two bombards, which began tc throw shells into the town. It was followed by the batteries which were instantly in a blaze, and then the shipping on both sides opened their fire, within reach of grape.

The eastern, or most weatherly division of the enemy's gun-boats, nine in number, as being least supported, was the aim of the American gun-boats. But the bad qualities of the latter craft were quickly apparent, for, as soon as Mr. Decatur steered towards the enemy, with an intention to come to close quarters, the division of Mr. Somers, which was a little to leeward, found it difficult to sustain him. Every effort was made by the latter officer, to get far enough to windward to join in the attack; but finding it impracticable, he bore up, and ran down alone on five of the enemy to leeward, and engaged them all within pistol-shot, throwing showers of grape, canister, and musket-balls, among them. In order to do this, as soon as near enough, the sweeps were got out, and the boat was backed astern to prevent her from drifting in among the enemy. No. 3 was closing fast, but a signal of recall* being shown from the Constitution, she hauled out of the line to obey, and losing ground, she kept more aloof, firing at the boats and shipping in the harbour; while No. 2, Mr. James Decatur, was enabled to join the division to windward. No. 5, Mr. Bainbridge, lost her latine-yard, while still in tow of the Siren, but, though unable to close, she continued advancing, keeping up a heavy fire, and finally touched on the rocks.

By these changes, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur† had three boats that dashed forward with him, though one belonged to the division of Mr. Somers, viz. No. 4, No. 6, and No. 2.

---

* The signal was bent on by mistake, and was abroad a moment only, but the fact that it was shown, was established before a Court of Inquiry, which exonerated Mr. Blake from censure

† He was Captain Decatur at the time, but the fact was not yet known in the squadron.

The officers in command of these three boats, went steadily on until within the smoke of the enemy. Here they delivered their fire, throwing in a terrible discharge of grape and musket-balls, and the order was given to board. Up to this moment, the odds had been as three to one against the assailants; and it was now, if possible, increased. The brigs and schooners could no longer assist. The Turkish boats were not only the heaviest and the best in every sense, but they were much the strongest manned. The combat now assumed a character of chivalrous prowess and of desperate personal efforts, that belongs to the middle ages, rather than to struggles of our own times. Its details, indeed, savour more of the glow of romance, than of the sober severity that we are accustomed to associate with reality.

Lieutenant Commandant Decatur took the lead. He had no sooner discharged his shower of musket-balls, than No. 4 was laid alongside the opposing boat of the enemy, and he went into her, followed by Lieutenant Thorn, Mr. M'Donough, and all the Americans of his crew. The Tripolitan boat was divided nearly in two parts, by a long open hatchway, and as the people of No. 4 came in on one side, the Turks retreated to the other, making a sort of ditch of the open space. This caused an instant of delay, and, perhaps, fortunately, for it permitted the assailants to act together. As soon as ready, Mr. Decatur charged round each end of the hatchway, and after a short struggle, a portion of the Turks were piked and bayoneted, while the rest submitted, or leaped into the water.*

No sooner had Mr. Decatur got possession of the boat first assailed, than he took her in tow, and bore down on the one next to leeward. Running the enemy aboard, as before, he went into him, with most of his officers and men. The captain of the Tripolitan vessel was a large powerful man, and Mr. Decatur personally charged him with a pike. The weapon, however, was seized by the Turk, wrested from the hands of the assailant, and turned against its owner. The latter parried a thrust, and made a blow with his sword at the pike, with a view to cut off its head. The sword hit the iron, and broke at the hilt, and the next instant the Turk made another thrust.

* It is probable that the crew of this boat was in a measure staggered by the close fire of the gun, as No. 4 approached, her captain having received no fewer than fourteen musket-balls in his body, by that one discharge.

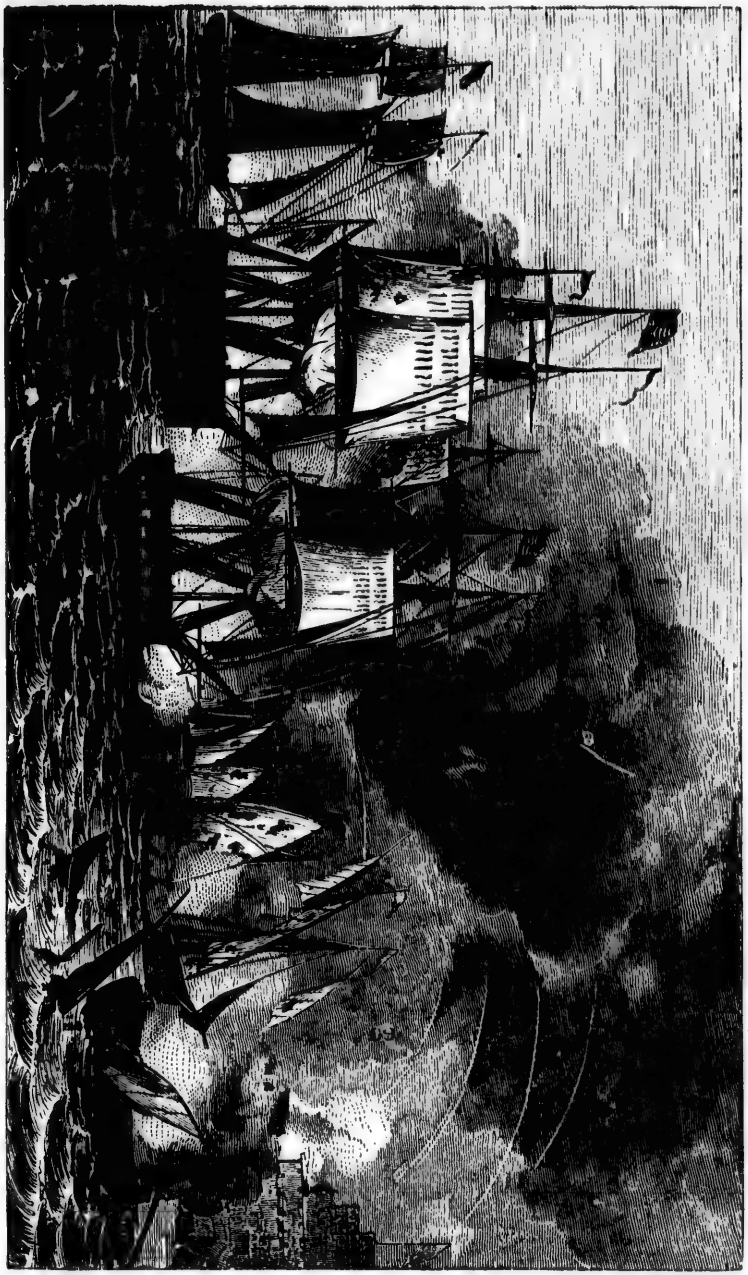
adily on
elivered
musket-
noment,
; and it
hooners
nly the
uch the
acter of
that be-
ur own
omance,
ssociate

had no
. 4 was
he went
gh, and
oat was
d as the
d to the
caused
ermitted
Decatur
a short
voneted,

oat first
the one
fore, he
The cap-
an, and
weapon,
ands of
parried
, with a
l broke
thrust.

---

taggered
aving re-
one dis-



BOMBARDMENT OF TRIPOLI. Page 197.

Nothi
whic
the
tear
his an
trial o
the co
self as
politan
was fi
when
momer
of his
Turk,
entirel
clothes
grasp
ated.

In s
the two
sabre t
by his
terpose
the lim
made u
resistan

An i
guished
amount
Comma
fifty-tw
of the
who w
swam
still mo
being
rejoin
were n
passing

Whi
to wind
tenant
No. 2

Nothing was left to the gallant Decatur, but his arm, with which he so far averted the blow, as to receive the pike through the flesh of one breast. Pushing the iron from the wound, by tearing the flesh, he sprang within the weapon, and grappled his antagonist. The pike fell between the two, and a short trial of strength succeeded, in which the Turk prevailed. As the combatants fell, however, Mr. Decatur so far released himself as to lie side by side with his foe on the deck. The Tripolitan now endeavoured to reach his poniard, while his hand was firmly held by that of his enemy. At this critical instant, when life or death depended on a moment well employed, or a moment lost, Mr. Decatur drew a small pistol from the pocket of his vest, passed the arm that was free round the body of the Turk, pointed the muzzle in, and fired. The ball passed entirely through the body of the Mussulman, and lodged in the clothes of his foe. At the same instant, Mr. Decatur felt the grasp that had almost smothered him relax, and he was liberated. He sprang up, and the Tripolitan lay dead at his feet.

In such a *mêlée* it cannot be supposed that the struggle of the two leaders would go unnoticed. An enemy raised his sabre to cleave the skull of Mr. Decatur, while he was occupied by his enemy, and a young man of the Enterprise's crew interposed an arm to save him. The blow was intercepted, but the limb was severed to a bit of skin. A fresh rush was now made upon the enemy, who was overcome without much further resistance.

An idea of the desperate nature of the fighting that distinguished this remarkable assault, may be gained from the amount of the loss. The two boats captured by Lieutenant Commandant Decatur, had about eighty men in them, of whom fifty-two are known to have been killed and wounded; most of the latter very badly. As only eight prisoners were made who were not wounded, and many jumped overboard and swam to the rocks, it is not improbable that the Turks suffered still more severely. Lieutenant Commandant Decatur himself being wounded, he secured his second prize, and hauled off to rejoin the squadron; all the rest of the enemy's division that were not taken, having by this time, run into the harbour, by passing through the openings between the rocks.

While Lieutenant Commandant Decatur was thus employed to windward, his brother, Mr. James Decatur, the first lieutenant of the Nautilus, was nobly emulating his example in No. 2. Reserving his fire, like No. 4, this young officer

dashed into the smoke, and was on the point of boarding, when he received a musket-ball in his forehead. The boats met and rebounded; and in the confusion of the death of the commanding officer of No. 2, the Turk was enabled to escape, under a heavy fire from the Americans. It was said, at the time, that the enemy had struck before Mr. Decatur fell, though the fact must remain in doubt. It is, however, believed that he sustained a very severe loss.

In the mean time, Mr. Trippe, in No. 6, the last of the three boats that was able to reach the weather division, was not idle. Reserving his fire, like the others, he delivered it with deadly effect, when closing, and went aboard of his enemy in the smoke. In this instance, the boats also separated by the shock of the collision, leaving Mr. Trippe, with Mr. J. D. Henley, and nine men only, on board the Tripolitan. Here, too, the commanders singled each other out, and a severe personal combat occurred, while the work of death was going on around them. The Turk was young, and of a large athletic form, and he soon compelled his slighter but more active foe to fight with caution. Advancing on Mr. Trippe, he would strike a blow and receive a thrust in return. In this manner, he gave the American commander no less than eight sabre wounds in the head, and two in the breast; when, making a sudden rush, he struck a ninth blow on the head, which brought Mr. Trippe upon a knee. Rallying all his force in a desperate effort, the latter, who still retained the short pike with which he fought, made a thrust that passed the weapon through his gigantic adversary, and tumbled him on his back. As soon as the Tripolitan officer fell, the remainder of his people submitted.

The boat taken by Mr. Trippe, was one of the largest belonging to the bashaw. The number of her men is not positively known, but, living and dead, thirty-six were found in her, of whom twenty-one were either killed or wounded. When it is remembered that but eleven Americans boarded her, the achievement must pass for one of the most gallant on record.*

* While Mr. Trippe was so hard pressed by his antagonist, a Turk aimed a blow at him, from behind; but just before the latter struck, Sergeant Meredith, of the marines, passed a bayonet through his body. While the prizes were hauling off, no one had thought, in the confusion of such a scene, of lowering the flag of the Tripolitan boat, and she was seen advancing with the enemy's ensign set. The Vixen gave her a broadside, which brought down colours, mast, latine-yard, and all. Fortunately no one was hurt.

All this time the cannonade and bombardment continued without ceasing. Lieutenant Commandant Somers, in No. 1, sustained by the brigs and schooners, had forced the remaining boats to retreat, and this resolute officer pressed them so hard as to be compelled to ware within a short distance of a battery of twelve guns, quite near the mole. Her destruction seemed inevitable, as the boat came slowly round, when a shell fell into the battery, most opportunely blew up the platform, and drove the enemy out, to a man. Before the guns could be again used, the boat had got in tow of one of the small vessels.

There was a division of five boats and two galleys of the enemy, that had been held in reserve within the rocks, and these rallied their retreating countrymen, and made two efforts to come out and intercept the Americans and their prizes, but they were kept in check by the fire of the frigate and small vessels. The Constitution maintained a very heavy fire, and silenced several of the batteries, though they re-opened as soon as she had passed. The bombards were covered with the spray of shot, but continued to throw shells to the last.

At half-past four, the wind coming round to the northward, a signal was made for the gun-boats and bomb-ketches to rejoin the small vessels, and another to take them and the prizes in tow. The last order was handsomely executed by the brigs and schooners, under cover of a blaze of fire from the frigate. A quarter of an hour later, the Constitution herself hauled off, and ran out of gun-shot.

Thus terminated the first serious attack that was made on the town and batteries of Tripoli. Its effect on the enemy, was of the most salutary kind; the manner in which their gun-boats had been taken, by boarding, having made a lasting and deep impression. The superiority of the Christians in gunnery, was generally admitted before; but here was an instance in which the Turks had been overcome by inferior numbers, hand to hand, a species of conflict in which they had been thought particularly to excel. Perhaps no instance of more desperate fighting of the sort, without defensive armour, is to be found in the pages of history. Three gun-boats were sunk in the harbour, in addition to the three that were taken; and the loss of the Tripolitans by shot, must have been very heavy. About fifty shells were thrown into the town, but little damage appears to have been done in this way, very few of the bombs, on account of the imperfect materials that had

been furnished, exploding. The batteries were a good deal damaged, but the town suffered no essential injury.

On the part of the Americans, only 14 were killed and wounded in the affair; and all of these, with the exception of one man, belonged to the gun-boats. The Constitution, though under fire two hours, escaped much better than could have been expected. She received one heavy shot through her main-mast, had a quarter-deck gun injured,* and was a good deal cut up aloft. The enemy had calculated his range for a more distant cannonade, and generally overshot the ships. By this mistake the Constitution had her main-royal-yard shot away.

On the occasion of the battle of the 3d of August, the officers who had opportunities of particularly distinguishing themselves, were Lieutenants Commandant Decatur and Somers; Lieutenants Trippe, Decatur, Bainbridge, and Thorn, and Messrs. M'Donough, Henley, Ridgely, and Miller. But the whole squadron behaved well; and the Constitution was handled, under the fire of the batteries, with the steadiness of a ship working into a roadstead.

CHAPTER XXI.

The vessels hauled off and anchored about two leagues from Tripoli, to repair their damages. On the morning of the 5th, the Argus brought-to a small French privateer that had just got out of the harbour, and Commodore Preble induced her commander to return and carry in all the badly wounded among his prisoners.† From the captain of this vessel, he learned that the enemy had suffered even more than

* A shot came in aft, hit the gun, and broke in several pieces. Commodore Preble was directly in its range, but he escaped by the shot's breaking. One of the fragments took off the tip of a marine's elbow, quite near him.

† Mr. Morris of the Argus was rowing guard, close in, when he found himself unexpectedly alongside of a strange sail. Without hesitating he boarded and carried her by surprise, when she proved to be the privateer in question.

had been supposed in the attack of the 3d, particularly in and about the port. On the 7th, the privateer came out, bringing a letter from the French consul, stating that the Bashaw was much more disposed to treat than previously to the late affair, and advising the commodore to send in a flag of truce, with a view to negotiate. As the castle made no signal to support this proposition, it was not regarded.

Between the 3d and the 7th, the squadron was occupied in altering the rig of the three captured gun-boats, and in putting them in a condition for service. As soon as the latter were equipped, they were numbered 7, 8, and 9, and the command of them was given to Lieutenants Crane, Caldwell, and Thorn. At 9 A. M., on the 7th, the light vessels weighed, and the bombards proceeded to take a position in a small bay to the westward of the town, where they were not much exposed to shot. At half-past 2, the bombards, having gained their anchorage, commenced throwing shells, and the gun-boats opened a heavy fire on the batteries. The effect on the latter was soon apparent, and many of their guns were rendered useless. In the height of the cannonade, a strange vessel appeared in the offing, and the Argus was sent in chase. The enemy now began to get his galleys and gun-boats in motion, and once or twice they advanced towards the opening between the rocks, and commenced a fire; but the Constitution, Nautilus, and Enterprise, being stationed to windward to cut them off, and the Siren and Vixen lying near the American gun-vessels to cover the latter, the enemy, after the lesson received on the 3d, were afraid to venture.

At half-past 3, or after the action had lasted about an hour, a hot shot passed through the magazine of No. 8, Lieutenant Caldwell, the boat taken by Mr. Trippe in the affair of the 3d, and she immediately blew up. When the smoke cleared away, all the after part of the boat was under water, while Mr. Robert T. Spence, of the Siren, and 11 men were forward, loading the long twenty-six-pounder that formed her armament. This gun was loaded and fired, and its gallant crew gave three cheers as their vessel sunk beneath them. Mr. Spence, who could not swim, saved himself on an oar, while the rest of the people got on board the different boats, where they continued to fight during the remainder of the action.

No. 8, when she blew up, had a crew of 28 persons in all, of whom 10 were killed and 6 wounded. Among the former was Mr. Caldwell, her commander, the first lieutenant of the

Siren, and Mr. Dorsey, a midshipman of the same vessel. These two officers were greatly regretted, as both bade fair to be ornaments to their profession.*

At half-past 5, or after the cannonade had lasted nearly three hours, the Constitution made a signal for the brigs and schooners to take the bombards and gun-boats in tow, and the squadron hauled off for its anchorage again. Just at this time, the Argus made a signal that the sail in sight was a friend.

The gun-boats, in this attack, suffered considerably. In consequence of the wind's being on-shore, Commodore Preble had kept the frigate out of the action, and the enemy's batteries had no interruption from the heavy fire of that ship. Several of the American boats had been hulled, and all suffered materially in their sails and rigging. No. 6, Lieutenant Wadsworth, had her latine-yard shot away. The killed and wounded amounted to 18 men.

At 8 o'clock in the evening, the John Adams 28, Captain Chauncey, from America, came within hail of the Constitution, and reported herself. By this ship, Commodore Preble received despatches informing him of the equipment of the vessels that were to come out under Commodore Barron, and of the necessity, which was thought to exist, of superseding him in the command. Captain Chauncey also stated the probability of the speedy arrival of the expected ships, which were to sail shortly after his own departure. As the John Adams had brought stores for the squadron, and had put most of her gun-carriages in the other frigates to enable her to do so, she could be of no immediate use; and the rest of the vessels being so soon expected, Commodore Preble was induced to delay the other attacks he had meditated, on the ground of prudence.

By the John Adams, intelligence reached the squadron of the re-establishment of the rank of masters and commanders,

* Mr. Edmund P. Kennedy, one of the gunner's crew belonging to the Siren, was the captain of the gun, on board No. 8, when she blew up. Mr. Kennedy was a young gentleman of Maryland, who had quitted school in quest of adventure, and, having been impressed into the British navy, on obtaining his discharge in the Mediterranean, he entered under the flag of his country. In consequence of his good conduct on this occasion, and from a desire to place him in a station better suited to his pretensions, Commodore Preble made Mr. Kennedy an acting midshipman. The appointment was confirmed at home, and the gentleman in question has since worn a broad pennant. It is believed that this officer and one other, are the only two in the navy who can boast of having gone through all the gradations of the service, from forward, aft.

and the new commissions were brought out to the officers before Tripoli, who had been promoted. In consequence of these changes, Lieutenant Commandant Decatur was raised to the rank of captain, and became the second in command then present; while Lieutenants Commandant Stewart, Hull, Chauncey, Smith, and Somers, became masters commandant, in the order in which they are named. Several of the young gentlemen were also promoted, including most of those who had a share in the destruction of the Philadelphia.

The bashaw now became more disposed than ever to treat, the warfare promising much annoyance, with no corresponding benefits. The cannonading did his batteries and vessels great injuries, though the town probably suffered less than might have been expected, being in a measure protected by its walls. The shells, too, that had been procured at Messina, turned out to be very bad, few exploding when they fell.* The case was different with the shot, which did their work effectually on the different batteries. Some idea may be formed of the spirit of the last attack, from the report of Commodore Preble, who stated that nine guns, one of which was used but a short time, threw 500 heavy shot, in the course of little more than two hours.

Although the delay caused by the expected arrival of the reinforcement, was improved to open a negotiation, it was without effect. The bashaw had lowered his demands quite half, but he still insisted on a ransom of $500 a man for his prisoners, though he waived the usual claim for tribute in future. These propositions were not received, it being expected that, after the arrival of the reinforcement, the treaty might be made on the usual terms of civilised nations.

On the 9th of August, the Argus, Captain Hull, had a narrow escape. That brig having stood in towards the town, to reconnoitre, with Commodore Preble on board, one of the heaviest of the shot from the batteries, raked her bottom for some distance, and cut the planks half through. An inch or two of variation in the direction of this shot, would infallibly have sunk the brig, and that probably in a very few minutes.

* According to the private journal of Captain Bainbridge, then a prisoner in the town, out of forty-eight shells thrown by the two bombards in the attack of the 7th, but one exploded. Agreeably to the records made by this officer at the time, the bombs on no occasion did much injury, and the town generally suffered less by shot even than was commonly supposed.

No intelligence arriving from the expected vessels, Commodore Preble, about the 16th, began to make his preparations for another attack, sending the Enterprise, Lieutenant Commandant Robinson, to Malta, with orders for the agent to forward transports with water, the vessels being on a short allowance of that great essential. On the night of the 17th, Captains Decatur and Chauncey went close in, in boats, and reconnoitred the situation of the enemy. These officers, on their return, reported that the vessels of the Tripolitan flotilla were moored abreast of each other, in a line extending from the mole to the castle, with their heads to the eastward, which was making a defence directly across the inner harbour or galley-mole.

A gale, however, compelled the American squadron to stand off shore on the morning of the 18th, which caused another delay in the contemplated movements. While lying-to, in the offing, the vessels met the transports from Malta, and the Enterprise returned, bringing no intelligence from the expected reinforcement.

On the 24th, the squadron stood in towards the town again, with a light breeze from the eastward. At 8 P. M., the Constitution anchored just out of gun-shot of the batteries, but it fell calm, and the boats of the different vessels were sent to tow the bombards to a position favourable for throwing shells. This was thought to have been effected by 2 A. M., when the two vessels began to heave their bombs, covered by the gun-boats. At daylight, they all retired, without having received a shot in return. Commodore Preble appears to have distrusted the result of this bombardment, the first attempted at night, and there is reason to think it produced but little effect.*

The weather proving very fine and the wind favourable, on the 28th, Commodore Preble determined to make a more vigorous assault on the town and batteries, than any which had preceded it, and his dispositions were taken accordingly. The gun-boats and bombards requiring so many men to manage them, the Constitution and the small vessels had been compelled to go into action short of hands, in the previous affairs. To obviate this difficulty, the John Adams had been kept before the town, and a portion of her officers and crew, and nearly all her boats, were put in requisition, on the present

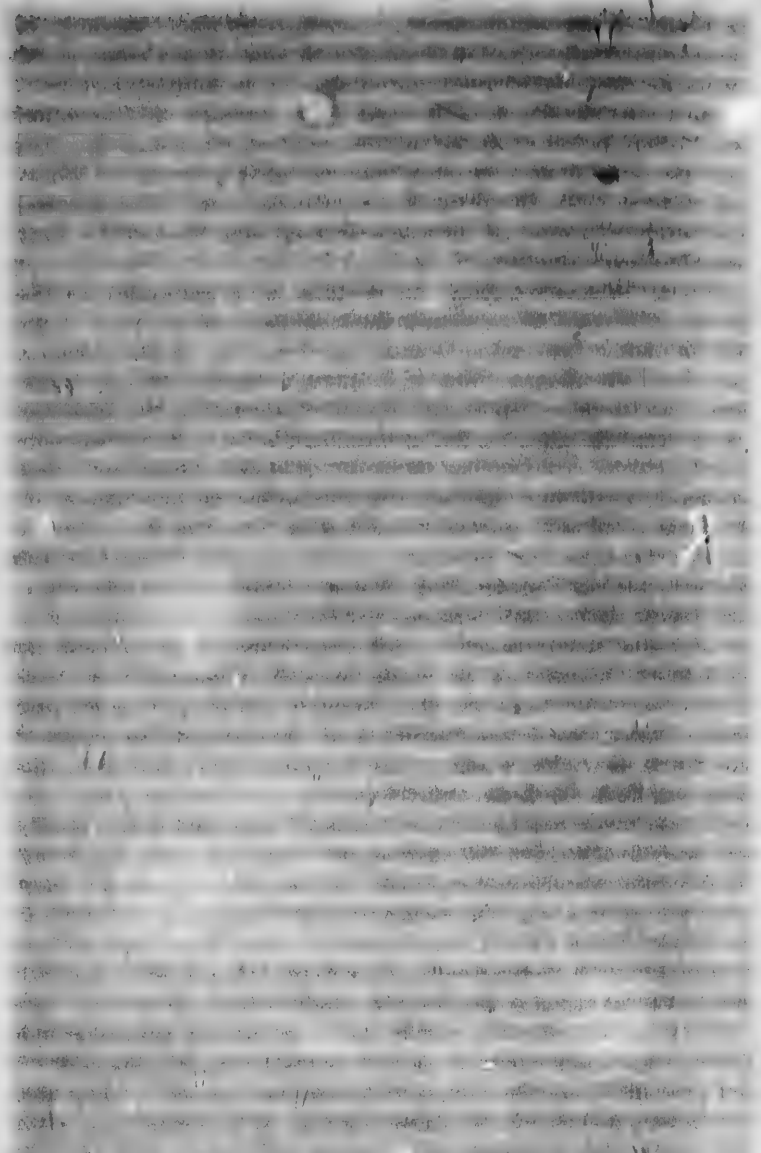
* Captain Bainbridge, in his private journal, says that all the shells thrown on this occasion fell short.

BATTLE OF PLATTSBURG BAY

The distances are not accurate, the intention being to give an idea of the positions of the vessels.

see page 304.

Lith. of Geo. E. Lapham 225 Fulton St. N.Y.



occasion. Captain Chauncey, himself, with about seventy of his people, went on board the flag-ship, and all the boats of the squadron were hoisted out and manned. The bomb vessels were crippled and could not be brought into service, a circumstance that probably was of no great consequence, on account of the badness of the materials they were compelled to use.* These two vessels, with the Scourge, transports, and John Adams, were anchored well off at sea, not being available in the contemplated cannonading.

Every thing being prepared, a little after midnight the following gun-boats proceeded to their stations, viz: No. 1, Captain Somers; No. 2, Lieutenant Gordon; No. 3, Mr. Brooks, master of the Argus; No. 4, Captain Decatur; No. 5, Lieutenant Lawrence; No. 6, Lieutenant Wadsworth; No. 7, Lieutenant Crane; and No. 9, Lieutenant Thorn. They were divided into two divisions, as before, Captain Decatur having become the superior officer, however, by his recent promotion. About 3 A. M. the gun-boats advanced close to the rocks at the entrance of the harbour, covered by the Siren, Captain Stewart, Argus, Captain Hull, Vixen, Captain Smith, Nautilus, Lieutenant Reed, and Enterprise, Lieutenant Commandant Robinson, and accompanied by all the boats of the squadron. Here they anchored, with springs on their cables, and commenced a cannonade on the enemy's shipping, castle, and town. As soon as the day dawned, the Constitution weighed and stood in towards the rocks, under a heavy fire from the batteries, Fort English, and the castle. At this time, the enemy's gun-boats and galleys, thirteen in number, were closely and warmly engaged with the eight American boats; and the Constitution, ordering the latter to retire by signal, as their ammunition was mostly consumed, delivered a heavy fire of round and grape on the former as she came up. One of the enemy's boats was soon sunk, two were run ashore to prevent them from meeting a similar fate, and the rest retreated.

The Constitution now continued to stand on, until she had run in within musket-shot of the mole, when she brought-to, and opened upon the town, batteries, and castle. Here she lay three-quarters of an hour, pouring in a fierce fire, with

* It is stated that Commodore Preble subsequently discovered lead in the fuse-holes of many of the bombs. It was supposed that this had been done by treachery, by means of French agents in Sicily, the shells having been charged to resist the French invasion.

great effect, until finding that all the small vessels were out of gun-shot, she hauled off. About 700 heavy shot were thrown at the enemy, in this attack, besides a good many from the chase-guns of the small vessels. The enemy sustained much damage, and lost many men. The American brigs and schooners were a good deal injured aloft, as was the Constitution. Although the latter ship was so long within reach of grape, many of which shot struck her, she had not a man hurt! Several of her shrouds, back-stays, trusses, spring-stays, chains, lifts, and a great deal of running rigging were shot away, and yet her hull escaped with very trifling injuries. A boat belonging to the John Adams, under the orders of Mr. John Orde Creighton, one of that ship's master's mates, was sunk by a double-headed shot, which killed three men, and badly wounded a fourth, but the officer and the rest of the boat's crew were saved.

In this attack a heavy shot from the American gun-boats struck the castle, passed through a wall, and rebounding from the opposite side of the room, fell within six inches of Captain Bainbridge, who was in bed at the moment, and covered him with stones and mortar; from under which he was taken, considerably hurt, by his own officers. More injury was done the town in this attack, than in either of the others, the shot appearing to have told on many of the houses.

From this time to the close of the month, preparations were making to use the bombards again, and for renewing the cannonading, another transport having arrived from Malta, without bringing any intelligence of the vessels under the orders of Commodore Barron. On the 3d of September, every thing being ready, at half-past two the signal was made for the small vessels to advance. The enemy had improved the time as well as the Americans, and they had raised three of their own gun-boats that had been sunk in the affairs of the 3d and of the 28th of August. These craft were now added to the rest of their flotilla.

The Tripolitans had also changed their mode of fighting. Hitherto, with the exception of the affair of the 3d, their galleys and gun-boats had lain either behind the rocks, in positions to fire over them, or at the openings between them, and they consequently found themselves to leeward of the frigate and small American cruisers, the latter invariably choosing easterly winds to advance with, as they would permit crippled vessels to retire. On the 3d of August, the case excepted, the Turks

had been so roughly treated by being brought hand to hand, when they evidently expected nothing more than a cannonade, that they were not disposed to venture again outside of the harbour. On the 3d of September, however, the day at which we have now arrived, their plan of defence was judiciously altered. No sooner was it perceived that the American squadron was in motion, with a fresh design to annoy them, than their gun-boats and galleys got under way, and worked up to windward, until they had gained a station on the weather side of the harbour, directly under the fire of Fort English, as well as of a new battery that had been erected a little to the westward of the latter.

This disposition of the enemy's force, required a corresponding change on the part of the Americans. The bombards were directed to take stations and to commence throwing their shells; while the gun-boats, in two divisions, commanded as usual by Captains Decatur and Somers, and covered by the brigs and schooners, assailed the enemy's flotilla. This arrangement separated the battle into two distinct parts, leaving the bomb vessels very much exposed to the fire of the castle, the mole, crown, and other batteries.

The Tripolitan gun-boats and galleys stood the fire of the American flotilla until the latter had got within reach of musketry, when they retreated. The assailants now separated, some of the gun-boats following the enemy, and pouring in their fire, while the others, with the brigs and schooners, cannonaded Fort English.

In the mean while, perceiving that the bombards were suffering severely from the undisturbed fire of the guns to which they were exposed, Commodore Preble ran down in the Constitution, quite near the rocks, and within the bomb vessels, and brought to. Here the frigate opened as warm a fire as probably ever came out of the broadside of a single-decked ship, and in a position where seventy heavy guns could bear upon her. The whole harbour in the vicinity of the town, was glittering with the spray of her shot, and each battery, as usual, was silenced as soon as it drew her attention. After throwing more than three hundred round shot, besides grape and canister, the frigate hauled off, having previously ordered the other vessels to retire from action, by signal.

The gun-boats, in this affair, were an hour and fifteen minutes engaged, in which time they threw four hundred round shot, besides grape and canister. Lieutenant Trippe, who

had so much distinguished himself, and who had received so many wounds that day month, resumed the command of No. 6, for this occasion. Lieutenant Morris, of the Argus, was in charge of No. 3. All the small vessels suffered, as usual, aloft, and the Argus sustained some damage in her hull.

The Constitution was so much exposed in the attack just related, that her escape can only be attributed to the weight of her own fire. It had been found, in the previous affairs, that so long as this ship could play upon a battery, the Turks could not be kept at its guns; and it was chiefly while she was veering, or tacking, that she suffered. But, after making every allowance for the effect of her own cannonade, and for the imperfect gunnery of the enemy, it creates wonder that a single frigate could lie opposed to more than double her own number of available guns, and these too, principally, of heavier metal, while they were protected by stone walls. On this occasion, the frigate was not supported by the gun-boats at all, and she became the sole object of the enemy's aim after the bombards had withdrawn.

As might have been expected, the Constitution suffered more in the attack just recorded, than in any of the previous affairs, though she received nothing larger than grape in her hull. She had three shells through her canvass, one of which rendered the main-top-sail momentarily useless. Her sails, standing and running rigging were also much cut with shot. Captain Chauncey, of the John Adams, and a party of his officers and crew, served in the Constitution again on this day, and were of essential use. Indeed, in all the service which succeeded her arrival, the commander, officers, and crew of the John Adams were actively employed, though the ship herself could not be brought before the enemy, for the want of gun-carriages.

The bombards, having been much exposed, suffered accordingly. No. 1, was so much crippled, as to be unable to move, without being towed, and was near sinking when she was got to the anchorage. Every shroud she had was shot away. Commodore Preble expressed himself satisfied with the good conduct of every man in the squadron. All the vessels appear to have been well conducted, and efficient in their several stations. Of the effect of the shells, there is no account to be relied on, though it is probable that, as usual, many did not explode. There is no doubt, however, that the bombs were well directed, and that they fell into the town.

While Commodore Preble was thus actively employed in carrying on the war against the enemy, the attack just related having been the fifth made on the town within a month, he was meditating another species of annoyance, that was now ready to be put in execution.

CHAPTER XXII.

The ketch Intrepid, which had been employed by Mr. Decatur in burning the Philadelphia, was still in the squadron, having been used of late as a transport between Tripoli and Malta. This vessel had been converted into an "infernal," or, to use more intelligible terms, she had been fitted as a floating mine, with the intention of sending her into the harbour of Tripoli, to explode among the enemy's cruisers. As every thing connected with the history of this little vessel, as well as with the enterprise in which she was about to be employed, will have interest with the public, we shall be more particular than common in giving the details of this affair, as they have reached us through public documents, and oral testimony that is deemed worthy of entire credit.

A small room or magazine had been planked up in the hold of the ketch, just forward of her principal mast. Communicating with this magazine was a trunk or tube, that led aft, to another room filled with combustibles. In the planked room, or magazine, were placed one hundred barrels of gunpowder in bulk, and on the deck immediately above the powder, were laid fifty thirteen and a half inch shells, and one hundred nine inch shells, with a large quantity of shot, pieces of kentledge, and fragments of iron of different sorts. A train was laid in the trunk, or tube, and fuses were attached in the proper manner. In addition to this arrangement, the other small room mentioned was filled with splinters and light wood, which, besides firing the train, were to keep the enemy from boarding, as the flames would be apt to induce them to apprehend an immediate explosion.

The plan was well laid. It was the intention to profit by the first dark night that offered, to carry the ketch as far as

possible into the galley-mole, to light the fire in the splinter-room, and for the men employed, to make their retreat in boats.

The arrangements for carrying this project into effect appear to have been made with care and prudence. Still the duty, on every account, was deemed desperate. It was necessary, in the first place, to stand in by the western or little passage, in a dull-sailing vessel, and with a light wind, directly in the face of several batteries, the fire of which could only be escaped by the enemy's mistaking the ketch for a vessel endeavouring to force the blockade. It would also be required to pass quite near these batteries, and, as the ketch advanced, she would be running in among the gun-boats and galleys of the enemy. It is not necessary to point out the hazards of such an exploit, as a simple cannonade directed against a small vessel filled with powder, would of itself be, in the last degree, dangerous. After every thing had succeeded to the perfect hopes of the assailants, there existed the necessity of effecting a retreat, the service being one in which no quarter could be expected.

Such a duty could be confided to none but officers and men of known coolness and courage, of perfect self-possession, and of tried spirit. Captain Somers, who had commanded one division of the gun-boats in the different attacks on the town that have been related, in a manner to excite the respect of all who witnessed his conduct, volunteered to take charge of this enterprise; and Lieutenant Wadsworth, of the Constitution, an officer of great merit, offered himself as the second in command. It being unnecessary to send in any more than these two gentlemen, with the few men needed to manage the ketch and row the boats, no other officer was permitted to go, though it is understood that several volunteered.

The night of the 4th of September, or that of the day which succeeded the attack last related, promising to be obscure, and there being a good leading wind from the eastward, it was selected for the purpose. Commodore Preble appears to have viewed the result of this expedition with great anxiety, and to have ordered all its preparations, with the utmost personal attention to the details. This feeling is believed to have been increased by his knowledge of the character of the officers who were to go in, and who, it was understood, had expressed a determination neither to be taken, nor to permit the ammunition in the ketch to fall into the enemy's hands. The latter point was one of great importance, it being understood that the

Tripolitans, like the Americans, were getting to be in want of powder.* In short, it was the general understanding in the squadron, before the ketch proceeded, that her officers had determined not to be taken. Two fast-rowing boats, one belonging to the Constitution, that pulled six oars, and one belonging to the Siren, that pulled four oars, were chosen to bring the party off, and their crews were volunteers from the Constitution and Nautilus. At the last moment, Mr. Israel, an ardent young officer, whose application to go in had been rejected, found means to get on board the ketch, and, in consideration of his gallantry, he was permitted to join the party.

When all was ready, or about 8 o'clock in the evening of the day just mentioned, the Intrepid was under way, with the Argus, Vixen, and Nautilus in company. Shortly after, the Siren also weighed, by a special order from the commodore, and stood in towards the western passage, or that by which the ketch was to enter, where she remained to look out for the boats.

The Nautilus, Captain Somers' own vessel, accompanied the ketch close in, but, on reaching a position where there was danger of her creating suspicions by being seen, she hauled off, to take her station, like the other small vessels, near the rocks, in order to pick up the retreating boats. The last person of the squadron who had any communication with Captain Somers, was Mr. Washington Reed, the first lieutenant of his own schooner, the Nautilus, who left him about 9 o'clock. At that time, all was calm, collected, and in order, on board the "infernal." The general uneasiness was increased by the circumstance that three gun-boats lay near the entrance; and some of the last words of the experienced Decatur, before taking leave of his friend, were to caution him against these enemies.

The sea was covered with a dense haze, though the stars were visible, and the last that may be said to have been seen of the Intrepid, was the shadowy forms of her canvass, as she steered slowly, but steadily, into the obscurity, where the eyes

* A day or two before the ketch was ready, the commodore himself was trying a port-fire in the cabin of the Constitution, in the presence of Captain Somers, and of one or two other officers, and finding that one burned a particular time, by the watch, he remarked that he thought "it burned longer than was necessary, as the time might enable the enemy to approach and extinguish it before the train would be fired." "I ask for no port-fire at all," was the quiet answer of Captain Somers.

of the many anxious spectators fancied they could still trace her dim outline, most probably after it had totally disappeared. This sinking into the gloom of night, was no bad image of the impenetrable mystery that has veiled the subsequent proceedings of the gallant party on board her.

When the Intrepid was last seen by the naked eye, she was not a musket-shot from the mole, standing directly for the harbour. One officer on board the nearest vessel, the Nautilus, is said, however, to have never lost sight of her with a night-glass, but even he could distinguish no more than her dim proportions. There is a vague rumour that she touched on the rocks, though it does not appear to rest on sufficient authority to be entitled to much credit. To the last moment, she appears to have been advancing. About this time the batteries began to fire. Their shot are said to have been directed towards every point where an enemy might be expected, and it is not improbable that some were aimed at the ketch.

The period between the time when the Intrepid was last seen, and that when most of those who watched without the rocks learned her fate, was not long. This was an interval of intense, almost of breathless expectation; and it was interrupted only by the flashes and the roar of the enemy's guns. Various reports exist of what those who gazed into the gloom beheld, or fancied they beheld; but one melancholy fact alone would seem to be beyond contradiction. A fierce and sudden light illuminated the panorama, a torrent of fire streamed upward, and a concussion followed that made the cruisers in the offing tremble from their trucks to their keels. This sudden blaze of light was followed by a darkness of two-fold intensity, and the guns of the battery became mute, as if annihilated. Numerous shells were seen in the air, and some of them descended on the rocks, where they were heard to fall. The fuses were burning, and a few exploded, but much the greater part were extinguished in the water. The mast, too, had risen perpendicularly, with its rigging and canvass blazing, but the descent veiled all in night.

So sudden and tremendous was the eruption, and so intense the darkness which succeeded, that it was not possible to ascertain the precise position of the ketch at the moment. In the glaring, but fleeting light, no person could say that he had noted more than the material circumstance, that the Intrepid had not reached the point at which she aimed. The shells had not spread far, and those which fell on the rocks were so many

proofs of this important truth. There was no other fact to indicate the precise spot where the ketch exploded. A few cries arose from the town, but the subsequent and deep silence that followed was more eloquent than any clamour. The whole of Tripoli was like a city of tombs.

If every eye had been watchful previously to the explosion, every eye now became doubly vigilant to discover the retreating boats. Men got over the sides of the vessels, holding lights, and placing their ears near the water, in the hope of detecting the sounds of even muffled oars; and often was it fancied that the gallant adventurers were near. They never re-appeared. Hour after hour went by, until hope itself became exhausted. Occasionally, a rocket gleamed in the darkness, or a sullen gun was heard from the frigate, as signals to the boats; but the eyes that should have seen the first, were sightless, and the last tolled on the ears of the dead.

The three vessels assigned to that service hovered around the harbour until the sun rose; but few traces of the Intrepid, and nothing of her devoted crew, could be discovered. The wreck of the mast lay on the rocks near the western entrance, and here and there a fragment was visible nigh it. One of the largest of the enemy's gun-boats was missing, and it was observed that two others, which appeared to be shattered, were being hauled upon the shore. The three that had lain across the entrance had disappeared. It was erroneously thought that the castle had sustained some injury from the concussion, though, on the whole, the Americans were left with the melancholy certainty of having met with a serious loss, without obtaining a commensurate advantage.

It is now known that the bottom of the ketch grounded on the north side of the rocks, near the round battery at the end of the mole; and as the wind was at the eastward, this renders it certain that the explosion took place in the western entrance to the harbour, and fully a quarter of a mile from the spot that it was intended the ketch should reach. In the wreck were found two mangled bodies, and four more were picked up on the 6th, floating in the harbour, or lodged on the shore. These bodies were in the most shocking state of mutilation, and, though Captain Bainbridge and one or two of his companions were taken to see them, it was found impossible to distinguish even the officers from the men. It is understood that six more bodies were found, the day after the explosion, on the shore to

the southward of the town, and that a six-oared boat, with one body in it, had drifted on the beach to the westward.*

These statements account for all those who went in the ketch, and furnish conjectural clues to facts that would otherwise be veiled in impenetrable mystery. The spot where the boat was found, was a proof that the ketch had not got very far into the passage, or the cutter could not have drifted clear of the natural mole to the westward. The reason that the boat and the ketch's bottom were not found near the same spot, was probably because the first was acted on more by the wind, and the last by the current; and the fact that a boat may have drifted through rocks, with which the shore is everywhere more or less lined, that would have brought up the wreck.

As there was but one body found in the boat, we are left to suppose it was that of the keeper. Of the four-oared boat, or that which belonged to the Siren, there does not appear to have been any tidings, and it was either destroyed by the explosion, sunk by the fall of fragments, or privately appropriated to himself by some Tripolitan.

From the fact of there being but a single man in the Constitution's cutter, there is reason to infer that most of the officers and men were on board the ketch, herself, when she blew up. No person is understood to say that any of the enemy's vessels were seen near the ketch, when she exploded, and, with these meagre premises, we are left to draw our inferences as to the causes of the disaster.

That Captain Somers was as capable of sacrificing himself, when there was an occasion for it, as any man who ever lived, is probably as true as it is certain that he would not destroy himself, and much less others, without sufficient reason. It has been supposed that the ketch was boarded by the enemy, and that her resolute commander fired the train in preference to being taken. The spirit created by the chivalrous exploits of Decatur, and the high-toned discipline and daring of Preble, had communicated to all under their orders as lofty sentiments of duty and zeal as probably were ever found among an equal body of generous and ardent young men; but it is not easy to discover a motive why the explosion should have been an intentional act of the Americans, and it is easy to discover many why it should not.

There would be but one sufficient justification for an offi-

* Captain Bainbridge's private journal.

cer's sacrificing himself or his people under such circumstances, and that was the impossibility of preventing the ketch from falling into the hands of the enemy, by any other means. Neither the evidence of eye-witnesses, so far as it is available, nor the accounts of the Tripolitans themselves, would appear to show, that when the Intrepid exploded, any enemy was near enough to render so desperate a step necessary. According to the private journal of Captain Bainbridge, neither the town nor the Turks suffered materially, and he was carried to the beach to see the dead bodies, on the 8th, or two days after the affair. This alone would prove that the ketch did not reach the mole. If the object were merely to destroy the powder, the men would have been previously ordered into the boats, and, even under circumstances that rendered a resort to the fuse inexpedient, the train would have been used. That only one man was in the largest boat, is known from the condition in which she was found, and this could hardly have happened, under any circumstances, had the magazine been fired intentionally, by means of the train. Every contingency had doubtless been foreseen. One man was as able as twenty to apply the match, and we can see but one state of things, besides being boarded by surprise, that would render it likely that the match would have been used until the people were in their boats, or that it would have been applied at any other spot, than at the end of the train, or aft. A surprise of the nature mentioned, would seem to have been impossible; for, though the night was misty, objects might still be seen at some little distance, and it is probable, also, that the party had glasses.

From weighing these circumstances, it is the most rational opinion that the Intrepid was not intentionally blown up. She was under fire at the time, and though it is improbable that the enemy had any shot heated to repel an attack so unexpected, a cold shot might easily have fired a magazine in the situation of that of the Intrepid. The deck of the ketch, moreover, was covered with loaded shells, and one of these might have been struck and broken. Some other unforeseen accident may have occurred. On the other hand, it is necessary to state, that Commodore Preble firmly believed that his officers blew themselves up, in preference to being made prisoners; an opinion in which it would not be difficult to coincide, were there proof that they were in any immediate danger of such a calamity. It was also the general conjecture in the squadron then before Tripoli, that such had been the fate of these bold

adventurers; but it would seem to have been formed at the time, rather on an opinion of what the party that went in was capable of doing, than on any evidence of what it had actually done.

As it is the province of the historian to present all the leading facts of his subject, we shall add, on the other hand, that many little collateral circumstances appear to have occurred, which may be thought to give force to the truth of the common impression. One of the best authenticated of these, is connected with what was seen from a vessel that was watching the ketch, though it was not the schooner nearest in. On board this vessel a light was observed moving on a horizontal line, as if carried swiftly along a vessel's deck by some one in hurried motion, and then to drop suddenly, like a lantern sinking beneath a hatchway. Immediately afterwards the ketch exploded, and at that precise spot, which would seem to leave no doubt that this light was on board the Intrepid. But even this by no means establishes the fact that the explosion was intentional. The splinters, that were to keep the enemy aloof, had not been lighted, and this movement with the lantern may have been intended to fire them, and may have had some accidental connexion with the explosion.

In addition to this appearance of the light, which rests on testimony every way entitled to respect, there was a report brought off by the prisoners, then in Tripoli, when liberated, from which another supposition has been formed as to the fate of this devoted vessel, that is not without plausibility. It was said that most of the bodies found had received gun-shot wounds, especially from grape. One body, in particular, was described as having had the small remains of nankeen pantaloons on it, and it was also reported that the hair* was of a deep black. Through this person, according to the report, no less than three grape-shot had passed. This has been supposed to have been the body of Captain Somers himself, who was the only one of the party that wore nankeens, and whose hair was of a deep black. On the supposition that the proofs of the grape-shot wounds actually existed, it has been conjectured that, as the ketch advanced, she was fired into with grape, most of her people shot down, and that the magazine was touched off by the two whose bodies were found in the

* It is possible certainly that this mark may have been observed, but it is more probable that the hair would have been consumed. Still a hat may have saved it.

wreck, and who were probably below when the Intrepid exploded.

That a close fire was opened when the ketch appeared is beyond doubt, and that she was quite near the mole and crowded batteries when the explosion occurred, is known, not only by means of the glass, but by the parts of the wreck that fell on the rocks. Indeed, the situation of the latter would give reason to suppose there might be some truth in the rumour that she had grounded, in which case her destruction by means of shot would have been rendered certain.

The prevalent opinion that the Intrepid was boarded by one or more of the gun-boats that lay near the entrance, would seem to have been entertained without sufficient proof. These vessels lay some distance within the spot where the ketch blew up, and it was not probable that they would have advanced to meet a vessel entering the harbour; for did they suppose her a friend, there would have been no motive; and did they suppose her an enemy, they would have been much more likely to avoid her. So shy, indeed, had the Tripolitans become, after the burning of the Philadelphia, and the boarding of their boats, that it was found extremely difficult to get their small vessels within the range of musket-balls. Captain Somers was known to have felt no apprehensions of being boarded by these three boats; for, when cautioned by his friend Decatur on that head, his answer was, "they will be more likely to cut and run." In this opinion that cool and observant officer was probably right. Had there been any vessel near the Intrepid when she blew up, the light of the explosion would have permitted her also to be seen; some portions of her wreck would have been visible next day; and her masts and sails would probably have been flying in the air, as well as those of the ketch.

But the fact that only thirteen bodies are spoken of in the private journal of Captain Bainbridge, is almost conclusive on the subject that no Tripolitan vessel was blown up on this occasion. This entry was made at the time, and before the nature of the expedition, or the number of those who had been sent in the ketch, was known to the Americans in Tripoli. The thirteen bodies account exactly for all on board; and as they came ashore in a most mutilated state, without clothes, in some instances without legs, arms, or heads, it was impossible to say whether they were the mangled remains of friends or enemies. Had a Tripolitan blown up in company, there must

have been many more bodies in the same state, instead of the precise number mentioned, and Captain Bainbridge would have been as likely to be taken to see a dead Turk, as to see a dead American.

The missing gun-boat, of which Commodore Preble speaks in his report, may have been sunk by a falling shell; she may have been shattered and hauled into the galley-mole, out of sight; or, she may have removed in the darkness, and been confounded next morning with others of the flotilla. Observations made, by means of glasses, in a crowded port, at a distance of two or three miles, are liable to many errors. In short, it would seem to be the better opinion, that, from some untoward circumstance, the Intrepid exploded at a point where she did little or no injury to the enemy.*

One of three things seems to be highly probable, concerning this long-disputed point. The ketch has either exploded by means of the enemy's shot, than which, nothing was easier in the situation where she lay; the men have accidentally fired the magazine, while preparing to light the splinters below; or it has been done intentionally, in consequence of the desperate condition to which the party was reduced, by the destruction caused by grape. Of the three, after weighing all the circumstances, it is natural to believe that the first was the most probable, as it was certainly easier to cause a vessel like the

* The entry in the private journal of Captain Bainbridge, is as follows: "Was informed that the explosion that we heard last night, proceeded from a vessel (which the Americans attempted to send into the harbour,) blowing up; which unfortunate scheme did no damage whatever to the Tripolitans; nor did it even appear to heave them into confusion." "On the 8th, by the bashaw's permission, with Lieutenant ——, went to the beach of the harbour, and there saw six persons in a most mangled and burnt condition, lying on the shore; whom we supposed to have been part of the unfortunate crew of the fire-vessel, the bottom of which grounded on the north side of the rocks near the round battery. Two of these distressed-looking objects were fished out of the wreck. From the whole of them being so much disfigured, it was impossible to recognise any known feature to us, or even to distinguish an officer from a seaman. Mr. Cowdery, who accompanied us, informed me that he saw six others yesterday, on the shore to the southward, which were supposed to have come from the same vessel. He also informed me that an American six-oared boat, with one man in her, was found drifted on the beach to the westward."

On the subject of Commodore Preble's impressions of the fate of the Intrepid, it may be well to say, that the Constitution left Tripoli soon after the ketch was blown up, and that his letter was dated at Malta, September 18th. Owing to this circumstance, he must necessarily have been ignorant of facts that were subsequently ascertained.

Intrepid, with a hundred barrels of loose powder in her magazine, to explode by means of shot, than to cause a vessel like No. 8, which is known to have been blown up, in this manner, in the action of the 7th of August. As regards the grape-shot wounds, it will be seen that Captain Bainbridge is silent.

A sad and solemn mystery, after all our conjectures, must for ever veil the fate of those fearless officers and their hardy followers. In whatever light we view the affair, they were the victims of that self-devotion which causes the seaman and soldier to hold his life in his hand, when the honour or interest of his country demands the sacrifice. The name of Somers has passed into a battle-cry, in the American marine, while those of Wadsworth and Israel are associated with all that can ennoble intrepidity, coolness, and daring.

The war, in one sense, terminated with this scene of sublime destruction. Commodore Preble had consumed so much of his powder, in the previous attacks, that it was no longer in his power to cannonade; and the season was fast getting to be dangerous to remain on that exposed coast. The guns, mortars, shells, &c., were taken out of the small vessels, on account of the appearance of the weather, the day after the loss of the Intrepid; and on the 7th, the John Adams, Siren, Nautilus, Enterprise, and Scourge, were directed to take the bombards and gun-boats in tow, and to proceed to Syracuse; while the Constitution, with the Argus and Vixen in company, maintained the blockade. It is not known that another shot was fired at Tripoli.

Three days later, or on the 10th of September, 1804, the President 44, wearing the broad pennant of Commodore Barron, hove in sight, with the Constellation 38, Captain Campbell, in company, when the command was regularly transferred to the former officer. On the 12th, two sail were cut off, while attempting to enter Tripoli loaded with wheat. On the 17th, the Constitution reached Malta, with the two prizes; and subsequently, Commodore Preble went to Syracuse in the Argus. At a later day, he came home in the John Adams, where he arrived on the 26th of February, 1805. In the mean time, Captain Decatur proceeded to Malta and took command of the Constitution, which was the first frigate this celebrated officer ever had under his orders.

The country fully appreciated the services of Commodore Preble. He had united caution and daring in a way to denote the highest military qualities; and his success in general, had

been in proportion. The attack of the Intrepid, the only material failure in any of his enterprises, was well arranged, and had it succeeded, it would probably have produced peace in twenty-four hours. As it was, the bashaw was well enough disposed to treat, though he seems to have entered into some calculations in the way of money, that induced him to hope the Americans would still reduce their policy to the level of his own, and prefer paying ransom to maintaining cruisers so far from home. Commodore Preble, and all the officers and men under his orders, received the thanks of Congress, and a gold medal was bestowed on the former. By the same resolution, Congress expressed the sympathy of the nation in behalf of the relatives of Captain Richard Somers, Lieutenants Henry Wadsworth, James Decatur, James R. Caldwell, and Joseph Israel, and Mr. John Sword Dorsey, midshipman; the officers killed off Tripoli.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The squadron left in the Mediterranean, under the orders of Commodore Barron, after the departure of Commodore Preble, was much the strongest force that the country had then assembled in that sea. It consisted of the following vessels, viz.:

President	44,	Capt. Cox; Com. Barron.
Constitution	44,	" Decatur.
Congress	38,	" Rodgers.
Constellation	38,	" Campbell.
Essex	32,	" J. Barron.
Siren	16,	" Stewart.
Argus	16,	" Hull.
Vixen	12,	" Smith.
Enterprise	12,	Lieut. Com. Robinson.
Nautilus	12,	" " Dent.

The blockade of Tripoli was maintained by different vessels during the bad season of 1804–5; but no attack was attempted, although preparations were made to renew the war in the spring. One of the first measures of Commodore Preble, on reaching America, was to urge upon the government the necessity of building suitable bomb-ketches, and a few gun-boats

only ma-
ged, and
peace in
l enough
nto some
to hope
level of
ruisers so
icers and
ss, and a
me reso-
on in be-
eutenants
well, and
nan; the

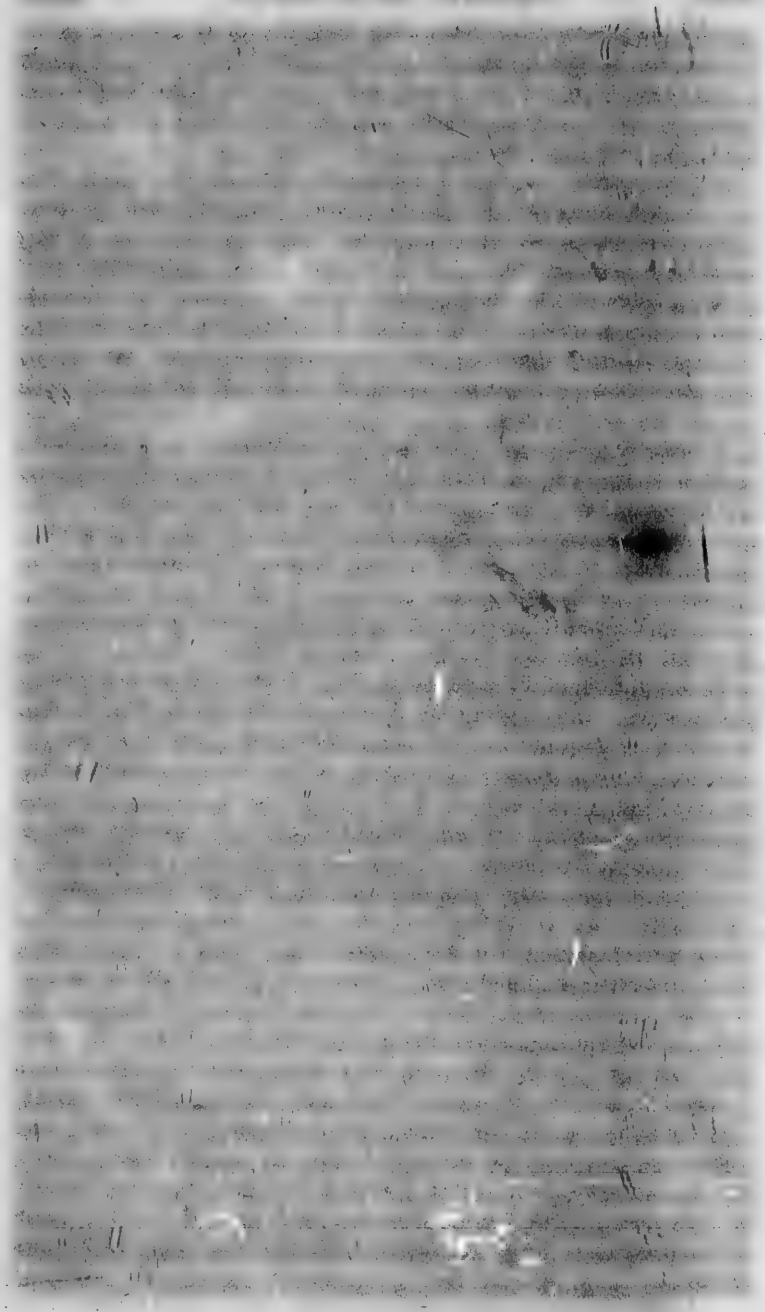
he orders
mmodore
had then
g vessels,

arron.

on.

nt vessels
ttempted,
ar in the
Preble, on
nt the ne-
gun-boats

THE HARBOUR OF
TRIPOLI
THE CITY OF
TRIPOLI
Bashaw's Castle
Arsenal
Bomb Ketch
Bomb Ketch
Bomb Ketch



fitted to cannonade a place like Tripoli. His advice was followed, the vessels being immediately laid down; but it being found impossible to have the ketches ready in time, two vessels were purchased, one at Trieste, and the other at Malta, and were converted into bombards.

In November, Captain Rodgers, as the senior officer, was put in command of the Constitution, while Captain Decatur was transferred to the Congress. The winter and spring passed in this manner, the blockade being maintained with vigour, most of the time, though no event worthy of note occurred off the port. While matters remained in this state with the ships, a movement by land was in the course of execution, that must now be recorded, as it is intimately connected with the history of the war.

It has been said already, that Jussuf Caramalli, the reigning pacha, or bashaw of Tripoli, was a usurper, having deposed his elder brother Hamet, in order to obtain the throne. The latter had escaped from the regency, and, after passing a wandering life, he had taken refuge among the Mamelukes of Egypt. It had often been suggested to the American agents, that the deposed prince might be made useful in carrying on the war against the usurper; and at different times, several projects had been entertained to that effect, though never with any results. At length, Mr. Eaton, the consul at Tunis, who had been a captain in the army, interested himself in the enterprise; and coming to America, he so far prevailed on the government to lend itself to his views, as to obtain a species of indirect support. Commodore Barron was directed to cooperate with Mr. Eaton, as far as he might deem it discreet.

When the new squadron arrived out, it was accordingly ascertained where the ex-bashaw was to be found, and Mr. Eaton at once commenced his operations. Two or three days after Commodore Barron had assumed the command before Tripoli, he sent the Argus 16, Captain Hull, with that gentleman to Alexandria, where he arrived on the 26th of November. On the 29th, Mr. Eaton, accompanied by Lieutenant O'Bannon, of the marines, and Messrs. Mann and Danielson, two midshipmen of the squadron, proceeded to Rosetta, and thence to Cairo. The viceroy of Egypt received them with favour, and permission was obtained for the prince of Tripoli to pass out of the country unmolested, though he had been fighting against the government, with the discontented Mamelukes.

As soon as Hamet Caramalli received the proposals of Mr. Eaton, he separated himself from the Mamelukes, attended by about forty followers, and repaired to a point twelve leagues to the westward of the old port of Alexandria. Here he was soon joined by Mr. Eaton, at the head of a small troop of adventurers, whom he had obtained in Egypt. This party was composed of all nations, though Mr. Eaton expressed his belief, at the time, that had he possessed the means of subsistence, he might have marched a body of 30,000 men against Tripoli, the reigning bashaw having forced so many of his subjects into banishment. Soon after the junction agreed upon, Mr. Eaton, who now assumed the title of general, marched in the direction of Derne, taking the route across the Desert of Barca. This was early in 1805.

The Argus had returned to Malta for orders and stores, and on the 2d of April, she re-appeared off Bomba, with the Hornet 10, Lieutenant Commandant Evans, in company. Cruising on this coast a few days, without obtaining any intelligence of General Eaton and the bashaw, Captain Hull steered to the westward, and, a few leagues to the eastward of Derne, he fell in with the Nautilus, Lieutenant Commandant Dent. On communicating with this vessel, which was lying close in with the shore, Captain Hull ascertained that the expedition was on the coast, and that it waited only for the arms and supplies that had been brought, to attack Derne, from which town it was but a league distant. A field-piece was landed, together with some stores and muskets, and a few marines appear to have been put under the orders of Mr. O'Bannon, of the corps, when the vessels took their stations to aid in the attack.

It was 2, P. M., on the 27th of April, 1805, that this assault, so novel for Americans to be engaged in, in the other hemisphere, was commenced. The Hornet, Lieutenant Commandant Evans, having run close in, and anchored with springs on her cables, within pistol-shot of a battery of eight guns, opened her fire. The Nautilus lay at a little distance to the eastward, and the Argus still further in the same direction, the two latter firing on the town and battery. In about an hour, the enemy were driven from the work, when all the vessels directed their guns at the beach, to clear the way for the advance of the party on shore. The enemy made an irregular but spirited defence, keeping up a heavy fire of musketry, as the assailants advanced, from behind houses and walls. At half-past 3, however, Lieutenant O'Bannon and Mr. Mann stormed the

principal work, hauling down the Tripolitan ensign, and, for the first time in the history of the country, hoisting that of the republic on a fortress of the old world. The enemy were driven out of this work with so much precipitation, that they left its guns loaded, and even primed. The cannon were immediately turned upon the town, and Hamet Caramalli having made a lodgment on the other side, so as to bring the enemy between two fires, the place submitted. At 4 o'clock, the boats of the vessels landed with ammunition for the guns and to bring off the wounded, Derne being completely in possession of the assailants.

In this affair, only 14 of the assailants were killed and wounded, General Eaton being among the latter. The attack was made by about 1200 men, while the place was supposed to be defended by three or four thousand. One or two attempts were made by the Tripolitans, to regain possession, but they were easily repulsed, and, on one occasion, with some loss. The deposed bashaw remained in possession of the town, and his authority was partially recognised in the province. General Eaton now earnestly pressed Commodore Barron for further supplies and reinforcements, with a view to march on Tripoli; but they were denied, on the ground that Hamet Caramalli was in possession of the second province of the regency, and if he had the influence that he pretended to possess, he ought to be able to effect his object by means of the ordinary co-operation of the squadron.

On the 22d of May Commodore Barron transferred the command, on account of ill health. The entire force under this new disposition, when the vessels known to be about to sail should arrive, would be as follows:

Constitution	44,	Com. Rodgers.
President	44,	Capt. Cox.
Constellation	38,	" Campbell.
Congress	38,	" Decatur.
Essex	32,	" J. Barron.
John Adams	28,	" Chauncey.
Siren	16,	" Stewart.
Argus	16,	" Hull.
Vixen	12,	" Smith.
Nautilus	12,	Lieut. Com. Dent.
Enterprise	12,	" " Robinson.
Hornet	12,	" " Evans.

Bombs	Vengeance	Lieut.	Lewis.
	Spitfire	"	M'Niell.
Gun-boats.	No. 2	1 gun,	Izard.
	" 3	2 "	Maxwell.
	" 4	2 "	J. D. Henley.
	" 5	2 "	Harrison.
	" 6	2 "	Lawrence.
	" 8	2 "	Harraden.
	" 9	2 "	Elbert.
	" 10	2 "	Carter.
	" 11	1 "	———
	" 12	1 "	———

Shortly after assuming the command, Commodore Rodgers transferred Captain J. Barron from the Essex 32 to the President 44, giving the former ship to Captain Cox, who was only a master and commander.

Negotiations for peace now commenced in earnest, Mr. Lear having arrived off Tripoli, for that purpose, in the Essex, Captain Barron. After the usual intrigues, delays, and prevarications, a treaty was signed on the 3d of June, 1805. By this treaty, no tribute was to be paid in future, but $60,000 were given by America, for the ransom of the remaining prisoners, after exchanging the Tripolitans in her power, man for man.

Thus terminated the war with Tripoli, after an existence of four years. It is probable that the United States would have retained in service some officers, and would have kept up a small force, had not this contest occurred; but its influence on the fortunes and character of the navy is incalculable. It saved the first, in a degree at least, and it may be said to have formed the last.

CHAPTER XXIV.

The business at Tripoli was no sooner completed, than Commodore Rodgers sailed with thirteen vessels, gun-boats included, and anchored in Tunis Bay on the 1st of August. This movement was made in consequence of a dispute concerning a xebeck captured by the Constitution, for endeavouring to violate the recent blockade in company with her prizes. As soon as the consul had repaired on board and communicated the state of things in the regency, a council of war was called. The result was a letter to the Bey, demanding to know if a declaration made to the consul, in which he had said that the appearance of the American squadron off his port would be considered as the commencement of hostilities, was to be taken literally or not. In this letter the Bey was given to understand, in the plainest manner, that hostilities would commence on the part of the Americans, within thirty-six hours, should he decline answering, or neglect the application.

The Bey, accustomed to regard the Americans as tributaries, had been seeking a cause for war, when he was suddenly met by this high tone on the part of those whom he had hitherto found so much disposed to temporise. At first he appeared to place no faith in the demonstration, and the required answer was not sent. Commodore Rodgers, in consequence, directed Captain Decatur to land, to demand an audience of the Bey, and to obtain an unequivocal solution of the question of peace or war.

It is probable that the Bey regarded this mission as one of a doubtful nature, also; for he refused to receive Captain Decatur in the character in which he had been sent. That spirited officer, little accustomed to temporising, declined being admitted in any other. As soon as the intentions of both parties had been explained, Captain Decatur returned on board, when "the royal breast" of the Bey "appeared to be panic-struck." A letter was sent to the commodore, signed by the pacha himself, in which he expressed a desire to treat, and using the most pacific language. Shortly after he announced a wish to send a minister to Washington. This moderated tone put an end to the threatened hostilities, and after a negotiation that

lasted nearly a month, the affair was arranged with the regency, to the satisfaction of one of the parties at least. The xebeck was not given up. In September, a Tunisian ambassador embarked in the Congress 38, Captain Decatur, and in due time he was landed at Washington.

Commodore Rodgers remained in Tunis Bay more than a month, literally negotiating under the muzzles of his guns, and the result proved the wisdom of the course he had taken. The navy, the ablest of all negotiators in such matters, had completely reversed the ancient order of things; for, instead of an American agent's being compelled to solicit the restoration of prizes, illegally taken, in Africa, an African agent was now soliciting the restoration of prizes legally captured, in America. At a later day, the xebeck and her prizes were given up, as of no moment; but when the Tunisian minister added a demand for tribute, agreeably to former usage, he met with an explicit denial. After a short residence, he returned to his master with the latter answer, but the Bey did not see fit to take any steps in consequence. The impression made by the attacks on Tripoli, and by the appearance of the American squadron before his own town, would seem to have been lasting.

After the settlement of the dispute with Tunis, the vessels in the Mediterranean were gradually withdrawn, though it was still deemed necessary to keep a small squadron in that sea. The government also became better apprised of the nature of the force that was required, in carrying on a war with the Barbary states, and several new vessels were put into the water about this time, among which were two regularly constructed bombards, the Etna and the Vesuvius. Two sloops of war, of the most approved models, were also built, and became active cruisers on the peace establishment. These vessels were the Wasp 18, and the Hornet 18, the former being a ship and the latter a brig.

The condition of the navy may be said to have been negative at the period of which we are now writing; for, while all who reflected seriously on the subject, felt the necessity of greatly increasing this branch of the national defence, nothing efficient was attempted, or, apparently, contemplated. Ships of the line, without which it would be impossible to prevent any of even the secondary maritime states of Europe from blockading the ports of the country, were now scarcely mentioned, and the materials that had been collected for that ob-

ject in 1800, were rapidly disappearing for the purposes of repairs and re-constructions. It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a policy as short-sighted and feeble, as that pursued by Congress at this particular juncture. With political relations that were never free from the appearances of hostilities, a trade that covered all the seas of the known world, and an experience that was replete with lessons on the necessity of repelling outrages by force, this great interest was treated with a neglect that approached fatuity. To add to this oversight, and to increase the despondency of the service, as well as of all those whose views extended to the future necessities of the country, the government appears to have adopted a policy, in connexion with the defence of the harbours, bays, and sounds of the coast, that was singularly adapted to breaking down the high tone that the navy had acquired in its recent experience. This "plan," which has been generally known as the "gun-boat policy," originated as far back as the year 1803, though it did not become of sufficient moment to be particularly noticed until the time at which we are now arrived, in the regular order of events.

The gun-boats, at first, were well received in the service, since they gave enterprising young officers commands; and the vessels originally constructed, were of an equipment, size and force, which in a measure removed the objections that young sea-officers would be apt to urge against serving in them. At the close of the year 1806, the President announced to Congress that the gun-boats already authorised by a law of April of the same year, 50 in number, were so far advanced as to put it in the power of the government to employ them all, the succeeding season; and the message contained a recommendation to extend the system.

An event soon occurred that not only stimulated this policy, but which induced the government to resort to new measures to protect the country, some of which were as questionable, as they were novel. A few ships had been kept in the Mediterranean, as stated; and it is worthy of being noted, that, with a commerce that, in 1807, employed 1,200,000 tons of shipping, this was the only foreign station on which an American cruiser was ever seen! Neither was there any proper home squadron, notwithstanding the constant complaints that were made of the wrongs inflicted by English and French cruisers, particularly the former, at the very mouths of the harbours of the country.

On the 25th of April, 1806, the British ship Leander 50, Captain Whitby, in endeavouring to cut off a small coaster, that was running for Sandy Hook, fired a shot into her, which killed one of her people. This outrage occurred quite near the shore, and it excited a strong feeling of indignation, in a portion of the country, at least. But, unfortunately, party spirit had, at that period, taken the worst, most dangerous, and least creditable form, in which it can exist in any free country. By neglecting to place the republic in an attitude to command respect, the government had been compelled to appeal to arguments and principles, in those cases in which an appeal to force is the only preservative of national rights, and, in so doing, it opened the door to the admission of sophisms, counter-arguments and discussions, that, in the end, effectually arrayed one-half of the community against the other, and this too, on matters in which foreign nations were the real parties on one side, and the common country on the other. In a word, the great mistake was made of admitting of controversy concerning interests that all wise governments hold to be beyond dispute.

While the feelings, policy, and preparations of the United States were in the condition just mentioned, the Chesapeake 38, was put in commission, with a view of sending her to the Mediterranean, as the relief-ship, the time of the people of the Constitution 44, the only frigate left on that station, being nearly up. Captain Charles Gordon, the youngest master-commandant on the list, was attached to the Chesapeake as her captain, and Captain James Barron was selected to hoist a broad pennant in her, as commander of the squadron.

The ship remained at Washington, taking in her masts and stores, and receiving officers and men, until the close of the spring. During this time the English minister informed the government that three deserters from his B. M. ship Melampus, had enlisted among the crew of the Chesapeake, and he requested that they might be given up. Although the right to demand deserters is not recognised by the laws of nations, there is usually a disposition between friendly governments to aid each other in securing these delinquents, especially when it can be done under circumstances that produce no direct injury; and the matter was referred by the navy department, to Commodore Barron, for investigation. The inquiry appears to have been made in a proper temper, and with a sincere wish to dismiss the men, should they actually prove to be what was represented, though it might be questioned whether the Presi-

dent himself legally possessed any power to give them up to their own officers. Commodore Barron directed Captain Gordon to inquire into the matter with care, and to make his report. It was ascertained that the three men were actually deserters from the ship named, but they all claimed to be impressed Americans, who had availed themselves of the first opportunity that offered on landing in their native country, to make their escape from illegal and unjust detention. One of these men was said to be a native of the Eastern Shore, a part of the country in which Captain Gordon was born; and that officer, after a careful examination, appears to have been satisfied with the truth of his account. Another was a coloured man, and there was hardly a doubt of the truth of his allegations; while the case of the third seaman, though in part established, was not entirely clear. Under the circumstances, however, a seaman found in the country, and demanding the protection of its laws as a native, could not be given up to a service that was known constantly to violate the rights of individuals, on the naked demand of that service, and in the absence of all affirmative proof of its not having abused its power. The English minister received the report, and he appears to have been satisfied, as no more was said on the subject.

About the beginning of June, the Chesapeake sailed from Washington to Norfolk. At this time, there were but twelve guns on board; and, as it is customary for all vessels of war to fire a salute in passing Mount Vernon, it was discovered, on that occasion, that some of the equipments were imperfect. Orders were issued by Captain Gordon in consequence, though the circumstance probably excited less attention than would otherwise have been the case, on account of the unfinished state of the vessel. The Chesapeake arrived in Hampton Roads on the 4th of June; and on the 6th, Commodore Barron paid her a short visit.

Between the 6th and the 19th of June, the remainder of the guns and stores were received on board the Chesapeake, her crew was completed to about 375 souls, and Captain Gordon reported her to Commodore Barron as ready for sea. Up to the 6th of June, the people had not been quartered at all, and between that day and the time of sailing, they had been at quarters but three times; on neither of which occasions were the guns exercised.

About 8 A. M., June 22d, the Chesapeake got under way, from Hampton Roads, bound to the Mediterranean. At that

early day, the armament of the ship consisted of 28 eighteen-pounders on her gun-deck, and of 12 carronades above, making a total of 40 guns.

A squadron of British ships of war, varying constantly in numbers and vessels, had been watching some French frigates that lay at Annapolis several months. It was their practice to lie in Lynnhaven, or occasionally to cruise in the offing. On the 21st of June, this squadron had consisted of three vessels; one of which was the Bellona 74, and another the Melampu, 38, the ship from which the three seamen already mentioned, had deserted. On the evening of the same day, a fourth vessel, which was afterwards ascertained to be the Leopard 50, Captain Humphreys, came in and anchored. The Leopard was a small two-decker, had a lower-deck battery of twenty-fours, and is said to have mounted 56 guns. When the Chesapeake weighed, up at Hampton Roads, the Leopard lifted her anchor, and preceded the American frigate to sea. The wind was light, at northwest; and as the Leopard got an offing, she disappeared behind Cape Henry.

A little after 12 o'clock, the Chesapeake was up with the cape, when the wind shifted to the southward and eastward. As she opened the offing, the Leopard was seen a few miles to windward, heading to the eastward, with apparently very little air. She soon took the new wind, however, when both ships made stretches to get off the land, there being a good working breeze and perfectly smooth water. The Leopard tacked with the Chesapeake, though the latter ship appears to have closed with her, the distance between the two vessels gradually lessening. By some accounts, the English ship shortened sail in order to allow this. Up to this moment, however, it is the better opinion, that there was nothing unusual or suspicious in her movements. The British cruisers were in the habit of standing out in this manner, and the Leopard obtained the weather gage altogether by the shift of wind.

About 3 o'clock, both vessels having an offing of some six or eight miles, the Chesapeake tacked to the eastward again, and the Leopard, then about a mile to windward, wore round, and came down upon her weather quarter, when she hailed, informing Commodore Barron that she had despatches for him. Commodore Barron answered that he would heave-to, and receive a boat. Both vessels now came to, the Chesapeake by laying her main-topsail to the mast, while the accounts appear uncertain, whether the Leopard backed her forward or her after

sails. At this time, it was observed by some of the officers on board the Chesapeake, that the English ship had her lower ports triced up, and the tompions out of her guns. It does not appear that the latter fact, however, the only one of moment, was reported to either Captain Gordon or Commodore Barron.

In a few minutes, a boat from the Leopard came alongside of the Chesapeake, and her officer was shown into the cabin, where he was received by Commodore Barron. Here the English lieutenant produced an order, signed by Vice-Admiral Berkley, dated Halifax, June 1st, and addressed to all the captains of the ships under his command, directing them, should they fall in with the Chesapeake out of the waters of the United States, and at sea, to show her commander this order; to "require to search for deserters," and "to proceed and search for the same;" offering at the same time, to allow of a similar search on board their own vessels. Accompanying this order, was a note from the commander of the Leopard, addressed to the commander of the Chesapeake, referring to the order of the vice-admiral, and expressing a hope "that every circumstance respecting them (the deserters) may be adjusted in a manner that the harmony subsisting between the two countries may remain undisturbed." To this note, Commodore Barron returned an answer, stating that he knew of no such deserters as described. He added, that his recruiting officers had been particularly instructed by the government not to enter any deserters from the English ships, and that his orders would not allow him to suffer his people to be mustered by any officers but their own.

By referring to this correspondence, which has been often printed, it will be seen that neither the order of Vice-Admiral Berkley, the note of Captain Humphreys, nor the answer of Commodore Barron, was perfectly explicit on the important points, of whether force would be used, if the alleged deserters were not given up, or whether they would be refused, could it be shown, by any other means than that of being mustered by foreign officers, that the men required were among the Chesapeake's crew. In a word, the order and note were vague and general; and the answer, as far as it went, the most direct document of the three, appears to have been framed in a similar spirit. The British officer was ordered to "require" of the captain of the Chesapeake, "to search his ship for deserters," &c., and "to proceed and search for the same,"

&c. Nothing is said of compelling a search; and though the term "require" was a strong one, the whole phraseology of the order was such as might very well raise doubts, under the peculiar circumstances, how far a party, who made professions of a desire to preserve the harmony of the two nations, might feel disposed to violate public law, in order to enforce its object. The note of Captain Humphreys was just as explicit, and just as vague as the order, being a mere echo of its spirit. Commodore Barron very clearly refused to permit a British officer to search for a deserter, while he did not touch the general principle, or what he might do, could it be shown by less objectionable means, that there was a British deserter, of the sort mentioned in the order, on board the Chesapeake, and the demand on the part of the English officers, to search in person, was abandoned. Had there even existed a clause in the treaty between England and America, rendering it obligatory on the two nations to deliver up each other's deserters, the requisition of Vice-Admiral Berkley, taken as an order to search in person, would have so far exceeded the probable construction of reason, as to justify an officer in supposing that nothing beyond a little well-managed intimidation was intended, since nations do not usually permit their treaties to be enforced by any but their own agents. While there was something very equivocal, beyond doubt, in the whole procedure of the British, it was so high-handed a measure to commence a demand for deserters, by insisting on a right to search a foreign vessel of war in person for them, that it would be very difficult to believe any design to enforce a demand so utterly out of the regular course of things, could be seriously entertained. It ought to be added, that the deserters alluded to in the order of Vice-Admiral Berkley, were not those from the Melampus, already spoken of, but men from other ships, who were supposed to have entered on board the Chesapeake at a much later day.

The English lieutenant was on board the Chesapeake some time; the accounts of the length of his visit varying from 15 to 45 minutes. It is probable he was fully half an hour in the cabin. His stay appears to have been long enough to excite uneasiness on board his own ship; for, while Commodore Barron was deliberating on the course he ought to pursue, information was sent below that a signal was flying on board the Leopard, which her officer immediately declared to be an order for the return of the boat. Soon after this signal was shown, the answer of Commodore Barron was delivered.

Commodore Barron now sent for Captain Gordon, and told him to get the gun-deck clear, a duty that had been commenced an hour or two before, without reference to the Leopard. He then went on deck. Soon after the English officer had passed out of the ship into his own boat, by the larboard, or lee-gangway, Commodore Barron appeared in the starboard, or weather-gangway, to examine the Leopard. Here it would seem that the latter was forcibly struck with the appearance of preparation on board the English ship, and the idea that a resort might be had to force began to impress him seriously. He issued an order to Captain Gordon, to hasten the work on the gun-deck, and to go to quarters. In consequence of the latter order, a few taps were beaten on the drum, but that instrument was stopped by directions of Commodore Barron, and instructions were given to get the people to their quarters with as little noise and parade as possible, in order to gain time, if the Leopard really meditated hostilities.

It is not easy to imagine a vessel of war in a more unfortunate situation, than that of the Chesapeake at this particular moment. With a ship of superior force within pistol-shot, on her weather-quarter, her guns trained, matches burning, people drilled, and every thing ready to commence a heavy fire, while she herself was littered and lumbered, with a crew that had not yet exercised her guns, and which had been only three times even mustered at their quarters. The business of coiling away her cables, which had lain on the gun-deck until after two o'clock, was still going on, while the cabin bulk-head, cabin furniture, and some temporary pantries were all standing aft. A good deal of the baggage of the passengers in the ship was also on the gun-deck. It would seem, however, that some of the lieutenants had regarded the movements of the Leopard with distrust from the beginning; and the vessel being particularly well officered, these gentlemen soon made an active commencement towards getting the ship clear. The guns were all loaded and shotted, but on examination, it was found that there was a deficiency in rammers, wads, matches, gun-locks, and powder-horns. While things were in this awkward condition, Commodore Barron continued in the gangway examining the Leopard. The cutter of the latter was a few minutes in pulling back to that vessel, and as soon as the people were out of her, she was dropped astern, where most of the boats were towing, and the English ship hailed. Commodore Barron answered that he did not understand the hail, when the Leopard fired a

shot ahead of the Chesapeake. In a few seconds this shot was followed by an entire broadside. By this discharge, in addition to many injuries done the ship, Commodore Barron, who continued in the gangway, and his aid, Mr. Broom, were wounded. The Leopard was now hailed, and some answer was returned, but the noise and confusion rendered all attempts at a communication in this mode useless.

Every exertion was making all the while, to get the batteries ready, and with the exception of the forward gun below, the port of which was still down on account of the anchor, it appears that one broadside might have been fired, had not the means of discharging the guns been absolutely wanting. For some time, there was no priming powder, and when an insufficient quantity did finally arrive, there were no matches, locks, nor loggerheads. Some of the latter were brought from the galley, however, and they were applied to the priming, but were too cold to be of use. In the mean while, the Leopard, in an excellent position, and favoured by smooth water, was deliberately pouring in her whole fire upon an unresisting ship. This state of things lasted from twelve to eighteen minutes, when Commodore Barron, having repeatedly desired that one gun, at least, might be discharged, ordered the colours to be hauled down. Just as the ensign reached the taffrail, one gun was fired from the second division of the ship.*

The Chesapeake immediately sent a boat on board the Leopard, to say that the ship was at the disposal of the English captain, when the latter directed his officers to muster the American crew. The three men claimed to be deserters from the Melampus, and one that had run from the Halifax sloop of war, were carried away. Commodore Barron now sent another note to Captain Humphreys, to state his readiness to give up his ship; but the latter declining to take charge of her, a council of officers was called, and the Chesapeake returned to Hampton Roads the same evening.

In this affair, the Leopard, of course, did not suffer at all. Not so with the Chesapeake, although the injuries she sustained, were probably less than might have been expected. The accounts of the duration of the firing, vary from seven to twenty minutes, though the majority of opinions place it at

* This gun was discharged by means of a coal brought from the galley, which was applied by Lieutenant Allen, the officer of the division, with his fingers, after an unsuccessful attempt to make use of a loggerhead.

about twelve. Three men were killed on the spot; eight were badly, and ten were slightly wounded; making a total of twenty-one casualties. The Leopard appears to have thrown the weight of her grape into the lower sails, the courses and fore-topmast stay-sail having been riddled with that description of shot. Twenty-one round shot struck the hull. All three of the lower masts of the American frigate were injured, and a good deal of rigging was cut; still the impression left by the occurrence, went to convince the American service, that English fire was not so formidable as tradition and rumour had made it.

The attack on the Chesapeake, and its results, created a strong and universal sensation in America. At first, as ever happens while natural feeling and national sentiment are uninfluenced by calculations of policy, there was but one voice of indignation and resentment, though, in a short time, the fiend of party lifted his head, and persons were not wanting who presumed to justify the course taken by the English vice-admiral. Notwithstanding these exceptions, the general effect was certainly very adverse to the British cause in America; and the injury was not fairly forgotten, until it had been effaced from the public mind by many subsequent victories.

Courts-martial were held on Commodore Barron, Captain Gordon, Captain Hall, of the marines, and the gunner of the ship. The first was distinctly acquitted of cowardice, but was found guilty of "neglecting, on the probability of an engagement, to clear his ship for action." The sentence was a suspension from pay and rank, for five years. Captain Gordon was found guilty of negligently performing some of his minor duties, and was privately reprimanded. Captain Hall received the same sentence, a little mitigated; and the gunner was cashiered.

CHAPTER XXV.

Congress was convened on the 26th of October; and, as soon as there had been time to deliberate on what had passed, the President, by his proclamation, interdicted all British vessels of war from entering the American waters. When the national legislature assembled, a proposition to increase the number of gun-boats was laid before it. Without a sufficient naval force to raise a blockade that should be sustained by three ships of the line; with all the experience of the war of the Revolution fresh in their recollections; and with the prospect of a speedy contest with a people that scarcely hesitated about closing the ports of the Union in a time of peace, the legislators of the day misdirected the resources of a great and growing country, by listening to this proposition, and creating a species of force that, in its nature, is merely auxiliary to more powerful means, and which is as entirely unfitted to the moral character of the people, as it is to the natural formation of the coast. On the 18th of December, a law was passed authorising the construction of 188 gun-boats, in addition to those already built, which would raise the total number of vessels of this description in the navy to 257. This was the development of the much-condemned "gun-boat system," which, for a short time, threatened destruction to the pride, discipline, tone, and even morals, of the service.

There can be no question, that, in certain circumstances, vessels of this sort may be particularly useful; but these circumstances are of rare occurrence, as they are almost always connected with attacks on towns and harbours. As the policy is now abandoned, it is unnecessary to point out the details by which it is rendered particularly unsuitable to this country, though there is one governing principle that may be mentioned, which, of itself, demonstrates its unfitness. The American coast has an extent of near two thousand miles, and to protect it by means of gun-boats, even admitting the practicability of the method, would involve an expenditure sufficient to create a movable force in ships, that would not only answer all the same purposes of defence, but which would possess the additional advantage of acting, at need, offensively. In other

words, it was entailing on the country the cost of an efficient marine, without enjoying its advantages.

At the time when the laws of nations and the flag of the United States were outraged, in the manner related in the preceding chapter, the government was empowered to employ no more than 1425 seamen, ordinary seamen and boys, in all the vessels of the navy, whether in commission or in ordinary. The administration felt that this number was insufficient for the common wants of the service, and early in 1808, the secretary asked for authority to raise 1272 additional men, to be put on board the gun-boats that were now ready to receive them. The necessary law, however, was withheld.

The near approach of a war, that succeeded the attack of the Leopard, appears to have admonished the English government of the necessity of using some efficient means of settling the long-pending disputes between the two nations, and negotiations were carried on during the year 1808, in a temper that promised a pacific termination to the quarrel; and, in strict conformity with a practice, (it would be an abuse of terms to call it a policy,) that has long prevailed in the country, the time that should have been actively employed in preparations, was irreclaimably lost, in the idle expectation that they would not be needed. No act was passed, nor any appropriation made, either for the employment of more men, or for placing in commission any additional vessels, until the last of January, 1809, when the President was directed to equip the United States 44, President 44, Essex 32, and John Adams 24; the latter vessel having been cut down to a sloop of war. By the same law, the navy was greatly increased in efficiency, as respects the officers and men, the President being authorised to appoint as many additional midshipmen as would make a total of 450, and to employ in all, 5025 seamen, ordinary seamen, and boys. By adding the remaining officers, and the marine corps, the whole service could not have contained a total of less than 7000 persons, when the act was carried into execution.

The equipment of the ships just mentioned, and the active employment of all the small vessels of the service, probably saved the navy of the United States from a total disorganisation. It was the means of withdrawing a large portion of the officers from the gun-boats, and of renewing that high tone and admirable discipline which had distinguished it at the close of the Tripolitan war. By this time, nearly all the midshipmen who had been before Tripoli, were lieutenants; and there

was already one instance in which an officer, who had entered the navy as a midshipman, commanded the frigate in which he had first served.*

In the course of the summer of 1808, too, it was thought prudent to make a commencement towards the employment of a force on the lakes; England already possessing ships on Ontario and Erie.

There being no especial law for such an object, advantage was taken of the discretionary powers granted to the President under the act for building gun-boats. A few officers were placed under the orders of Lieutenant M. T. Woolsey, and that gentleman was empowered to make contracts for the construction of three vessels, one of which was to be built on Lake Ontario, and the other two on Lake Champlain. The two vessels constructed on Lake Champlain were ordinary gun-boats, but that constructed on Lake Ontario was a regular brig of war. The latter was of about two hundred and forty tons measurement, was pierced for sixteen guns, and when delivered by the contractors, in the spring of 1809, to the sea-officers ordered to receive her, she mounted 16 twenty-four pound carronades. In consequence of an arrangement that was made, about this time, with England, but which was not ratified in Europe, this vessel, which was called the Oneida, was not equipped and sent upon the lake till the following year.

This was a period of vacillating policy in both nations, England, at times, appearing disposed to arrange amicably the many different points that had arisen with America, and the latter country acting, at moments, as if it believed war to be impossible, while at others, it seemed to be in earnest with its preparations. Thus passed the years 1808, 1809, and 1810, the embargo having been raised, followed by a non-intercourse law with Great Britain, and succeeded by an absence of all restrictions.

During this period of doubt, the vessels of the navy that were in commission, were principally employed on the coast. or they kept up the communications with the different diplomatic agents in Europe, by carrying despatches. There is no question that these were important years to the service; for, since the attack on the Chesapeake, the utmost vigilance prevailed, and every commander watched jealously for an oppor-

* Captain Decatur.

tunity to wipe out the disgrace, real or imaginary, of that unfortunate affair. No more vessels were sent to the Mediterranean, but the whole maritime force of the republic was kept at home. The country had now in active service the following vessels, viz:

President	44,	Hornet	18,
Constitution	44,	Argus	16,
United States	44,	Siren	16,
Essex	32,	Nautilus	12,
John Adams	28,	Enterprise	12,
Wasp	18,	Vixen	12.

In addition to these cruisers, were a great number of gunboats, which were principally commanded by sailing-masters, who had been selected from among the officers of merchant vessels. The Nautilus and Vixen had both been rigged into brigs; the Enterprise soon after was altered in the same manner; and an occasion to rebuild the Hornet occurring, she was converted into a ship, and pierced for two more guns, making twenty in all. Unhappily, the opportunity was lost of equipping a force that could prevent blockades.

The English increased their cruisers on the American coast, in proportion to the Americans themselves, though their vessels no longer lay off the harbours, impressing men, and detaining ships. It was seldom that a British cruiser was now seen near the land, the government probably cautioning its commanders to avoid unnecessary exhibitions of this sort, with a view to prevent collisions. Still they were numerous, cruised at no great distance, and by keeping up constant communications between Bermuda and Halifax, may be said to have intercepted nearly every ship that passed from one hemisphere to the other.

Such, in effect, was the state of things in the spring of the year 1811, when information was received by the senior officer of the navy afloat, Commodore Rodgers, that a man had been impressed from an American brig, at no great distance from Sandy Hook, by an English frigate that was supposed to be the Guerriere 38, Captain Dacres. The broad pennant of Commodore Rodgers was flying on board the President 44, Captain Ludlow, which ship was then anchored off Annapolis. Repairing on board his vessel, he got under way, with an intention of proceeding off New York to inquire into the facts, on the 10th of May; passing the capes shortly after.

On the 16th of May, at noon, a sail was made from the President, which ship was then about six leagues from the land, to the southward of New York. It was soon perceived, by the squareness of his yards, and the symmetry of his sails, that the stranger was a vessel of war, and the American frigate stood for him, with an intention to get within hail. At 2 the President set her broad pennant and ensign. The stranger now made several signals; but finding they were not answered, he wore and stood to the southward. Although the President gained upon the chase, the wind lessened, and night set in before she could get near enough to distinguish her force. It was past 7 o'clock in the evening when the stranger took in his studding-sails, hauled up his courses, and came by the wind on the starboard tack. He now set an ensign at his gaff, but it was too dark to discover the nation. As he came to the wind, he necessarily showed his broadside, and was taken for a small frigate.

The President continuing to stand down, the chase wore four several times, in order to prevent the American frigate from getting a position to windward. It was consequently near half-past 8 before Commodore Rodgers could bring-to, as he had desired, on the weather-bow of the stranger, or a little forward of his beam; when, being within a hundred yards, he hailed, and demanded "what ship is that?" No answer was given to this question; but it was repeated, word for word, from the stranger. After a short pause the question was again put, when the stranger fired a gun, the shot from which cut away a breast-back-stay, and entered the main-mast. Commodore Rodgers was on the point of ordering a shot to be returned, when a gun was discharged from the second division of the President. The stranger now fired three guns in quick succession, and after a short pause, the remainder of his broadside and all his musketry. The President, as a matter of course, delivered her broadside in return. In a few minutes, however, it was perceived on board the American vessel, that they were engaged with an adversary so inferior as to render her resistance very feeble, and orders were sent to the different divisions to stop the fire.

The guns of the President were soon silent; when, to the surprise of all on board her, the stranger opened anew. The fire of the American frigate recommenced, but it was again stopped in the course of a very few minutes, in consequence of the crippled condition of her antagonist, who lay nearly

end on, and apparently unmanageable. The American now hailed again, and got an answer that her adversary was a British ship of war, though the name was inaudible, on account of the wind, which had increased. Satisfied that his late opponent was disabled, and having no desire to effect more than had already been accomplished, Commodore Rodgers gave the name of his own ship, wore round, and running a short distance to leeward, he hauled by the wind again, with a view to remain nigh the English vessel during the night. The President kept lights displayed, in order to let her late antagonist know her position, and wore several times to remain near her.

When the day dawned, the English ship was discovered some distance to leeward, her drift in the night having been considerable. The President bore up under easy canvass, and running down to her, lowered a boat, and Mr. Creighton, the first lieutenant, was sent on board, with an offer of services. The stranger proved to be his Britannic majesty's ship Little Belt 18, Captain Bingham. The Little Belt was a vessel of twenty-two guns, but having a light spar-deck above, on which no guns were mounted, she had the external appearance of a small frigate. She had suffered severely by the fire of the President, and thirty-one of her people had been killed and wounded. As Captain Bingham declined receiving any assistance, the vessels parted, each making the best of her way to a port of her own nation.

This occurrence gave rise to much angry discussion in America, and widened the breach which already existed between the English and the American nations. The account given by Captain Bingham differed essentially from that of Commodore Rodgers, and official investigations were made on both sides. On that of the Americans a formal court of inquiry was held, and every sea-officer in the ship was examined, as well as a great many of the petty officers. The testimony was very clear, and it was in a great measure free from the discrepancies that usually distinguish the accounts of battles, whether by sea or land. The fact that the Little Belt fired the first gun was established by the oath of the officer who ordered the gun fired in return. This gentleman distinctly testified that he gave the command, under a standing order of the ship, and in consequence of having seen the flash and heard the report of the Little Belt's gun. He not only testified that he heard the report of the gun, but that he also heard

the noise made by the shot which had entered the mast. Other officers and men corroborated this account, and in a way to render their evidence not only consistent with itself, but with probability. As the President was very fully officered, the number and respectability of the witnesses, put at rest all cavilling about the facts.

It is believed that there was no proper court of inquiry held on the conduct of Captain Bingham, though affidavits of most of his officers were published. By that gentleman's official account, as it has been given to the world, as well as by the affidavits mentioned, it is affirmed that the President commenced the action by firing, not a single gun, but an entire broadside. He also intimated that the action lasted three quarters of an hour, and appeared desirous of leaving the impression that the President had sheered off.

As between the two governments, the question was reduced to one of veracity. If the account of the American officer was true, that of the English officer was untrue; and if the account of the English officer was true, that of the American officer was untrue. Each government seeming disposed to believe its own officer, no political consequences followed this rencontre. The President sustained little injury, no round shot, besides the one in her main-mast, and another in her fore-mast, having struck her; and, of her people, one boy alone was slightly wounded by a musket-ball. The Little Belt, on the other hand, having suffered even out of proportion to the disparity of force between the vessels, the American government was satisfied with the punishment already inflicted on the assailants; while the English government could not well insist on reparation, without demanding that the American functionaries would not believe their own officer. After some communications on the subject, and an exchange of the testimony that had been given, nothing further appears to have been done, or contemplated, by either government.

CHAPTER XXVI.

It has been seen that no consequences, beyond an increased alienation between the two countries, followed the rencontre between the President and Little Belt.

Not long after the meeting between these two vessels, the United States 44, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Decatur, fell in with the Eurydice and Atalanta, British ships, off New York, and, while the commanders were hailing, one of the seamen of the former vessel, in carelessly handling the lanyard of his lock, fired a gun. Happily both parties were cool and discreet, and proper explanations having been made, the English commander was entirely satisfied that no insult, or assault, was intended.

Between the reduction in 1801, and the commencement of 1812, a period of eleven eventful years, during which the nation was scarcely a day without suffering violation of its neutral rights, not a single frigate had been added to the navy! The ships of the line authorised in 1799 were entirely abandoned, and notwithstanding the critical relations of the country, the experience of the past, and so many years of commercial prosperity, the navy, in some respects, was in a worse situation than after the sale of the ships in 1801. Of the thirteen frigates retained at that time, the Philadelphia 38, had been taken and destroyed, and the New York 36, General Green 28, and Boston 28, had gone to decay, without repairs. Thus, in point of fact, though twelve ships of this class appear on the list of the day, but nine actually existed, for any practical purposes. The various vessels of inferior force, that have been already mentioned in this work, as constructed under different laws, had been added to the navy, while two or three temporarily taken into the service were already sold. A few small schooners had been purchased. Navy-yards had been established at Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Washington, Gosport, and Portsmouth, though they were still in their infancy, and very incomplete. One hundred and seventy gun-boats had also been built, and were distributed in the different ports of the country.

While the navy on the whole, the gun-boats excepted, had

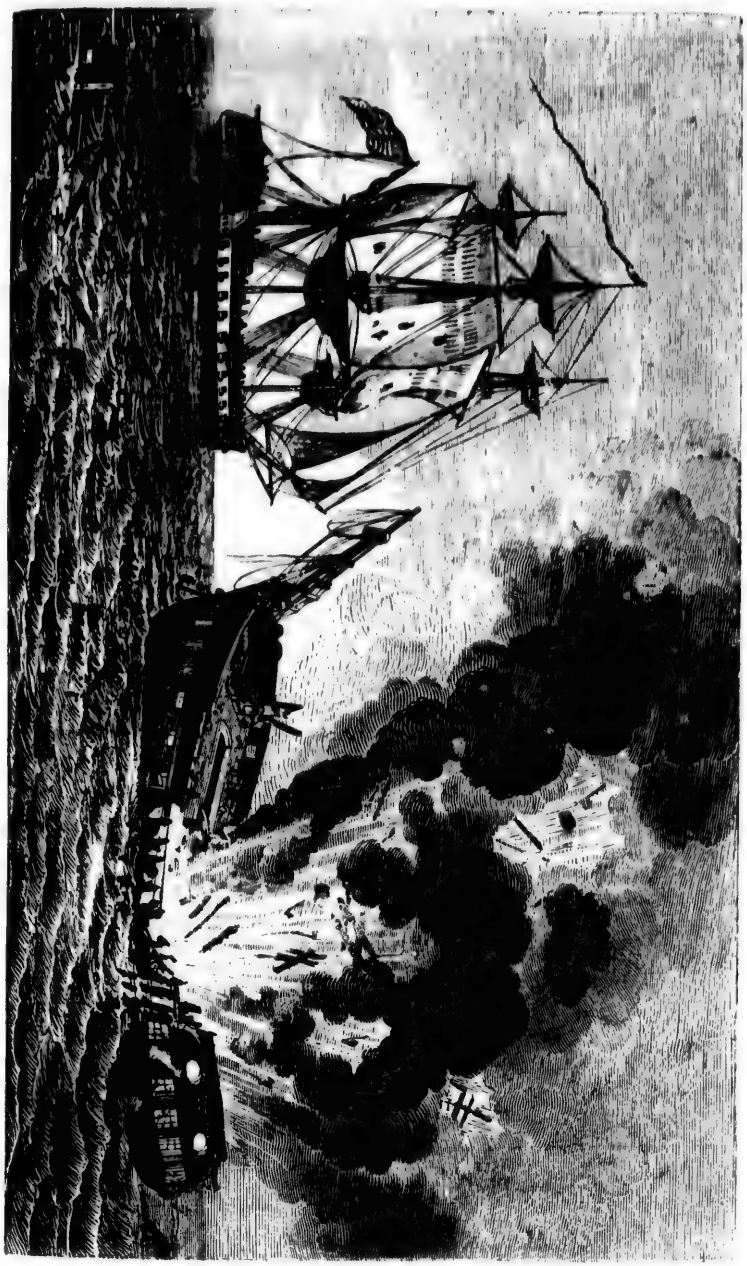
rather lost than gained in physical force, since the reduction of 1801, it had improved immeasurably in discipline, tone, and in an *esprit de corps*. The little that had been lost, in these respects, through the service in gun-boats, was more than regained by the effect produced by the attack on the Chesapeake, and the constant state of excitement that prevailed with regard to English aggressions, during the few preceding years. The lists of captains, masters-commandant, and lieutenants were small, but filled with men trained to obedience, and, consequently, qualified to command. It is true, only one of the officers of the revolution remained, at the head of the service; and he was nearly superannuated by years and infirmities; but those to whom they had imparted their traditions and spirit had succeeded them. Commodore Samuel Nicholson, who had been employed in the year 1776, even, as commander of the Dolphin 10, died at the head of the service at the close of the year 1811. The celebrated Preble had preceded him to the grave several years, and Commodore Murray alone remained of those officers who might be said to have belonged to the old school. Still, the new school was in no respect inferior; and in some particulars, it was greatly the superior of that which had gone before it. The vessels, generally, were good ships of their respective classes, and the officers, as a body, were every way worthy to take charge of them. Several of those who had been retained as midshipmen, after the war with France, were already commanders, and the vessels beneath the rate of frigates, with one exception, were commanded by gentlemen of this description. The exception was in the case of the Wasp 18, on board which ship was Captain Jones, who had been the youngest of the lieutenants retained in 1801, and who was now nearly the oldest master-commandant. He had joined the service, however, as a midshipman.

If the naval armaments made by the country, under the prospect of a war with Great Britain, are to be regarded with the eyes of prudence, little more can be said, than to express astonishment at the political infatuation which permitted the day of preparation to pass unheeded. Still a little was done, and that little it is our duty to record.

Early in 1809, the marine corps was augmented by an addition of near 700 men, which probably put this important branch of the navy, on a footing equal to the rest of the service, as it then existed; the entire corps containing about 1300 men when full. On the 30th of March, 1812, or less than

reduction
, tone, and
t, in these
re than re-
hesapeake,
ith regard
ars. The
ants were
nd, conse-
of the offi-
ervice; and
nities; but
and spirit
olson, who
mander of
he close of
led him to
alone re-
belonged to
espect infe-
superior of
rally, were
ficers, as a
them. Se-
n, after the
the vessels
were com-
eption was
as Captain
ts retained
-command-
shipman.
under the
arded with
to express
rmitted the
was done,

ted by an
important
of the ser-
about 1300
less than



three months previously to the war with England, Congress authorised the President to cause three additional frigates to be put in service, and the sum of $200,000 annually was appropriated for the purchase of timber to rebuild the three frigates that had been permitted to decay, and the one that had been captured.

When the amount of these appropriations is considered, the conclusion would seem inevitable, that the government did not at all anticipate hostilities, were it not for the more ample preparations that were making on land, and the large sums that had been expended on gun-boats. It is not improbable, therefore, that those to whom the direction of affairs was confided, believed the naval force of the country too insignificant, and that of Great Britain too overwhelming, to render any serious efforts to create a marine, at that late hour, expedient. A comparison of the naval forces of Great Britain and the United States, with their respective conditions, will render this idea plausible, although it may not fully justify it, as a measure of policy.

In 1812, the navy of Great Britain nominally contained a thousand and sixty sail, of which between seven and eight hundred were efficient cruising vessels. France had no fleets to occupy this great marine, Spain was detached from the alliance against England, the north of Europe no longer required a force to watch it, and Great Britain might direct towards the American coast, as many ships as the nature of the war could possibly demand.

As opposed to this unexampled naval power, America had on her list the following vessels, exclusively of gun-boats, viz:

Constitution	44,	John Adams	28,
President	44,	Wasp	18,
United States	44,	Hornet	18,
Congress	38,	Argus	16,
Constellation	38,	Siren	16,
Chesapeake	38,	Oneida	16,
New York	36,	Vixen	14,
Essex	32,	Nautilus	14,
Adams	28,	Enterprise	14,
Boston	28,	Viper	12.

Of these vessels, the New York 36, and Boston 28, were unseaworthy, and the Oneida 16, was on Lake Ontario. The remainder were efficient for their rates; though the Adams

required extensive repairs before she could be sent to sea. It follows that America was about to engage in a war with much the greatest maritime power that the world ever saw, possessing herself but seventeen cruising vessels on the ocean, of which nine were of a class less than that of frigates. At this time the merchant vessels of the United States were spread over the face of the entire globe. No other instance can be found of so great a stake in shipping with a protection so utterly inadequate.

There can be but one manner of accounting for this extraordinary state of things; that already mentioned of the belief of the impossibility of keeping vessels at sea, in face of the overwhelming force of Great Britain. In corroboration of this, it is said that a project was entertained by the cabinet of laying up all the vessels in ordinary, with a view to prevent them from falling into the hands of the enemy. This step would have been a death-blow to the navy, since the people would have been perfectly justifiable in refusing to support a marine, that was intended solely for peace. It is now understood that this resolution was only prevented by the interference of two officers of the service, who happened to be at the seat of government when the subject was under discussion. These gentlemen* are said to have made a vigorous written remonstrance against the scheme, and by means of their representations to have induced the cabinet to change its policy.

Under ordinary circumstances the intention just stated, would have been indicative of great feebleness of action, and of a narrowness of views, that was entirely unsuited to the characters of statesmen. But the circumstances were extraordinary. Not only was the marine of Great Britain much the most powerful of any in the world, but it was more pow-

* Captains Bainbridge and Stewart. These two officers were shown orders to Commodore Rodgers not to quit New York, but to keep the vessels in port to form a part of its habour defence. They sought an interview with the Secretary, who was influenced by their representations, and who procured for them an audience of the President. Mr. Madison listened to the representations of the two captains, with attention, and observed that the experience of the Revolution confirmed their opinions. The Cabinet was convened, but it adhered to its former advice. Captains Bainbridge and Stewart then addressed a strong letter to the President, who took on himself to change the plan. It is said, that one or two of the cabinet acceded to this decision, on the ground that the ships would soon be taken, and that the country would thus be rid of the cost of maintaining them, and at more liberty to direct its energies to the army.

See Appendix, Note B.

erful than those of all the rest of Christendom united. In addition to its actual physical force, it had created for itself a moral auxiliary that was scarcely less available in practice than its guns and men. The reputation of invincibility was very generally attached to an English man-of-war, and perhaps no people gave England more ample credit for every species of superiority, whether physical or moral, that she claimed for herself, than those of the United States of America. The success of the British navy was indisputable, and as few Americans then read books, or journals, in foreign tongues, while scarcely a newspaper appeared without its columns containing some tribute to British glory, it would not be easy to portray the extent of the feeling, or the amount of the credulity that generally existed on such subjects.

That the officers of the navy should, in a great degree, be superior to this dependent feeling was natural. They had enjoyed means of comparison that were denied the bulk of their fellow-citizens, and the results had taught them more confidence in themselves. They knew that their ships were at least as good as those of England, that they sailed as fast, were worked as well, and, in every essential on which a seaman prides himself, that England could justly claim no other superiority than that which might be supposed to belong to her greater experience in naval warfare. Against this odds, they were willing to contend. Not so with the nation. Notwithstanding the best dispositions on the part of a vast majority of the American people, the conviction was general that an American vessel of war would contend against an English vessel of war with very few chances of success. After making every allowance for equality in all the other essentials, the great point of practice was against the former, and the confidence produced by a thousand victories, it was believed would prove more available than zeal or courage.

It is not as easy to describe the feeling on the other side. Among the young officers of the British navy it is pretty safe to say that a notion of overwhelming superiority was very generally prevalent; but among the older men there were many who had studied the American cruisers with observant eyes, and a few who still recollected the war of the revolution, when ill-equipped, uncoppered and half-manned ships, had rendered victory dear, and, not unfrequently, defeat certain. The journals of Great Britain indulged in that coarse and impolitic abuse, which has probably done more towards raising a hostile

feeling throughout Christendom against their nation, than any political injustice, or political jealousies; and the few ships of the American navy did not escape their sneers and misrepresentations. One of the very last of the vessels they attempted to hold up to the derision of Europe was the Constitution, a frigate that was termed "a bunch of pine boards," sailing "under a bit of striped bunting." As indecorous as was this language, and as little worthy as it might be to excite feeling, or comment, America was too keenly alive to English opinion, to hear it with indifference, and the day was at hand when she exultingly threw back these terms of reproach, with taunts and ridicule almost as unbecoming as the gibes that had provoked them.

There is little doubt that even the friends of the navy looked forward to the conflict with distrust, while the English felt a confidence that, of itself, was one step towards victory.

CHAPTER XXVII.

Owing to grievances, that had long been drawing to a head, Congress formally declared war against the King of Great Britain on the 18th of June, 1812.

At the moment when this important intelligence was made public, nearly all of the little American marine were in port, or were cruising in the immediate vicinity of the coast. The Wasp 18, Captain Jones, was alone on foreign service; and she was on her return from Europe with despatches.

But the declaration of war did not find the little marine of America in a condition to act in a combined, intelligent, and military manner. The vesels were scattered; some were undergoing repairs, others were at a distance; and with the exception of one small squadron, every thing was virtually committed to the activity, judgment, and enterprise of the different captains. In the port of New York, were collected the President 44, Commodore Rodgers; Essex 32, Captain Porter; and Hornet 18, Captain Lawrence. With the exception of the Essex, which ship was overhauling her rigging, and re-stowing her hold, these vessels were ready to sail at an hour's notice. Com-

modore, Rodgers in anticipation of hostilities had dropped into the bay, with the President and Hornet, where he was joined by the United States 44, Commodore Decatur, Congress 38, Captain Smith, and Argus 16, Lieutenant Commandant Sinclair, all of which vessels arrived from the southward on the 21st of June.

Information had been received of the sailing of a large fleet of Jamaica-men, under protection of a strong force; and as these vessels would naturally be sweeping along the American coast, in the gulf stream, it was determined to make a dash at this convoy,—as judicious a plan, under the circumstances, as could then have been adopted. Within an hour after he had received official information of the declaration of war, together with his orders, Commodore Rodgers was under way.

The squadron passed Sandy Hook on the afternoon of the 21st of June, and ran off south-east. That night an American was spoken that had seen the Jamaica ships, and sail was instantly crowded in pursuit. On the 23d, however, at 6 A. M., a vessel was seen to the northward and eastward, which was soon made out to be an enemy's frigate, and a general chase took place. The wind was fresh for the greater part of the day, and, the enemy standing before it, the President, an uncommonly fast ship off the wind, soon gained, not only on the stranger, but on the rest of the squadron. About 4 P. M., she was within gun-shot of the chase, but the wind had unfortunately fallen, and the American ships being just out of port, and deep, their greater comparative weight, under such circumstances, gave the enemy an advantage. Perceiving but very faint hopes of getting alongside of the stranger, unless he could be crippled, Commodore Rodgers determined to open on him with his chase-guns. With this view, that officer went forward, himself, to direct the cannonade, and about half-past 4, the forecastle gun was discharged. This was the first hostile shot fired afloat in the war of 1812, and the gun is understood to have been pointed by Commodore Rodgers in person. The shot struck the chase in the rudder-coat, and drove through the stern frame into the gun-room. The next gun was fired from the first division below; it was pointed and discharged by Mr. Gamble, the second lieutenant, who commanded the battery. The shot struck the muzzle of one of the enemy's stern chasers, which it damaged. Commodore Rodgers fired the third shot, which struck the stern of the chase, killed two men, badly wounded two more, and slightly injured a lieutenant and two others. Mr. Gamble again fired, when the gun

bursted. The shot flew broad off on the President's bow, and the explosion killed and wounded sixteen men. The forecastle deck was blown up, and Commodore Rodgers was thrown into the air, breaking a leg by the fall. This accident prevented the guns of that side from being used for some time. The pause enabled the enemy to open from four stern guns, otherwise he would have soon been driven from the after part of his ship. The fire of the chase was spirited and good, one of his shot plunging on the President's deck, killing a midshipman and one or two men. The President shortly after began to yaw, with a view to shoot away some of the chase's spars, and her fire soon compelled the latter to lighten. The enemy cut away his anchors, stove his boats and threw them overboard, and started fourteen tons of water. By these means he drew ahead, when about 7 o'clock the President hauled up, and as a last resort, fired three broadsides, most of the shot of which fell short.

Finding it impossible to get any nearer to the enemy, without rendering his own ships inefficient for a cruise, by lightening, Commodore Rodgers ordered the pursuit to be abandoned, about midnight. It was afterwards known that the vessel chased was the Belvidera 36, Captain Byron, who gained much credit for the active manner in which he saved his ship. The Belvidera got into Halifax a few days later, carrying with her the news of the declaration of war. The President had twenty-two men killed and wounded on this occasion, sixteen of whom suffered by the bursting of the gun. Among the former was the midshipman mentioned; and among the latter Mr. Gamble. The loss of the Belvidera was stated at seven killed and wounded by shot, and several others by accidents, Captain Byron included. She also suffered materially in her spars, sails, and rigging; while the injuries of this nature, received by the President, were not serious.

The squadron now hauled up to its course, in pursuit of the Jamaica-men; and, from time to time, intelligence was obtained from American vessels, of the course the fleet was steering. On the 1st of July, the pursuing ships fell in with large quantities of cocoa-nut shells, orange-peels, &c. &c., which gave an assurance that they had struck the wake of the Englishmen. This was a little to the eastward of the Banks of Newfoundland, and the strongest hopes were entertained of coming up with the fleet before it could reach the channel. On the 9th of July, an English letter of marque was captured by the

Hornet, Captain Lawrence, and her master reported that he had seen the Jamaica vessels the previous evening, under the convoy of a two-decked ship, a frigate, a sloop of war, and a brig. He had counted eighty-five sail. All possible means were now used to force the squadron ahead, but without success, no further information having been received of the fleet. The chase was continued until the 13th, when, being within a day's run of the chops of the channel, Commodore Rodgers stood to the southward, passing Madeira, and going into Boston by the way of the Western Islands and the Grand Banks.

This cruise was singularly unfortunate, for such a moment, although the ships were kept in the direct tracks of vessels in crossing the ocean, each time. Seven merchantmen were taken, however, and one American was recaptured. The squadron was absent on this service seventy days.

The report of the Belvidera induced the enemy to collect as many of his vessels in squadron as possible; and a force consisting of the Africa 64, Captain Bastard; Shannon 38, Captain Broke; Guerriere 38, Captain Dacres; Belvidera 36, Captain Byron; and Æolus 32, Captain Lord James Townsend, was soon united, in the hope of falling in with Commodore Rodgers. Of this squadron, Captain Broke, of the Shannon, was the senior officer. It appeared off New York early in July, where it made several captures. The Nautilus 14, Lieutenant Commandant Crane, arrived in the port of New York shortly after the squadron of Commodore Rodgers had sailed; and this little brig went out with an intention of cruising in the track of the English Indiamen, at the unfortunate moment when Commodore Broke appeared off the coast. The Nautilus got to sea quite early in July, and fell in with the British squadron the next day. A short, but vigorous chase succeeded, in which Mr. Crane threw overboard his lee-guns, and did all that a seaman could devise to escape; but the Nautilus buried, while the frigates of the enemy were enabled to carry every thing to advantage, and he struck to the Shannon. The Nautilus was the first vessel of war taken on either side, in this contest; and thus the service lost one of those cruisers, which had become endeared to it, and identified with its history, in connexion with the war before Tripoli. The enemy took out the officers and people of their prize, threw a crew into her, and continued to cruise in the hope of meeting the American ships.

On her return from a recent run to Europe, the Constitution

44, Captain Hull, had gone into the Chesapeake. Here she shipped a new crew, and on the 12th of July she sailed from Annapolis, and stood to the northward. So rapidly had her equipment been effected, that her first lieutenant joined her only a fortnight before she sailed, and a draft of a hundred men was received on the evening of the 11th. Friday, July the 17th, the ship was out of sight of land, though at no great distance from the coast, with a light breeze from the N. E., and under easy canvass. At 1, she sounded in 22 fathoms; and about an hour afterwards, four sail were made in the northern board, heading to the westward. At 3, the Constitution made sail, and tacked in 18½ fathoms. At 4, she discovered a fifth sail to the northward and eastward, which had the appearance of a vessel of war. This ship subsequently proved to be the Guerriere 38, Captain Dacres. By this time, the other four sail were made out to be three ships and a brig; they bore N. N. W., and were all on the starboard tack, apparently in company. The wind now became very light, and the Constitution hauled up her main-sail. The ship in the eastern board, however, had so far altered her position by 6, as to bear E. N. E., the wind having hitherto been fair for her to close. But at a quarter past 6, the wind came out light at the southward, bringing the American ship to windward. The Constitution now wore round with her head to the eastward, set her light studding-sails and stay-sails, and at half past 7, beat to quarters, and cleared for action, with the intention of speaking the nearest vessel.

The wind continued very light at the southward, and the two vessels were slowly closing until 8. At 10, the Constitution shortened sail, and immediately after she showed the private signal of the day. After keeping the lights aloft near an hour, and getting no answer from the Guerriere, the Constitution, at a quarter past 11, lowered the signal, and made sail again on her starboard tacks. During the whole of the middle watch the wind was very light, from the southward and westward. Just as the morning watch was called, the Guerriere tacked, then wore entirely round, threw a rocket, and fired two guns. At the same time, three sail were discovered on the starboard quarter of the Constitution, and three more astern. At 5 A. M., a fourth vessel was seen astern.

This was the squadron of Commodore Broke, which had been gradually closing with the American frigate during the

night, and was now just out of gun-shot. As the ships slowly varied their positions, when the mists were entirely cleared away, the Constitution had two frigates on her lee quarter, and a ship of the line, two frigates, a brig and a schooner astern. The names of the enemy's ships have already been given; but the brig was the Nautilus, and the schooner another prize. All the strangers had English colours flying.

It now fell quite calm, and the Constitution hoisted out her boats, and sent them ahead to tow, with a view to keep the ship out of the reach of the enemy's shot. At the same time, she whipt up one of the gun-deck guns to the spar-deck, and run it out aft, as a stern-chaser, getting a long eighteen off the forecastle also for a similar purpose. Two more of the twenty-fours below were run out at the cabin windows, with the same object. It was found necessary to cut away some of the taffrail, in order to make room.

By 6 o'clock the wind, which continued very light and baffling, came out from the northward of west, when the ship's head was got round to the southward, and all the light canvass that would draw was set. Soon after, the nearest frigate, the Shannon, opened with her bow guns, and continued firing for about ten minutes; but perceiving she could not reach the Constitution, she ceased. At half past 6, Captain Hull sounded in 26 fathoms, when finding that the enemy was likely to close, as he was enabled to put the boats of two ships on one, and was also favoured by a little more air than the Constitution, all the spare rope that could be found, and which was fit for the purpose, was payed down into the cutters, bent on, and a kedge was run out near a mile ahead, and let go. At a signal given, the crew clapped on, and walked away with the ship, overrunning and tripping the kedge as she came up with the end of the line. When this was done, another kedge was carried ahead, and, though out of sight of land, the frigate glided away from her pursuers, before they discovered the manner in which it was done. At half past 7, the Constitution had a little air, when she set her ensign, and fired a shot at the Shannon, the nearest ship astern. At 8, it fell calm again, and further resource was had to the boats and the kedges, the enemy's vessels having a light air, and drawing ahead, towing and sweeping. By 9, the nearest frigate, the Shannon, on which the English had put most of their boats, was closing fast, and there was every

prospect, notwithstanding the steadiness and activity of the Constitution's people, that the frigate just mentioned would get near enough to cripple her, when her capture by the rest of the squadron would be inevitable. At this trying moment the best spirit prevailed in the ship. Every thing was stoppered, and Captain Hull was not without hopes, even should he be forced into action, of throwing the Shannon astern by his fire, and of maintaining his distance from the other vessels. It was known that the enemy could not tow very near, as it would have been easy to sink his boats with the stern guns of the Constitution, and not a man in the latter vessel showed a disposition to despondency. Officers and men relieved each other regularly at the duty, and while the former threw themselves down on deck to catch short naps, the people slept at their guns.

This was one of the most critical moments of the chase. The Shannon was fast closing, as has been just stated, while the Guerriere was almost as near on the starboard quarter. An hour promised to bring the struggle to an issue, when suddenly, at 9 minutes past 9, a light air from the southward struck the ship, bringing her to windward. The beautiful manner in which this advantage was improved, excited admiration even in the enemy. As the breeze was seen coming, the ship's sails were trimmed, and as soon as she was under command, she was brought close up to the wind, on the larboard tack; the boats were all dropped in alongside; those that belonged to the davits were run up, while the others were just lifted clear of the water, by purchases on the spare outboard spars, where they were in readiness to be used at a moment's notice. As the ship came by the wind, she brought the Guerriere nearly on her lee beam, when that frigate opened a fire from her broadside. While the shot of this vessel were just falling short of them, the people of the Constitution were hoisting up their boats with as much steadiness as if the duty was performing in a friendly port. In about an hour, however, it fell nearly calm again, when Captain Hull ordered a quantity of the water started, to lighten the ship. More than two thousand gallons were pumped out, and the boats were sent ahead again to tow. The enemy now put nearly all his boats on the Shannon, the nearest ship astern; and a few hours of prodigious exertion followed, the people of the Constitution being compelled to supply the place of numbers by their activity and zeal. The ships were close by the wind,

and every thing that would draw was set, and the Shannon was slowly, but steadily, forging ahead. About noon of this day, there was a little relaxation from labour, owing to the occasional occurrence of cat's-paws, by watching which closely, the ship was urged through the water. But at quarter past 12, the boats were again sent ahead, and the toilsome work of towing was renewed.

At 1 o'clock a strange sail was discovered nearly to leeward. At this moment the four frigates of the enemy were about one point on the lee-quarter of the Constitution, at long gun-shot, the Africa and the two prizes being on the lee-beam. As the wind was constantly baffling, any moment might have brought a change, and placed the enemy to windward. At seven minutes before two, the Belvidera, then the nearest ship, began to fire with her bow guns, and the Constitution opened with her stern chasers. On board the latter ship, however, it was soon found to be dangerous to use the main-deck guns, the transoms having so much rake, the windows being so high, and the guns so short, that every explosion lifted the upper deck, and threatened to blow out the stern frame. Perceiving, moreover, that his shot did little or no execution, Captain Hull ordered the firing to cease at half-past 2.

For several hours, the enemy's frigates were now within gun-shot, sometimes towing and kedging, and at others endeavouring to close with the puffs of air that occasionally passed. At 7 in the evening, the boats of the Constitution were again ahead, the ship steering S. W. ½ W., with an air so light as to be almost imperceptible. At half past 7, she sounded in 24 fathoms. For hours, the same toilsome duty was going on, until a little before 11, when a light air from the southward struck the ship, and the sails for the first time in many weary hours were asleep. The boats instantly dropped alongside, hooked on, and were all run up. The topgallant studding-sails and stay-sails were set as soon as possible, and for about an hour the people caught a little rest.

But at midnight it fell nearly calm again; though neither the pursuers nor the pursued had recourse to the boats, probably from an unwillingness to disturb their crews. At 2 A. M., it was observed on board the Constitution that the Guerriere had forged ahead, and was again off their lee-beam. At this time, the top-gallant studding-sails were taken in.

In this manner passed the night, and on the morning of the

next day, it was found that three of the enemy's frigates were within long gun-shot on the lee-quarter, and the other at about the same distance on the lee-beam. The Africa, and the prizes, were much farther to leeward.

A little after daylight, the Belvidera, having drawn ahead sufficiently to be forward of the Constitution's beam, tacked, when the latter ship did the same, in order to preserve her position to windward. An hour later the Æolus passed on the contrary tack, so near that it was thought by some who observed the movement, that she ought to have opened her fire; but, as that vessel was merely a twelve-pounder frigate, and she was still at a considerable distance, it is quite probable her commander acted judiciously. By this time, there was sufficient wind to induce Captain Hull to hoist in his first cutter.

The scene, on the morning of this day, was very beautiful, and of great interest to the lovers of nautical exhibitions. The weather was mild and lovely, the sea smooth as a pond, and there was quite wind enough to remove the necessity of any of the extraordinary means of getting ahead, that had been so freely used during the previous eight-and-forty hours. All the English vessels had got on the same tack with the Constitution again, and the five frigates were clouds of canvass, from their trucks to the water. Including the American ship, eleven sail were in sight, and shortly after a twelfth appeared to windward, that was soon ascertained to be an American merchantman. But the enemy were too intent on the Constitution to regard any thing else, and though it would have been easy to capture the ships to leeward, no attention appears to have been paid to them. With a view, however, to deceive the ship to windward they hoisted American colours, when the Constitution set an English ensign, by way of warning the stranger to keep aloof.

Until 10 o'clock the Constitution was making every preparation for carrying sail hard should it become necessary, and she sounded in 25 fathoms. At noon the wind fell again, though it was found that while the breeze lasted, she had gained on all of the enemy's ships; more, however, on some, than on others. The nearest vessel was the Belvidera, which was exactly in the wake of the Constitution, distant about two and a half miles, bearing W. N. W. The nearest frigate to leeward, bore N. by W. ½ W. distant three or three and a half miles; the two other frigates were on the lee-quarter, distant about

five miles; and the Africa was hull down to leeward, on the opposite tack.

This was a vast improvement on the state of things that had existed the day previous, and it allowed the officers and men to catch a little rest, though no one left the decks. The latitude by observation this day, was 38° 47′ N., and the longitude by dead reckoning 73° 57′ W.

At meridian the wind began to blow a pleasant breeze, and the sound of the water rippling under the bows of the vessel was again heard. From this moment the noble old ship slowly drew ahead of all her pursuers, the sails being watched and tended in the best manner that consummate seamanship could dictate, until 4 P. M., when the Belvidera was more than four miles astern, and the other vessels were thrown behind in the same proportion, though the wind had again got to be very light.

In this manner both parties kept pressing ahead and to windward, as fast as circumstances would allow, profiting by every change, and resorting to all the means of forcing vessels through the water, that are known to seamen. At a little before 7, however, there was every appearance of a heavy squall, accompanied by rain; when the Constitution prepared to meet it with the coolness and discretion she had displayed throughout the whole affair. The people were stationed, and every thing was kept fast to the last moment, when, just before the squall struck the ship, the order was given to clew up and clew down. All the light canvass was furled, a second reef was taken in the mizzen-topsail, and the ship was brought under short sail, in an incredibly little time. The English vessels, observing this, began to let go and haul down without waiting for the wind, and when they were shut in by the rain, they were steering in different directions to avoid the force of the expected squall. The Constitution, on the other hand, no sooner got its weight, than she sheeted home and hoisted her fore and main-top-gallant sails, and while the enemy most probably believed her to be borne down by the pressure of the wind, steering free, she was flying away from them, on an easy bowline, at the rate of eleven knots.

In a little less than an hour after the squall struck the ship, it had entirely passed to leeward, and a sight was again obtained of the enemy. The Belvidera, the nearest vessel, had altered her bearings in that short period two points more to leeward, and she was a long way astern. The next nearest

vessel was still farther to leeward, and more distant, while the two remaining frigates were fairly hull down. The Africa was barely visible in the horizon!

All apprehensions of the enemy now ceased, though sail was carried to increase the distance, and to preserve the weather-gage. At half-past 10, the wind backed further to the southward, when the Constitution, which had been steering free for some time, took in her lower studding-sails. At 11 the enemy fired two guns, and the nearest ship could just be discerned. As the wind baffled, and continued light, the enemy still persevered in the chase, but at daylight the nearest vessel was hull down astern and to leeward. Under the circumstances it was deemed prudent to use every exertion to lose sight of the English frigates; and the wind falling light, the Constitution's sails were wet down from the skysails to the courses. The good effects of this care were soon visible, as at 6 A. M. the topsails of the enemy's nearest vessels were beginning to dip. At a quarter past 8, the English ships all hauled to the northward and eastward, fully satisfied, by a trial that had lasted nearly three days, and as many nights, under all the circumstances that can attend naval manœuvres, from reefed topsails to kedging, that they had no hope of overtaking their enemy.

Thus terminated a chase, that has become historical in the American navy, for its length, closeness, and activity. On the part of the English, there were manifested much perseverance and seamanship, a ready imitation, and a strong desire to get alongside of their enemy. But the glory of the affair was carried off by the officers and people of the Constitution. Throughout all the trying circumstances of this arduous struggle, this noble frigate, which had so lately been the subject of the sneers of the English critics, maintained the high character of a man-of-war. Even when pressed upon the hardest, nothing was hurried, confused, or slovenly; but the utmost steadiness, order, and discipline reigned in the ship. A cool, discreet, and gallant commander, was nobly sustained by his officers; and there cannot be a doubt that had the enemy succeeded in getting any one of their frigates fairly under the fire of the American ship, that she would have been very roughly treated. The escape itself, is not so much a matter of admiration, as the manner in which it was effected. A little water was pumped out, it is true, and perhaps this was necessary, in order to put a vessel fresh from port on a level, in light winds

and calms, with ships that had been cruising some time; but not an anchor was cut away, not a boat stove, nor a gun lost. The steady and man-of-war like style in which the Constitution took in all her boats, as occasions offered; the order and rapidity with which she kedged, and the vigilant seamanship with which she was braced up and eased off, extorted admiration among the more liberal of her pursuers. In this affair, the ship, no less than those who worked her, gained a high reputation, if not with the world generally, at least with those who, perhaps, as seldom err in their nautical criticisms as any people living.

The English relinquished the pursuit at 8 A. M., and at half-past 8 the Constitution, discovering a vessel on her starboard bow, made sail in chase. At three-quarters past 9 brought to, and spoke an American brig. At 10 made sail again in chase of another vessel on the lee bow, which also proved to be an American, bound in. At meridian, hoisted in the boat used in boarding, took a second reef in the topsails, and stood to the eastward, the ship going into Boston near the middle of the same month.

A few days after the chase of the Constitution, the English squadron separated, the Africa returning to port with the prisoners and prizes, and the frigates shaping their courses in different directions, in the hope that the ship which had avoided them so carefully when in company, might be less averse to meeting either singly.

The Essex 32, Captain Porter, got to sea from New York, not long after the departure of Commodore Rogers, and went first to the southward. She made several prizes early, destroying most of them, and receiving the prisoners on board. The weather now compelled the Essex to run to the northward. When a few weeks from port, a small fleet was approached at night, which was immediately understood to be enemies. Out of this fleet the Essex succeeded in getting a ship. On taking possession of her prize, it was found filled with soldiers, and so much time was necessarily consumed in securing the latter, that the day dawned, and it became inexpedient to renew the attempt on the convoy. The frigate was said to be the Minerva 36, and the troops in the convoy amounted to near 1000 men. About 150 were taken in the prize.

A few days after this success, the Essex made a strange sail to windward. At the moment, the frigate was disguised as a merchantman, having her gun-deck ports in, top-gallant

masts housed, and sails trimmed in a slovenly manner. Deceived by these appearances, the stranger came running down free, when the American ship showed her ensign and kept away, under short sail. This emboldened the stranger, who followed, and having got on the weather quarter of his chase, he began his fire, setting English colours. The Essex now knocked out her ports, and opened upon the enemy, who appears to have been so much taken by surprise, that after receiving one or two discharges, his people deserted their quarters, and ran below. In eight minutes after the Essex had begun to fire, the English ship struck. On sending Lieutenant Finch* on board to take possession, the prize proved to be his Britannic Majesty's ship Alert, Captain Laugharne, mounting 20 eighteen-pound carronades, and with a full crew. Mr. Finch found seven feet of water in the Alert, and was obliged to ware round, to keep her from sinking.

The Alert was the first vessel of war taken from the English in this contest, and her resistance was so feeble as to excite surprise. It was not to be expected, certainly, that a ship carrying eighteen-pound carronades, could successfully resist a ship carrying thirty-two-pound carronades, and double her number of guns and men; but so exaggerated had become the opinion of the British prowess on the ocean, that impossibilities were sometimes looked for. As it is understood that only a part of the Essex's guns bore on the Alert, the manner in which the latter was taken, must be attributed to a sudden panic among her people, some of whom were censured after their exchange. One or two of the officers even, did not escape, the first lieutenant having been dismissed the service, by a court-martial. The Alert had but three men wounded, and the Essex sustained no injury at all.

Captain Porter, with the addition made by the crew of the Alert, had many prisoners, and he felt the necessity of getting rid of them. He accordingly entered into an arrangement with Captain Laugharne, to convert the Alert into a cartel, and to send her into St. John's. This project, so favourable to the American interests, was successfully accomplished; and it is due to his character to say, that the officer in command at Newfoundland, Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, while he protested against the course, as unusual and injurious to a nation like England, which had so many cruisers at sea, by

* Late Captain Bolton.

depriving her of the chances of recapture, honourably complied with the conditions entered into by his subordinate.

The Essex continued to cruise to the southward of the Grand Banks. On two occasions, she fell in with enemy's frigates, and at one time was so hard pressed, as to be reduced to the necessity of making every preparation to carry one by boarding in the night, since, another English vessel of war being in company, an engagement in the usual manner would have been indiscreet. The arrangments made on board the Essex, on this occasion, are still spoken of with admiration, by those who were in the ship; and there is great reason to think they would have succeeded, had the vessels met. By some accident, that has never been explained, the ships passed each other in the darkness, and shortly after, the Essex came into the Delaware to replenish her water and stores.

In the meanwhile, the Constitution was not idle. Remaining at Boston a short time after his celebrated chase, Captain Hull sailed again on the 2d of August, standing along the land to the eastward, in the hope of falling in with some of the enemy's cruisers, that were thought to be hovering on the coast. The ship ran down, near the land, as far as the Bay of Fundy, without seeing any thing, when she went off Halifax and Cape Sable, with the same want of success. Captain Hull now determined to go farther east, and he went near the Isle of Sables, and thence to the mouth of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to intercept vessels bound to Halifax or Quebec. Here two prizes, of little value, were taken and burned. On the morning of the 15th, five sail were made, one of which was a sloop of war. The Constitution gave chase, and the enemy soon set one of his vessels, a prize brig, on fire. The chases now separated, and the sloop of war being to windward, the Constitution followed a ship, which turned out to be an Englishman, already a prize to an American privateer. This vessel had been spoken by the sloop of war, but the appearance of the Constitution prevented her recapture. A brig was next chased to leeward, and proved to be an American, with a prize crew on board. She was retaken, and sent in. The remainder of the vessels escaped.

The Constitution next stood to the southward, and on the 19th, at 2 P. M., in lat. 41° 41′, long. 55° 48′, a sail was made from the mast-heads, bearing E. S. E., and to leeward, though the distance prevented her character from being discovered. The Constitution immediately made sail in chase,

and at 3, the stranger was ascertained to be a ship on the starboard tack, under easy canvass, and close hauled. Half an hour later, she was distinctly made out to be a frigate, and no doubt was entertained of her being an enemy. The American ship kept running free until she was within a league of the frigate to leeward, when she began to shorten sail. By this time, the enemy had laid his main-topsail aback, in waiting for the Constitution to come down, with every thing ready to engage. Perceiving that the Englishman sought a combat, Captain Hull made his own preparations with the greater deliberation. The Constitution, consequently, furled her top-gallant-sails, and stowed all her light stay-sails and the flying jib. Soon after, she took a second reef in the topsails, hauled up the courses, sent down royal-yards, cleared for action, and beat to quarters. At 5, the chase hoisted three English ensigns, and immediately after she opened her fire, at long gun-shot, waring several times, to rake and prevent being raked. The Constitution occasionally yawed as she approached, to avoid being raked, and she fired a few guns as they bore, but her object was not to commence the action seriously, until quite close.

At 6 o'clock, the enemy bore up, and ran off under his three topsails and jib, with the wind on his quarter. As this was an indication of a readiness to receive his antagonist, in a fair yard-arm and yard-arm fight, the Constitution immediately set her main-topgallant-sail and foresail, to get alongside. At a little after 6, the bows of the American frigate began to double on the quarter of the English ship, when she opened with her forward guns, drawing slowly ahead, with her greater way, both vessels keeping up a close and heavy fire, as their guns bore. In about ten minutes, or just as the ships were fairly side by side, the mizzen-mast of the Englishman was shot away, when the American passed slowly ahead, keeping up a tremendous fire, and luffed short round the bows of the enemy, to prevent being raked. In executing this manœuvre, the ship shot into the wind, got sternway, and fell foul of her antagonist. While in this situation, the cabin of the Constitution took fire from the close explosion of the forward guns of the enemy, who obtained a small, but momentary advantage from his position. The good conduct of Mr. Hoffman, who commanded in the cabin, soon repaired this accident, and a gun of the enemy's that threatened further injury, was disabled.

As the vessels touched, both parties prepared to board. The

English turned all hands up from below, and mustered forward with that object, while Mr. Morris, the first lieutenant, with his own hands endeavoured to lash the ships together. Mr. Aylwyn, the master, and Mr. Bush, the lieutenant of marines, were upon the taffrail of the Constitution, to be ready to spring. Both sides now suffered by the closeness of the musketry; the English much the most, however. Mr. Morris was shot through the body, the bullet fortunately missing the vitals. Mr. Aylwyn was wounded in the shoulder, and Mr. Bush fell by a bullet through the head. It being found impossible for either party to board, in the face of such a fire, and with the heavy sea that was on, the sails were filled, and just as the Constitution shot ahead, the foremast of the enemy fell, carrying down with it his mainmast, and leaving him wallowing in the trough of the sea, a helpless wreck.

The Constitution now hauled aboard her tacks, ran off a short distance, secured her masts, and rove new rigging. At 7, she wore round, and taking a favourable position for raking, a jack that had been kept flying on the stump of the mizzen-mast of the enemy, was lowered. Mr. George Campbell Read,* the third lieutenant, was sent on board the prize, and the boat soon returned with the report that the captured vessel was the Guerriere 38, Captain Dacres, one of the ships that had so lately chased the Constitution, off New York.

The Constitution kept waring to remain near her prize, and at 2 A. M., a strange sail was seen closing, when she cleared for action; but at three, the stranger stood off. At daylight, the officer in charge hailed to say that the Guerriere had four feet water in her hold, and that there was danger of her sinking. On receiving this information, Captain Hull sent all his boats to remove the prisoners. Fortunately, the weather was moderate, and by noon this duty was nearly ended. At 3 P. M., the prize crew was recalled, having set the wreck on fire; and in a quarter of an hour, the Guerriere blew up. Finding himself incumbered with wounded prisoners, Captain Hull now returned to Boston, where he arrived on the 30th of the same month.

It is not easy, at this distant day, to convey to the reader the full force of the moral impression created in America by this victory of one frigate over another. So deep had been the effect produced on the public mind by the constant accounts of the successes of the English over their enemies at sea, that the

* Since Commodore Read.

opinion of their invincibility on that element, already mentioned, generally prevailed; and it had been publicly predicted, that before the contest had continued six months, British sloops of war would lie alongside of American frigates with comparative impunity. Perhaps the only portion of the American population that expected different results, was that which composed the little body of officers on whom the trial would fall, and even they looked forward to the struggle with a manly resolution, rather than with a very confident hope. But the termination of the combat just related, very far exceeded the expectations of the most sanguine. After making all proper allowance for the difference of force which certainly existed in favour of the Constitution, as well as for the excuses that the defeated party freely offered to the world, men on both sides of the Atlantic, who were competent to form intelligent opinions on such subjects, saw the promise of many future successes in this. The style in which the Constitution had been handled; the deliberate and yet earnest manner in which she had been carried into battle; the extraordinary execution that had been done in so short a time by her fire; the readiness and gallantry with which she had cleared for action, so soon after destroying one British frigate, in which was manifested a disposition to meet another, united to produce a deep conviction of self-reliance, coolness, and skill, that was of infinitely more weight than the transient feeling which might result from any accidental triumph.

In this combat, the Constitution suffered a good deal in her rigging and sails, but very little in her hull. Her loss was seven killed, and seven wounded. As soon as she had rove new rigging, applied the necessary stoppers, and bent a few sails, as has been seen, she was ready to engage another frigate. On the other hand, the Guerriere was completely dismasted, had seventy-nine killed and wounded, and, according to the statement of her commander in his defence, before the court which tried him for the loss of his ship, she had received no less than thirty shot as low as five sheets of copper beneath the bends! All this execution had been done between the time when the ships opened their fire abeam, and the moment when the Guerriere's masts fell; for the few shot thrown by the Constitution, previously to the first event, were virtually of no use, and, subsequently to the last, she did not discharge a gun. The whole period, between the time when the Guerriere commenced her fire at long shot, and that when she ac-

tually hauled down her jack, something like two hours was included in the enemy's accounts of the duration of the combat; but it is well understood by professional men, that in truth the battle was decided in about a fourth of that time.

Captain Dacres lost no professional reputation by his defeat. He had handled his ship in a manner to win the applause of his enemies, fought her gallantly, and only submitted when further resistance would have been nearly impossible. Less can be said in favour of the efficiency of the Guerriere's batteries, which were not equal to the mode of fighting that had been introduced by her antagonist, and which, in fact, was the commencement of a new era in combats between single ships.

We have dwelt at length on the circumstances connected with this action, not only because it was the first serious conflict of the war, but because it was characterised by features which, though novel at the time, became identified with nearly all the subsequent engagements of the contest, showing that they were intimately connected with the discipline and system of the American marine.

Captain Hull having performed the two handsome exploits recorded, now gave up the command of his frigate, in order to allow others an equal chance to distinguish themselves, there being unfortunately many more captains than vessels in the navy, at that trying moment. Captain Bainbridge was named to be his successor, being transferred from the Constellation 38, then fitting for sea at Washington, to the Constitution.

As Captain Bainbridge was one of the oldest officers of his rank in the service, he was given a command consisting of his own ship, the Essex 32, and the Hornet 18. He hoisted his broad pennant on board the Constitution, accordingly, on the 15th of September, at Boston. Captain Stewart, lately returned from a furlough, was appointed to the Constellation 38, and Mr. Charles Morris, the first lieutenant of the Constitution, in the chase and in the battle, was shortly after promoted to the rank of captain, passing the step of master-commandant, as had been the case with Commodore Decatur.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Congress did nothing of any moment towards increasing the navy, on the ocean, during the year 1812, although war was declared in June. This neglect of so important a branch of the public service, under circumstances that would seem so imperiously to call for the fostering care and active exertions of the government, must be ascribed to the doubts that still existed as to the possibility of keeping ships at sea, in face of the British navy. It had been customary to say, that France, whenever she put a ship into the water, was merely building for her great enemy; and an opinion was prevalent, that America would be doing the same thing, if she wasted her resources in creating a marine; thus rendering it literally necessary for the accomplished officers who composed the germ of the service, to demonstrate, from fact to fact, their ability to maintain the honour of the country, before that country would frankly confide to them the means.

Commodore Rodgers, having refitted, sailed on a second cruise, leaving the Hornet in port; but Commodore Decatur, in the United States 44, and the Argus 16, Captain Sinclair, parted company with him, at sea, on the 12th of October, after cruising some time without falling in with any thing of importance. On the 17th, he captured the British packet Swallow, with a large amount of specie on board, and continued his cruise to the eastward. In the mean while, the United States and Argus having separated, the former stood more to the southward and eastward, with a view to get into the track of the enemy's Indiamen. Sunday, October 25th, the United States, then in lat. 29° N., long. 29° 30′ W., made a large sail to the southward and eastward. The stranger was running down a little free, while the American ship was on a wind, standing towards the chase, which was soon ascertained to be an enemy. The latter having come within a league, hauled up, and passed to windward, when, each party was enabled to see that it had a frigate to oppose. The stranger now wore and came round on the same tack as the United States, keeping away sufficiently to get within reach of her long guns, when she hauled up on an easy bowline, with her mizzen-topsail

aback. At this moment the distance between the two ships a little exceeded a mile, when the Englishman opened his fire. Finding the enemy on his weather quarter, Commodore Decatur delivered his larboard broadside, wore round, and came up to the wind on the other tack, heading northerly. It was observed that all the carronade-shot fell short, the enemy doing very little injury by his fire.

Having passed her antagonist, the United States delivered her starboard broadside, and wore again, bringing her head once more to the southward, or on the same tack as the enemy, both ships steering rap full, with their mizzen-topsails aback, and keeping up a heavy cannonade. In this manner the action continued about an hour, the English vessel suffering heavily, while her own fire inflicted very little injury on her antagonist. At length the stranger's mizzen-mast came down over his lee quarter, having been shot away about ten feet above the deck. He then fell off, and let his foresail drop, apparently with a wish to close. As the ships got near together, the shot of the American vessel did fearful execution, the fore-course being soon in ribands, the fore and main-topmasts over the side, the main-yard cut away in the slings, and the foremast tottering. The United States now filled her mizzen-topsail, gathered fresh way, and tacked. As the stranger was drifting down, nearly before the wind, and was almost unmanageable, Commodore Decatur had no difficulty in heading up high enough to cross his wake, which he handsomely effected, with his people still manning the larboard guns. At the time the United States filled her mizzen-topsail, in preparation for stays, it is said that the enemy, under the impression she was about to run away, gave three cheers, and set a union jack in his main rigging, all his other flags having come down with the several spars. When, however, the American ship was seen luffing up to close, the jack was lowered, and resistance ceased.

As the United States crossed the stern of the English ship, the firing having ceased on both sides, she hailed and demanded the name of her antagonist, and whether she had submitted. To the first interrogatory, Commodore Decatur was answered that the ship was the Macedonian 38, Captain Carden, and to the second, that the vessel had struck. On taking possession, the enemy was found fearfully cut to pieces, having received no less than a hundred round shot in his hull alone. Of three

hundred men on board him, thirty six were killed, and sixty-eight wounded.

The Macedonian was a very fine ship of her class, mounting, as usual, 49 guns; eighteens on her gun-deck, and thirty-two-pound carronades above. She was smaller, of lighter armament, and had fewer men than her opponent of course, but the disproportion between the force of the two vessels, was much less than that between the execution. In this action, the advantage of position was with the British ship until she was crippled, and the combat was little more than a plain cannonade, at a distance that rendered grape or musketry of little or no use, for the greater part of the time. The fire of the United States took effect so heavily in the waist of her antagonist, that it is said the marines of the latter were removed to the batteries, which circumstance increased the efficiency of the ship, by enabling new crews to be placed at guns that had been once cleared of their men. On the other hand, the marines of the United States remained drawn up in the waist of that ship, most of the time quite useless, though they are understood to have shown the utmost steadiness and good conduct under the example of their gallant commander, the weight of the enemy's fire passing a short distance above their heads.

The United States suffered surprisingly little, considering the length of the cannonade, and her equal exposure. She lost one of her top-gallant masts, received some wounds in the spars, had a good deal of rigging cut, and was otherwise injured aloft, but was hulled a very few times. Of her officers and people 5 were killed and 7 wounded. Of the latter, two died, one of whom was Mr. John Musser Funk, the junior lieutenant of the ship. No other officer was hurt.

On taking possession of his prize, Commodore Decatur found her in a state that admitted of her being taken into port. When the necessary repairs were completed, the two ships made the best of their way to America; Commodore Decatur discontinuing the cruise, in order to convoy his prize into port. The United States arrived off New London on the 4th of December, and about the same time the Macedonian got into Newport. Shortly after, both ships reached New York by the Hell Gate passage.

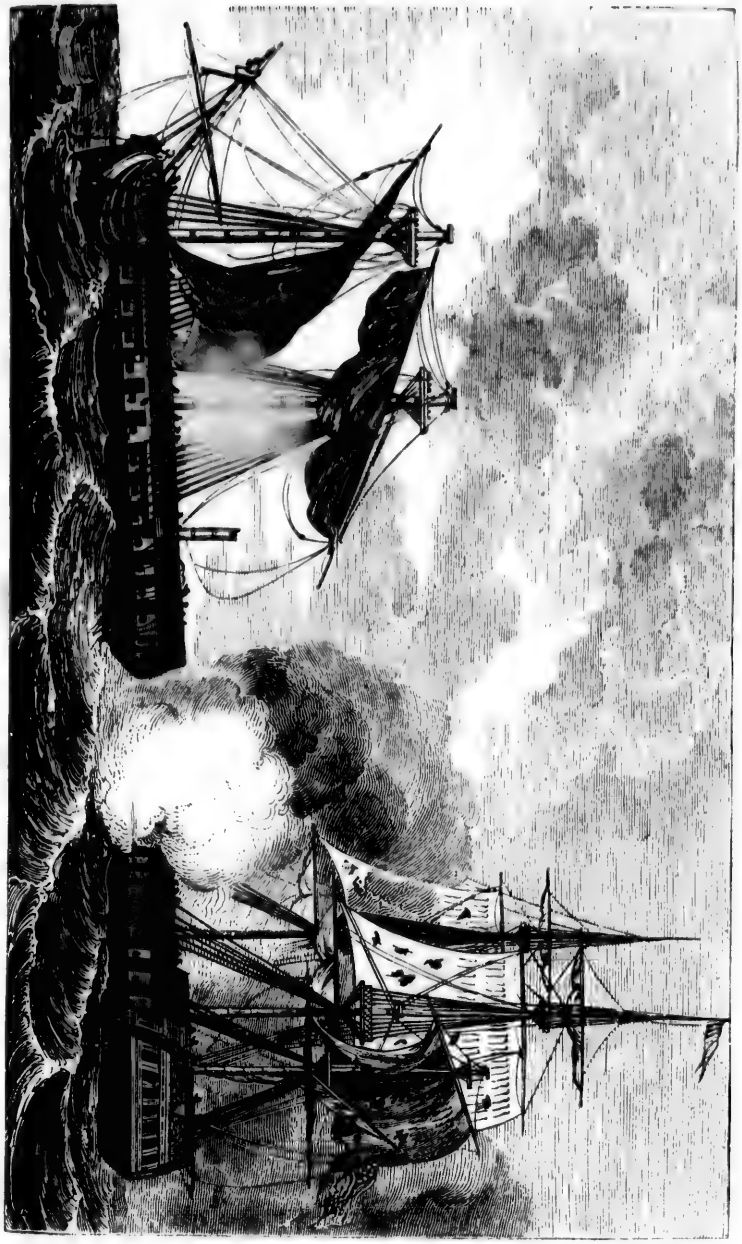
The order and style with which the Macedonian was taken, added materially to the high reputation that Commodore Decatur already enjoyed. His services were acknowledged in the usual manner, and he was soon after directed to cruise in

lled, and sixty-

r class, mount-
eck, and thirty-
ller, of lighter
nent of course,
wo vessels, was
In this action,
ship until she
an a plain can-
usketry of little
The fire of the
t of her antago-
vere removed to
he efficiency of
at guns that had
r hand, the ma-
in the waist of
gh they are un-
s and good con-
nder, the weight
ove their heads.
ttle, considering
exposure. She
e wounds in the
was otherwise
Of her officers
f the latter, two
, the junior lieu-

modore Decatur
taken into port.
e two ships made
re Decatur dis-
s prize into port.
n the 4th of De-
an got into New-
w York by the

onian was taken,
Commodore De-
acknowledged in
ected to cruise in



UNITED STATES AND MACEDONIAN. Page 263

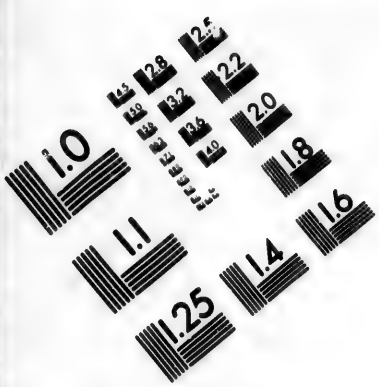
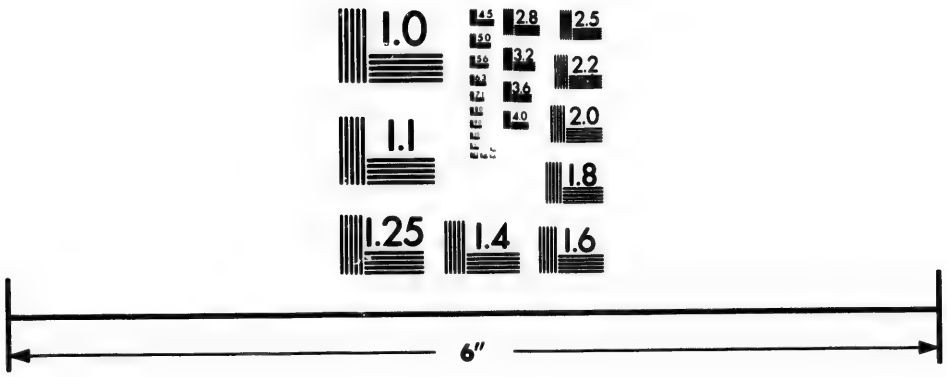
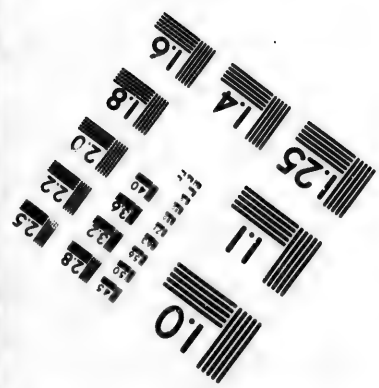
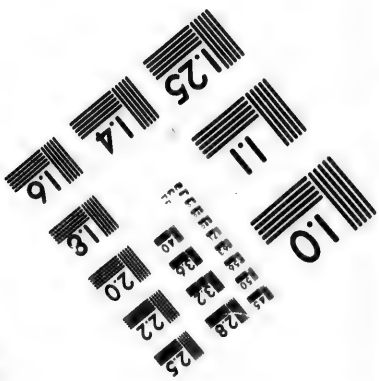


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.8
3.2
2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.1
1.0

the United States, with the Macedonian, Captain Jones, in company. Mr. Allen, the first lieutenant of the United States, was promoted to the rank of a master-commandant, and he received due credit for the steady discipline that the ship's company had displayed.

The Argus, under Captain Sinclair, after separating from the United States, cruised alone, making several captures of merchantmen, though she met no vessel of war, of a force proper for her to engage.

While these events were in the course of accomplishment, the Wasp 18, Captain Jones, left the Delaware on a cruise. She was one of the sloops built at the close of the Tripolitan war, and like her sister ship the Hornet, a beautiful and fast cruiser. The latter, however, which originally was a brig, had been rebuilt, or extensively repaired at Washington, on which occasion, she had been pierced for twenty guns, and rigged into a ship. The Wasp still retained her old armament and construction, having been a ship from the first, mounting 16 thirty-two pound carronades and 2 long twelves. Her complement of men varied from 130 to 160, according to circumstances. She had been to Europe with despatches before the declaration of war, and did not return home until some weeks after hostilities had commenced.

The Wasp, after refitting, sailed on a cruise to the northward. She ran off Boston, made one capture, and after an absence of three weeks, returned to the Delaware. On the 13th of October, she sailed a second time, and ran off east, southerly, to clear the coast, and to get into the track of vessels steering north. Three days out it came on to blow very heavily, when the ship lost her jib-boom, and two men that were on it at the moment. The next day the weather moderated, and about 11 o'clock in the night of the 17th, being then in latitude 37° N., and longitude 65° W., several sail were made. Two of these vessels appeared to be large, and Captain Jones did not deem it prudent to close, until he had a better opportunity of observing them, but hauling off to a convenient distance, he steered in the same direction with the unknown vessels, with the intention of ascertaining their characters in the morning. When the day dawned, the strangers were seen ahead, and to leeward. Making sail to close, they were soon ascertained to be a small convoy of six English ships, under the charge of a heavy brig of war. Four of the merchantmen were armed, apparently, mounting, as well as could be ascertained at that

distance, from 12 to 18 guns. The commander of the brig, however, manifested no wish to avail himself of the assistance of any of his convoy, but shortening sail, the latter passed ahead, while he prepared to give battle.

The Wasp now sent down top-gallant-yards, close reefed her topsails, and was otherwise brought under short fighting canvass, there being a good deal of sea on. The stranger was under little sail also, and his main yard was on deck, where it had been lowered to undergo repairs. As it was the evident intention of the Englishman to cover his convoy, very little manœuvring was necessary to bring the vessels alongside of each other. At 32 minutes past 11 A. M., the Wasp ranged close up on the starboard side of the enemy, receiving her broadside, at the distance of about sixty yards, and delivering her own. The fire of the Englishman immediately became very rapid, it having been thought at the time, that he discharged three guns to the Wasp's two; and as the main-topmast of the latter ship was shot away within five minutes after the action commenced, appearances at first, were greatly in the enemy's favour. In eight minutes, the gaff and mizzen top-gallant-mast also fell. But, if the fire of the Wasp was the most deliberate, it was much the most deadly.

In consequence of the fall of the main-topmast of the American ship, which, with the main-topsail-yard, lodged on the fore and fore-topsail braces, it became next to impossible to haul any of the yards, had circumstances required it, but the battle was continued with great spirit on both sides, until the ships had gradually closed so near, that the bends of the Wasp rubbed against her antagonist's bows. Here the ships came foul, the bowsprit of the enemy passing in over the quarter-deck of the Wasp, forcing her bows up to the wind, and enabling the latter to throw in a close raking fire.

When Captain Jones perceived the effect of the enemy's fire on his spars and rigging, he closed with a view to board; but finding his ship in so favourable a position, he countermanded an order to that effect, and directed a fresh broadside to be delivered. The vessels were now so near that in loading some of the Wasp's guns, the rammers hit against the bows of her antagonist, and the people of the Englishman could no longer be kept at their quarters forward. The discharge of one or two of the carronades swept the enemy's decks, when the impetuosity of the Wasp's crew could no longer be restrained, and they began to leap into the rigging, and from thence on

the bowsprit of the brig. As soon as Mr. Biddle, the first lieutenant of the Wasp, found that the people were not to be restrained, he sprang into the rigging, followed by Lieutenant G. Rodgers and a party of officers and men, and the attempt to board was seriously made. On the forecastle of the brig Mr. Biddle passed all his own people, but there was no enemy to oppose him. Two or three officers were standing aft, most of them bleeding. The decks were strewed with killed and wounded, but not a common hand was at his station; all those that were able having gone below, with the exception of the man at the wheel. The latter had maintained his post, with the spirit of a seaman, to the last.

The English officers threw down their swords in token of submission, as Mr. Biddle passed aft; and it ought to be added, to the credit of the conquerors, notwithstanding the excitement of such scenes are too apt to lead even the disciplined into excesses, not an enemy was injured by the boarders. Mr. Biddle sprang into the main rigging, and lowered the English flag with his own hands, when the combat ceased, after a duration of 43 minutes.

The prize turned out to be the British sloop of war Frolic 18, Captain Whinyates, homeward bound, with the vessels in the Honduras trade under convoy. The Frolic, with the exception of being a brig, was a vessel of the size and construction of the Wasp. She mounted, on her main deck, 16 thirty-two pound carronades, four long guns, differently stated to have been sixes, nines, and twelves, and had two twelve-pound carronades on a topgallant forecastle. This armament would make a force greater than that of the Wasp by four guns, a disparity that is not immaterial in vessels so small. The two crews were pretty equal in numbers, though it is probable that the Wasp may have had a few men the most; a difference that was of little moment under the circumstances, more particularly as the Frolic was a brig, and the battle was fought, by both vessels, under very short sail.*

The Wasp was cut up aloft to an unusual degree, there having been no question that her antagonist's fire was heavy and spirited. The braces and standing-rigging were nearly all shot away, and some of the spars that stood were injured. She had five men killed, and five wounded. The hull sustained no great damage.

* The Wasp's muster-roll, on the morning of the 18th October, contained the names of 138 persons, all told.

The Frolic was also much injured in her spars and rigging, more particularly in the former; and the two vessels were hardly separated, before both her masts fell. She had been hulled at almost every discharge, and was virtually a wreck when taken possession of by the Americans. Her loss in men was never accurately known, but her captain, first lieutenant, and master, were wounded; the two latter mortally. Mr. Biddle, who remained in charge of the prize, after so gallantly boarding her, stated, that as far as he could ascertain, she had from 70 to 80 killed and wounded. Subsequent information, however, has given reason to believe that the number was even greater. Captain Whinyates, in his official report, states that not 20 of his crew escaped unhurt, which would probably raise the casualties to a number between 90 and 100.

The Frolic had scarcely submitted, when a large sail was seen standing towards the two vessels, evidently a ship of force. Instructions were given to Mr. Biddle to make the best of his way to Charleston with the prize, and the Wasp began to make sail, with an intention to continue her cruise; but on opening her canvass, and turning the reefs out of her topsails, they were found to be nearly in ribands. The stranger, which turned out to be the enemy's ship Poictiers 74, hove a shot over the Frolic, in passing, and ranging up near the Wasp, both vessels were captured. The Poictiers proceeded with her two prizes to Bermuda, and the Americans, being paroled, soon after returned home.

As this was the first combat of the war between vessels of a force so nearly equal as to render cavilling difficult, the result occasioned much exultation in America, and greatly increased the confidence of the public, in supposing an American ship had quite as many claims to conduct, courage, and skill, as a British. Persons of reflection attached but little importance, it is true, to the mere fact that a few cruisers had been taken in single combat, but the idea of British invincibility was destroyed, and vast moral results were distinctly foreseen.

In the published account of the captain of the Frolic, much stress was laid on the crippled condition of his ship, when she went into action. It is admitted that his vessel had her main-yard on deck when she engaged, and, as little canvass was required, her after-sail was reduced to her fore-and-aft main-sail. There are circumstances in which the loss of a brig's

main-topsail would be of the last importance; and there are circumstances, again, in which it would be of but little moment. On this occasion it does not appear to have materially influenced the result; and the very fact that the yard was down, may have prevented the mast from falling during the engagement, instead of falling after it. On details of this nature, it is difficult to reason accurately, so much depending on minute circumstances, that must escape the general observer.

Captain Jones was promoted shortly after this success, and he was appointed to the command of the Macedonian 38, which ship had been purchased and taken into the service. The name of Mr. Biddle, who was an old lieutenant, and whose spirited conduct in the action was much appreciated, was also included in the list of masters and commanders that was sent into the senate about the same time.

CHAPTER XXIX.

When Commodore Bainbridge took command of the three vessels that have been already mentioned, the Constitution 44, his own ship, and Hornet 18, Captain Lawrence, were lying in the port of Boston; and the Essex 32, Captain Porter, had just gone into the Delaware. Orders were sent to the latter officer, to rendezvous first at Port Praya, in the island of St. Jago; and secondly at Fernando Noronha. Other places of resort were pointed out; and he was also instructed to cruise in the track of the enemy's Indiamen, until a time mentioned, when, if he failed to fall in with his senior officer, he was at liberty to follow his own discretion. As the Essex never joined the other ships, we shall defer the account of her cruise, to another chapter.

The Constitution and Hornet sailed from Boston on the 26th of October. Touching at the different rendezvous, where they appeared in the character of British vessels of war, letters were left for Captain Porter, under the assumed name of Sir James Yeo, of the Southampton 32, according to arrangement, and the ships proceeded.

Commodore Bainbridge arrived off St. Salvador on the 13th

of December, and the Hornet was sent in to communicate with the consul. Captain Lawrence found the British sloop of war Bonne Citoyenne 18, Captain Green, in port, but about to sail for England, with a very large amount of specie on board. The presence of this vessel suggested a hope of being able to get her out. After conversing with the consul, that gentleman was empowered to inform the commander of the English ship, that Captain Lawrence was desirous of meeting him at sea, and to give the necessary pledges that the Constitution would be out of the way. A correspondence took place between the English and American consuls on the subject, and in the end, Captain Green declined acceding to the proposal.

The Constitution left the Hornet to blockade the Bonne Citoyenne alone, on the 26th, and stood to the southward, keeping the land aboard. About 9 A. M. of the 29th, when in lat. 13° 6′ S., and long. 31° W., or at a distance of ten leagues from the coast, two strange sail were made in-shore and to windward. One of these vessels continued to stand in, while the other, which was much the largest, altered her course in the direction of the American frigate, which had tacked to close with her. The day was pleasant, there was but little sea, and the wind was light at E. N. E.

At 11 A. M., being satisfied that the strange sail was an enemy's frigate, the Constitution tacked again to the southward and eastward, to draw her enemy off the land, which was plainly in sight. At the same time, she set her royals, and boarded main-tack, in order to effect this object.

At 12 M. the Constitution showed her colours, and shortly after the stranger set the English ensign. Signals were made by both ships, but proved to be mutually unintelligible. At 20 minutes past 1, P. M., believing himself far enough from the land, Commodore Bainbridge took in his main-sail and royals, and tacked towards the enemy. Soon after, both ships had their heads to the southward and eastward, the Englishman being to windward more than a mile distant, and well on the Constitution's quarter.

The enemy had now hauled down his ensign, though he kept a jack flying, and Commodore Bainbridge ordered a shot fired ahead of him, to induce him to show his colours anew. This order brought on a general fire, and the battle commenced at 2, P. M., on both sides, with a furious cannonade. The enemy sailed the best, and in the light wind that prevailed he soon forged ahead, keeping away with a view to cross the

Constitution's bow, but was foiled by the latter ship's waring, which brought the heads of the two combatants once more to the westward. In performing these evolutions, as the enemy steered free, and the Constitution luffed, the vessels got within pistol-shot, when the former repeated the same attempt, the ships waring together, bringing their heads once more to the eastward. The English ship fore-reaching again, now endeavoured to tack to preserve the weather-gage; but failing, she was obliged to ware, a manœuvre that the Constitution had already executed to avoid being raked, for the wheel of the latter ship had been shot away, and it was difficult to watch the vessel with the helm, as closely as was desirable. The Constitution, notwithstanding, was the first in coming to the wind on the other tack, and she got an efficient raking fire at her opponent.

Both vessels now ran off free, with the wind on the quarter, the English ship still to windward, when the latter being greatly injured, made an attempt to close, at 55 minutes past 2, by running down on the Constitution's quarter. Her jib-boom ran into the Constitution's mizzen rigging, in which situation she suffered severely, without being able to effect her purpose. The head of her bowsprit was soon shot away, and in a few minutes after, her foremast came by the board. The Constitution shot ahead, keeping away to avoid being raked; in separating, the stump of the enemy's bowsprit passed over the American frigate's taffrail.

The two ships now brought the wind abeam again, with their heads to the eastward, and the Constitution having fore-reached, in consequence of carrying the most sail, wore, passed her antagonist, luffed up under his quarter, wore again, and the Englishman having kept away, the vessels came alongside of each other, and engaged for a short time, yard-arm and yard-arm. In a few minutes the enemy lost his mizzen-mast, leaving nothing standing but his main-mast, with the yard shot away near the slings. As his fire had ceased, the Constitution hauled aboard her tacks, and luffed athwart her antagonist's bow; passing out of the combat to windward, at five minutes past 4, with her topsails, courses, spanker, and jib set. In executing this manœuvre, Commodore Bainbridge was under the impression that the enemy had struck, the ensign which had been hoisted in his main-rigging being down, his ship a wreck, and his fire silenced.

Having got a favourable weatherly position, the Constitution

passed some time in repairing damages, and in securing her masts; it being all-important to an American frigate so far from home, without colonies or military stations to repair to, and an ocean to traverse that was covered with enemies, to look vigilantly to these great auxiliaries. In about an hour, observing an ensign still flying on board his enemy, Commodore Bainbridge wore round, and standing directly across her fore-foot, the English vessel anticipated his fire by striking.

The Constitution immediately wore, with her head on the same tack as the captured vessel, hoisted out a boat, and sent Mr. Parker, her first lieutenant, to take possession. The prize proved to be the British frigate Java 38, Captain Lambert, bound to the East Indies, having on board as passengers Lieutenant General Hislop and staff, together with several supernumerary sea-officers, and a considerable number of men intended for other ships.

This combat lasted near two hours, from the commencement to the end of the firing, and it had been warmly contested on both sides, but with very different results. Although there was more manœuvring than common, the Java had been literally picked to pieces by shot, spar following spar, until she had not one left. Her foremast was first cut away near the cat-harpings, and afterwards, by a double-headed shot, about five-and-twenty feet from the deck. The main-topmast went early, and the main-mast fell after the Constitution hauled off. The mizzen-mast was shot out of the ship, a few feet from the deck, and the bowsprit near the cap. Her hull was also greatly injured; and her loss in men, according to the British published accounts, was 22 killed and 102 wounded; though there is good reason for supposing it was considerably greater. Commodore Bainbridge stated it at 60 killed and 101 wounded. There may have been some discrepancy in these statements, in consequence of the great number of supernumeraries on board the Java, which ship is said to have had more than 400 men in her when taken, or near 100 more than her regular complement.* Captain Lambert, of the Java, was mortally

* The British accounts state the crew of the Java at 377 men, including supernumeraries. Commodore Bainbridge reports that he furloughed 361 officers, seamen, marines, and boys, exclusively of 8 passengers and 9 Portuguese seamen, making 378 souls. If to these be added the 22 allowed to be killed by the enemy, a total of just 400 is obtained. But it is said that a muster-list, made five days after the Java sailed, contained just 446 names.

ecuring her
gate so far
repair to,
enemies, to
ut an hour,
y, Commo-
across her
striking.
ead on the
t, and sent
The prize
n Lambert,
ngers Lieu-
eral super-
er of men

mencement
ontested on
ough there
d been lite-
r, until she
ay near the
shot, about
pmast went
hauled off.
et from the
l was also
the British
ed; though
bly greater.
1 wounded.
statements,
neraries on
e than 400
her regular
as mortally

men, includ-
he furloughed
ssengers and
added the 22
ined. But it
ed, contained

wounded; and one of her lieutenants, the master, and many of her inferior officers, were slain, or seriously hurt.

The Constitution did not lose a spar. She went into action with her royal-yards across, and came out of it with all three of them in their places. An eighteen-pound shot passed through the mizzen-mast; the fore-mast was slightly wounded, and the main-mast was untouched. The main-topmast was also slightly wounded; a few other spars were hit, without being carried away; the running rigging was injured a good deal; several shrouds were cut, and the ship received a few round-shot in her hull. Of her crew, 9 were killed, and 25 were wounded. Among the latter were Commodore Bainbridge, and the junior lieutenant, Mr. Alwyn. The last died of his injuries, some time after the action. Commodore Bainbridge was slightly hurt in the hip, early in the engagement, by a musket-ball; and the shot that carried away the wheel, drove a small copper bolt into his thigh, inflicting a dangerous wound, though he kept the deck until midnight.

Although the injuries to the hull of the Java were not of a nature to render her being carried into port difficult, the smoothness of the sea having prevented her from receiving many shot below the water-line, there existed many objections to attempting it. In the first place, it was known that the Brazilian government was favourable to that of Great Britain, and there had been strong proof of it during the recent visit of Commodore Bainbridge to St. Salvador. That officer, therefore felt a hesitation about trusting his prize in a Brazilian port. The difficulty of obtaining masts of the necessary size, the distance from home, and the risks of recapture, on nearing the coast, united to render it expedient to destroy her. After lying by her two or three days, therefore, with a view to remove the wounded with proper care, the Java was blown up, and the Constitution made the best of her way to St. Salvador, where she immediately landed her prisoners on parole.

The same general peculiarities attended this combat, as had distinguished the two other cases of frigate actions. In all three, the American vessels were superior to their antagonists; but in all three, had the difference in execution been greatly out of proportion to the disparity in force. The Java, like the Guerriere, had been well handled, but her fire had been badly aimed. It would seem that the Constitution actually wore six times, after the action had fairly commenced; and

allowing for the positions of the ships, the lightness of the wind, and the space that it was necessary to run, in order to avoid being raked while executing these evolutions, it is probable that the cannonade did not actually occupy an hour. The action must have terminated some miles to leeward of the spot where it commenced.

On reaching St. Salvador, Commodore Bainbridge found the Hornet off the port, and it was understood that the Bonne Citoyenne had hove-short, with an intention of going to sea that night. The arrival of the Constitution appears to have produced a change in this plan, if it ever existed. Remaining a few days in port to land his prisoners, and to complete his arrangements, Commodore Bainbridge sailed for America, January 6, 1813, and arrived at Boston on the 27th of February, after an absence of four months.

The Hornet was left with orders substantially discretionary. She remained off St. Salvador, blockading the Bonne Citoyenne, alone, for eighteen days, when she was chased into the harbour by the Montagu 74, which vessel had come to relieve the enemy's sloop of war from the awkward necessity of fighting with so much treasure on board, or of the still more unpleasant dilemma of appearing indisposed to meet a ship of equal force. It was late in the evening when the Montagu approached, and the Hornet availed herself of the darkness to ware and stand out again, passing into the offing without further molestation.

Captain Lawrence now hauled by the wind, to the northward and eastward, with the intention of going off Pernambuco. He made a few prizes, and continued cruising on the coast, until the 24th of February, when the ship was near the mouth of Demarara river. Here he gave chase to a brig, which drew him into quarter-less-five, when, having no pilot, he deemed it prudent to haul off shore. At this moment he supposed himself to be about two and a half leagues from the fort at the entrance of the river. Just without the bar, another brig was seen. As she had an English ensign set, and bore every appearance of being a man-of-war, it was determined to attack her. While the Hornet was beating round the Carobana bank, which lay between her and the enemy, with a view to get at him, another sail was made on her weather quarter, edging down towards her. It was now half past 3 P. M., and the Hornet continuing to turn to windward, with her original intention, by twenty minutes past 4 the second stranger

was made out to be a large man-of-war brig. Shortly after he showed English colours.

As soon as her captain was satisfied that the vessel approaching was an enemy, the Hornet was cleared for action, and her people went to quarters. The ship was kept close by the wind, in order to gain the weather-gage, the enemy still running free. At 5 10, feeling certain that he could weather the Englishman, Captain Lawrence showed his colours and tacked. The two vessels were now standing towards each other, with their heads different ways, both close by the wind. They passed within half pistol-shot at 5 25, delivering their broadsides as the guns bore; each vessel using the larboard battery. As soon as they were clear, the Englishman put his helm hard up, with the intention to ware short round, and get a raking fire at the Hornet; but the manœuvre was closely watched and promptly imitated, and, firing his starboard guns, he was obliged to right his helm, as the Hornet was coming down on his quarter, in a perfect blaze of fire. The latter closed, and maintaining the admirable position she had taken, poured in her shot with such vigour, that a little before 5 40, the enemy not only lowered his ensign, but he hoisted it union down, in the fore-rigging, as a signal of distress. His mainmast soon after fell.

Mr. J. T. Shubrick was sent on board to take possession. This officer soon returned with the information that the prize was the enemy's sloop of war Peacock 18, Captain Peake, and that she was fast sinking, having already six feet of water in her hold. Mr. Conner, the third lieutenant of the Hornet, and Mr. B. Cooper, one of her midshipmen, were immediately despatched with boats, to get out the wounded, and to endeavour to save the vessel. It was too late for the latter, though every exertion was made. Both vessels were immediately anchored, guns were thrown overboard, shot-holes plugged, and recourse was had to the pumps, and even to bailing; but the short twilight of that low latitude left the prize-crew, before the prisoners could be removed. In the hurry and confusion of such a scene, and while the boats of the Hornet were absent, four of the Englishmen lowered the stern boat of the Peacock, which had been thought too much injured to be used, jumped into it, and pulled for the land, at the imminent risk of their lives.*

Mr. Conner became sensible that the brig was in momentary

* These adventurers got ashore safely.

danger of sinking, and he endeavoured to collect the people remaining on board, in the Peacock's launch, which still stood on deck, the fall of the main-mast, and the want of time, having prevented an attempt to get it into the water. Unfortunately, a good many of the Peacock's people were below, rummaging the vessel, and when the brig gave her last wallow it was too late to save them.

The Peacock settled very easily but suddenly, in five and a half fathoms water, and the two American officers, with most of the men, and several prisoners, saved themselves in the launch, though not without great exertions. Three of the Hornet's people went down in the brig, and nine of the Peacock's were also drowned. Four more of the latter saved themselves by running up the rigging into the foretop, which remained out of water, after the hull had got to the bottom. The launch had no oars, and it was paddled by pieces of boards towards the Hornet, when it was met by one of the cutters of that ship, which was returning to the brig. The cutter immediately pulled towards the Peacock's fore-mast, in the hope of finding some one swimming; but, with the exception of those in the top, no person was saved.

In this short encounter, the Peacock had her captain and four men killed, and thirty-three wounded. The Hornet had one man killed, and two wounded, in addition to two men badly burned by the explosion of a cartridge. She suffered a good deal aloft, had one shot through the foremast, and the bowsprit was hit.

The Peacock was a vessel of the Hornet's size, being a little shorter, but having more beam. Her proper armament was thirty-twos, but, for some reason that is not known, it had been changed for lighter guns, and in the action she mounted 16 twenty-four pound carronades, 2 light long guns, a twelve pound carronade on her topgallant forecastle, and another light long gun aft. By her quarter-bill, she had 130 men on board, at the time she was taken. This force rendered her inferior to the Hornet, which ship mounted 18 thirty-two pound carronades and two long twelves. The Hornet in the action mustered 135 men fit for duty.

Notwithstanding the superiority of the Hornet, the same disparity between the execution and the difference in force, is to be seen in this action, as in those already mentioned. In allowing the Hornet to get the weather-gage, the Peacock was out-manœuvred; but, with this exception, she is understood to

have been well managed, though her gunnery was defective. The only shot that touched the hull of the Hornet, was one fired as the latter ship was falling off, in waring; it merely glanced athwart her bows, indenting a plank beneath the cat-head. As this shot must have been fired from a starboard gun of the Peacock, the fact demonstrates how well she was handled; and that, in waring, her commander had rightly estimated and judiciously used the peculiar powers of a brig, though the quick movements of his antagonist deprived him of the result he had expected, and immediately gave the Hornet a decided advantage in position. It would be cavilling to deny that this short combat was decided by the superior gunnery and rapid handling of the Hornet.

As the brig at anchor might come out and attack her, the greatest exertions were made on board the Hornet to be in readiness to receive the enemy, and by 9 o'clock at night, new sails had been bent, her boats were stowed, the ship was cleared, and every thing was ready for another action. At 2 A. M., she got under way, and stood to the northward and westward, under easy sail. Captain Lawrence finding that he had now 277 souls on board, including the people of another prize, and that he was short of water, determined to return home. The allowance of water was reduced to three pints a man, and the ship ran through the West-Indies, anchoring at Holmes's Hole, in Martha's Vineyard, on the 19th of March; whence she came through the Vineyard and Long Island Sounds to New York without meeting an enemy.

The successes of the Constitution and Hornet, two of the vessels of Commodore Bainbridge's squadron, served greatly to increase the popularity of the navy. Their commanders were rewarded with medals, swords, and votes of thanks, by different legislatures; and Captain Lawrence was promoted, and transferred to the command of the Chesapeake.

Congress, by this time, began to feel more confidence in the ability to withstand British prowess, and a law had been passed on the 2d of January, to increase the naval force of the country. By the provisions of this act, the President was empowered to build four ships to rate not less than seventy-four guns, and six ships to rate at forty-four guns each. This was at once multiplying the force of the navy tenfold, and it may be esteemed the first step that was ever actually put in execution, towards establishing a marine that might prove of material moment, in influencing the results of a war. Measures were

taken immediately to lay the keels of some of the ships of the line, and Commodore Bainbridge, being appointed to superintend the construction of one of them, relinquished the command of the Constitution.

Another law passed, on the 3d of March, directing six sloops of war to be built on the sea-board, and authorising the construction of as many vessels on the lakes as the public service required. Congress also voted handsome sums to the officers and crews of the ships that had destroyed captured vessels of war, in the way of prize-money.

CHAPTER XXX.

When Commodore Bainbridge sailed from Boston, the Essex, still under the command of Captain Porter, was lying in the Delaware. She quitted that river the 28th of October, or two days after the other ships of the squadron had got to sea.

The Essex was singularly unfortunate in not falling in with an enemy of any sort for several weeks, and on the 11th of December, she crossed the equator in longitude 30° W., the same bad luck attending her. On the 12th, however, about 2 P. M., a vessel was seen to windward, which had every appearance of an enemy's man-of-war brig. At six, the stranger began to show signals, which went to confirm the idea of his character. As the chase was still to windward, and night was coming on fast, an unsuccessful effort was made to decoy her down, by making signals in return. At sunset the brig showed English colours, and, when it was sufficiently dark, she made some night-signals. By 9 P. M. the Essex succeeded in getting within musket-shot. Captain Porter soon after hailed, and ordered the brig to settle her topsails, haul up her courses, and to heave-to to windward. At the same time orders were given to the different divisions not to fire into the stranger, as it was very desirable to get possession without doing him any injury. Instead of complying with the directions of Captain Porter, however, the brig endeavoured to cross the stern of the Essex, by keeping away, probably with an intention to rake her, and to escape to leeward. This drew a volley of mus-

ketry from the frigate, which killed one man, when the brig struck.

The prize was the British government packet Nocton 10, with a crew of 31 men. On board of her were found $55,000 in specie. The next day a crew of 17 men was put into the Nocton, under the orders of Acting Lieutenant Finch, who was instructed to make the best of his way to America. This officer had got between Bermuda and the Capes of Virginia, in the execution of his duty, when he was compelled to heave-to in a gale. Just as the weather moderated, a British frigate was made to windward. Mr. Finch tried the sailing of the brig with the enemy, on different tacks, but finally put away dead before the wind, as the only means of escape. As it was not in the power of the prize-crew to make sail with sufficient rapidity to compete with a frigate's complement of men, the Nocton was soon within reach of the enemy's guns, and a few shot were fired, which did some injury to her rigging. Mr. Finch, however, held on, until the enemy had got close upon his quarter, and was about to fire a volley of musketry, when, escape being hopeless, he struck. Thus did the Essex lose her first prize, though the specie had been taken out of her, and was rendered secure by being subsequently used on account of the government.

On the 14th, the Essex made the island of Fernando de Noronha, and communicated with the land, without going in. Here Captain Porter obtained the letter from Commodore Bainbridge, informing him that he would find the other vessels off Cape Frio. From this time, until the 25th, the ship was making her passage towards the coast; on the afternoon of that day, she hove-to off the pitch of the Cape, where no signs were to be seen of the Constitution or Hornet. Three days afterwards, in fact, the first of these vessels captured the Java off St. Salvador. After cruising a short time, at this rendezvous, the Essex was drawn a long distance to leeward in chase; and in attempting to beat up again to her station, she was met by heavy weather, which induced Captain Porter to change his cruising ground. On the morning of the 29th, the frigate captured an English merchant vessel, which proved to be one of a convoy of six sail, in charge of a man-of-war schooner, that had left Rio the night previously, this vessel having put back in consequence of discovering a leak. On obtaining this intelligence, Captain Porter followed on the track of the convoy, and after a long and fruitless chase, he determined to go off

St. Salvador, in order to intercept it. While beating up with this intention, information was received from different Portuguese vessels, of the presence of the other ships of the squadron off the port, and renewed efforts were made to join. But strong northerly winds prevailed, and Captain Porter, after struggling with them a week, decided to run into St. Catherine's to water.

Having been disappointed in his attempts to fall in with the commodore, at three rendezvous, and ascertaining that the Montagu 74, had sailed from Rio to raise the blockade of the vessels at St. Salvador, Captain Porter was greatly at a loss which way to steer, in order to join the other ships. It was near the end of January, 1813, and, in point of fact, the Constitution had left the coast on the 6th of that month, on her way home. As the Hornet followed her on the 24th, in determining to act for himself, during the remainder of the cruise, Captain Porter came to a happy decision.

The Essex left St. Catherine's on the 26th of January, 1813, for the Pacific Ocean, and after a most tempestuous passage round the Horn, she fell in with the pleasant southwest breezes of that sea on the 5th of March, and at meridian of that day her people got a distant view of the Andes. On the 5th, she anchored at the island of Mocha.

The Essex was now fairly in the Pacific, though she had not fallen in with an enemy for two months. There was but one chart of the ocean in the ship, and that was very small and imperfect; the provisions were getting short, and the vessel was much in want of cordage. Notwithstanding these necessities, Captain Porter felt reluctant to let his arrival be known until he made a few captures, hoping to supply his ship from prizes. Anxious to obtain information of the British force, by the same means, he determined to cruise a short time before he proceeded to Valparaiso. An ill fortune, however, continued to prevail, and for many days the ship was enveloped in fogs. She continued standing along shore, to the northward; and on the 13th, while running before a stiff southerly breeze, she rounded the Point of Angels, shot into full view of the port and town of Valparaiso, and was becalmed under the guns of a battery.

As he had English colours flying, Captain Porter came to a conclusion not to go in, for, taking a survey of the shipping in port, and perceiving several Spaniards ready to sail, he thought it prudent to let them get to sea before the arrival of an American cruiser became known in the place. The ship's head was

consequently kept to the northward, and the breeze striking her again, she ran the town out of sight in an hour or two. On the 15th, however, the ship returned, made the Point of Angels once more, went in, and anchored.

To the astonishment of Captain Porter, he now ascertained that Chili had declared itself independent of Spain, and his reception was as favourable as he could have desired. He also learned that the Viceroy of Peru had sent out cruisers against the American shipping, and that his appearance in the Pacific was of the greatest importance to the American trade, which lay at the mercy of the English letters of marque, and of these Peruvian corsairs. This was cheering intelligence, after the fatigues and disappointments of a cruise of so many months.

For more than a week the Essex was employed in victualling. During this time an American whaler came in from the islands. According to the accounts of her master, the American whalers, which had left home during a time of peace, lay entirely at the mercy of those of the enemy; several of which had sailed as regular letters of marque, and all of which were more or less armed. Many of the American vessels, as they often kept the sea six months at a time, were probably still ignorant of the war; and it was known that one of them, at least, had already fallen into the hands of the English. As soon as imperfectly victualled, the frigate went to sea, to profit by this intelligence.

On the 25th, the Essex fell in with the American whale ship Charles, and learned that two other vessels, the Walker and Barclay, had been captured a few days previously, off Coquimbo, by a Peruvian, with an English ship in company. Sail was made, in consequence, in the direction of Coquimbo, and, a few hours later, a stranger was seen to the northward. This vessel was soon ascertained to be a cruising ship, disguised as a whaler. She showed Spanish colours, when the Essex set an English ensign, fired a gun to leeward, and the Charles, which remained in company, hoisted the American flag beneath an English jack. The Spaniard now ran down, and, when about a mile distant, he fired a shot ahead of the Essex, which that ship answered by throwing a few shot over him, to bring him nearer. When close enough, the Spanish ship sent an armed boat to board the Essex, and it was directed to go back with an order for the cruiser to run under the frigate's lee, and to send an officer to apologize for the shot she had fired at an English man-of-war. This command was com-

plied with, and the ship was ascertained to be the Peruvian privateer Nereyda, armed with 15 guns, and with a full crew. The lieutenant, who now came on board, informed Captain Porter that they were cruising for Americans; that they had already taken the Walker and the Barclay; that the English letter of marque Nimrod had driven their prize-crew from on board the Walker; that they were then cruising expressly to look for the Nimrod, with the intention of obtaining redress; and that they had mistaken the Essex for the latter ship. It would seem that the Peruvians cruised against the Americans, under the impression that Spain, then so dependent on England for her existence, would declare war speedily against the United States, in consequence of the war declared by the latter against the King of Great Britain, which might legalise their captures.

An interview with the master of the Walker satisfied Captain Porter that the captured ships had been illegally seized; and hoisting American colours, he fired two shots over the Nereyda, when that vessel struck. Her crew were all sent on board the Essex, and the three ships stood in-shore to look into Coquimbo, in the hope of finding the Nimrod and the prizes, but without success. The next morning, the entire armament of the Nereyda, with all her ammunition, shot, small-arms, and light sails, were thrown overboard, and she was otherwise put in a condition to do no harm, when she was released. It is worthy of remark, that the guns of this vessel were of iron, while her shot of all descriptions were of copper; the abundance of the latter material in that part of the world, rendering it cheaper than the metal usually employed for such purposes.

From the master and crew of the Barclay, Captain Porter obtained a list of such of the whaling vessels as they knew to be in the Pacific. It contained the names of twenty-three American, and of ten English ships. The former was probably the most correct, as his informants added that quite twenty Englishmen were thought to be in that sea. The latter were, in general, fine vessels of near 400 tons burthen, and, as has been said already, they were all more or less armed.

On the 28th of April, the ship was up with the island of San Gallan, when she hauled off to the northward and westward, with a view to cross the track of inward-bound vessels. The next day, three sail were made, standing for Callao. Every thing was set to cut the strangers off, particularly the one nearest in, which had the appearance of the Barclay. The

chase, however, would have escaped, had she not been becalmed when she doubled the point of San Lorenzo. At this moment the frigate was near a league distant, but, fortunately, she kept the breeze until she had got within a hundred yards of the enemy, when she lowered her boats, and took possession. The prize proved to be the Barclay, as had been expected. There was now a good opportunity of looking into the harbour, and finding that nothing had arrived from Valparaiso to disclose his presence in the Pacific, Captain Porter showed English colours, while the Barclay hoisted the American under the enemy's ensign. In this manner both vessels went into the offing, where the Barclay was given up to her proper officers, though most of her crew having entered in the Essex, and declining to rejoin the ship, her master preferred keeping in company with the frigate, offering to act as a pilot in searching for the enemy. With this understanding, the two vessels stretched off to the northward and westward.

From the end of March until the middle of April, the Essex, with the Barclay in company, was standing across from the main towards the islands, and on the 17th she made Chatham Island; but no ship was found there. From this place the frigate went to Charles's Island, where she had the same want of success. At the latter island, however, was a box called "the post-office," in which the masters of the whalers were accustomed to leave written accounts of their luck and movements, and much information was obtained from them, concerning the different ships in the Pacific.

The Essex continued passing from island to island, without meeting with any thing, until her crew was aroused by the cheering cry of "sail ho!" on the morning of the 29th. A ship was made to the westward, and, soon after, two more a little further south. Chase was given to the first vessel, which was spoke under English colours, about 9 A. M. She proved to be the British whale-ship Montezuma, with 1400 barrels of oil on board. Throwing a crew into the prize, the Essex next made sail after the two other ships, which had taken the alarm, and endeavoured to escape. At 11 A. M., when the frigate was about eight miles from the two strangers, it fell calm, and the boats were hoisted out and sent against the enemy, under Mr. Downes, the first lieutenant. About 2 P. M. the party got within a mile of the nearest ship, when the two strangers, who were a quarter of a mile apart, hoisted English colours, and fired several guns. The boats now formed, and pulled for the

largest ship, which kept training her guns on them as they approached, but struck without firing a shot, just as the boarders were closing. The second vessel imitated her example, when attacked in the same manner.

The prizes were the Georgiana and the Policy, both whalers; and the three ships, together, furnished the Essex with many important supplies. They had bread, beef, pork, cordage, water, and among other useful things, a great number of Gallapagos tortoises.

The Georgiana had been built for the service of the English East India Company, and having the reputation of being a fast vessel, Captain Porter determined to equip her as a cruiser, with the double purpose of having an assistant in looking for the enemy, and of possessing a consort to receive his own crew in the event of any accident's occurring to the Essex. This ship was pierced for 18 guns, and had 6 mounted when taken. The Policy was also pierced for the same number, and had 10 guns mounted. The latter were now added to the armament of the Georgiana, which gave her 16 light guns. All the small-arms were collected from the prizes and put in her, her try-works were taken down, and other alterations made, when Mr. Downes was placed in command, with a crew of 41 men. By this arrangement, it was believed that the Georgiana would be fully able to capture any of the English letters of marque, known to be cruising among the islands. In consequence of these changes, and the manning of the two other prizes, notwithstanding several enlistments, the crew of the Essex was reduced to 264 souls, officers included. On the 8th of May, the Georgiana 16, Lieutenant-Commandant Downes, hoisted the American pennant, and fired a salute of 17 guns.

CHAPTER XXXI.

A FEW trials proved that the Georgiana could not hold way with the Essex, and that her reputation, as a fast vessel, was unmerited. Still, as she had been relieved from much of her lumber, she outsailed the other ships, and hopes were entertained of her being made useful. Accordingly, on the 12th,

she parted company, with orders to cruise against the enemy, and to rendezvous at different places on the coast, as well as at various islands, in a regular succession as to time. The separation was not long, however, the Georgiana looking into Charles's Island, in quest of English vessels, at a moment when the Essex happened to be there on the same errand.

The Georgiana was now sent to Albemarle Island, Captain Porter having reason to suppose that a particular ship of the enemy was in that quarter. The Essex continued in the vicinity of Charles's Island, capturing the Atlantic, of 355 tons, 24 men, and 8 guns, on the evening of the 28th of May. The same night she took the Greenwich, of 338 tons, 10 guns, and 25 men. These several captures nearly stripped the frigate of her officers, and she sailed for Tumbez, where she arrived on the 19th of June.

While cruising near James's Island, Mr. Downes had captured the British whale ships the Catherine, of 270 tons, 8 guns, and 29 men, and the Rose, of 220 tons, 8 guns, and 21 men. These two vessels were taken with no resistance, their masters having come on board the Georgiana, without suspecting her character. After manning his prizes, Mr. Downes had but 20 men and boys left in the Georgiana, when he chased and closed with a third whaler, called the Hector, a ship of 270 tons, 25 men, and 11 guns, though pierced for 20. At this time, Mr. Downes had also 50 prisoners, most of whom he was compelled to put in irons, before he brought the Hector to action. When within hail, the latter ship was ordered to haul down her colours, but refused, and the Georgiana opened a fire upon her. A sharp combat followed, when the Hector struck, with the loss of her maintopmast, having had most of her standing and running rigging shot away. She had also two men killed, and six wounded.

After manning the Hector, Mr. Downes had but 10 men left in the Georgiana; and, including the wounded, he had 73 prisoners. The Rose being a dull ship, he threw overboard her guns, and most of her cargo, and, paroling his prisoners, he gave her up to them, on condition that they should sail direct for St. Helena. As soon as this arrangement was made, he made sail for Tumbez, to join the Essex, at which port he arrived on the 24th of June.

The little fleet now amounted to nine sail, and there was an opportunity to make new arrangements. The Atlantic being nearly 100 tons larger than the Georgiana, as well as a much

faster ship, besides possessing, in a greater degree, every material quality for a cruiser, Mr. Downes and his crew were transferred to her. Twenty guns were mounted in this new sloop of war; she was named the Essex Junior, and manned with 60 men. The Greenwich was also converted into a store-ship, and all the spare stores of the other vessels were sent on board her. She was also armed with 20 guns, though her crew was merely strong enough to work her.

On the 30th the fleet sailed, the Essex and Essex Junior keeping in company, with all the carpenters at work at the latter. On the 4th of July a general salute was fired, principally with the guns and ammunition of the enemy. On the 9th, the Essex Junior parted company, bound to Valparaiso, with the Hector, Catherine, Policy, and Montezuma, prizes, and the Barclay, recaptured ship, under convoy.

As soon as out of sight of the other ships, the Essex, Greenwich, and Georgiana steered to the westward, with an intention of going among the Gallapagos. On the 13th, three sail were made off Banks' Bay, all on a wind, and a good deal separated. The Essex gave chase to the one in the centre, which led her down to leeward, leaving the Greenwich and Georgiana a long distance astern and to windward. While the frigate was thus separated from her prizes, one of the strangers tacked, and endeavoured to cut the latter off, but the Greenwich hove-to, got a portion of the people out of the Georgiana, and bore down boldly on her adversary; while the Essex continued after the vessel she was chasing, which she soon captured. This ship was the English whaler Charlton, of 274 tons, 10 guns, and 21 men. Throwing a crew into her, the frigate immediately hauled her wind.

It was now ascertained from the prisoners, that the largest of the strange ships was the Seringapatam, of 357 tons, 14 guns, and near 40 men; and the smallest, the New Zealander, of 259 tons, 8 guns, and 23 men. The Seringapatam had been built for a cruiser, and she was probably the most dangerous vessel to the American trade to the westward of Cape Horn. Captain Porter felt a corresponding desire to get pos session of her, and was much gratified with the bold manner in which the Greenwich had borne down on her. This ship was under the command of a very young officer, but he had the advice of one of the sea-lieutenants, who was under suspension, and who behaved with great gallantry and spirit on this occasion. Closing with the Seringapatam, the Essex be-

ing a long distance to leeward, the Greenwich brought her to action, and after a few broadsides the English ship struck. Soon after, however, and before possession could be taken, she made an attempt to escape by passing to windward, in which she was frustrated by the perseverance of the Greenwich, which vessel kept close on the enemy's quarter, maintaining a spirited fire, for the number of men on board. As the Essex was coming up fast, the Seringapatam finally gave up the attempt, and running down to the frigate, again submitted.

In this affair, as in that of the boats, and in the capture of the Hector by the Georgiana, the officers and men engaged merited high encomiums for their intrepidity and coolness. The Greenwich, after obtaining the hands from the Georgiana, did not probably muster five-and-twenty men at quarters, and the Seringapatam was much the better ship. The New Zealander was taken without any difficulty.

The Seringapatam had made one prize, her master having turned his attention more to cruising than to whaling. On inquiry, notwithstanding, it was found that he had adopted this course in anticipation of a commission, having actually sailed without one. When this fact was ascertained, Captain Porter put the master in irons, and he subsequently sent him to America to be tried. Finding himself embarrassed with his prisoners, Captain Porter gave the Charlton up to them, and suffered them to proceed to Rio de Janeiro, under parole. He then took the guns out of the New Zealander, and mounted them in the Seringapatam, by which means he gave the latter ship an armament of 22 guns, though, as in the case of the Greenwich, her people were barely sufficient to work her.

On the 25th of July, the Georgiana was despatched to the United States with a full cargo of oil. As soon as the vessels separated, the Essex, with the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and New Zealander in company, shaped her course for Albemarle Island. On the morning of the 28th, another strange sail was discovered; but as she had a fresh breeze, and the frigate was becalmed, she was soon out of sight. When the wind came, however, the Essex ran in a direction to intercept the stranger; and the next morning he was again seen, from the masthead, standing across the Essex's bows, on a bowline. As the wind was light, recourse was now had to the drags, and the ship got within four miles of the chase, which was evidently an enemy's whaler. The stranger becoming alarmed, got his boats ahead to tow, when Captain Porter sent a gig and whale-

boat, with a few good marksmen in them, under Acting Lieutenant M'Knight, with orders to take a position ahead of the chase, and to drive in her boats, but on no account to attempt to board. This duty was handsomely executed, though the boats had great difficulty in maintaining their position within musket-shot, as the enemy got two guns on his forecastle, and kept up a warm discharge of grape.

At 4 P. M., the ships were little more than a league apart, perfectly becalmed, and Captain Porter ordered the boats into the water, to carry the stranger by boarding. As the party drew near, the enemy commenced firing, but, intimidated by their steady and orderly approach, he soon lowered his ensign. The boats were about to take possession, when a breeeze from the eastward suddenly striking the English ship, she hauled up close on a wind, hoisted her colours again, fired at the gig and whale-boat as she passed quite near them, and went off, at a rapid rate, to the northward. The party attempted to follow, but it was sunset before the Essex got the wind, and, unwilling to leave her boats out in the darkness, she was compelled to heave-to, at 9, in order to hoist them in. The next morning the chase was out of sight.

This was the first instance, since her arrival in the Pacific, in which the Essex had failed in getting alongside of a chase that she did not voluntarily abandon. It produced much mortification, though the escape of the enemy was owing to one of those occurrences, so common in summer, that leave one ship without a breath of air, while another, quite near her, has a good breeze.

On the 4th of August, the ships went into James's Island and anchored. Here Captain Porter made the important discovery that a large portion of his powder had been damaged in doubling Cape Horn. Fortunately, the Seringapatam could supply the deficiency, though, in doing so, that ship was rendered nearly defenceless. On the 22d of August, all the vessels proceeded to Banks' Bay, where the prizes were moored, and the Essex sailed on a short cruise, alone, on the 24th.

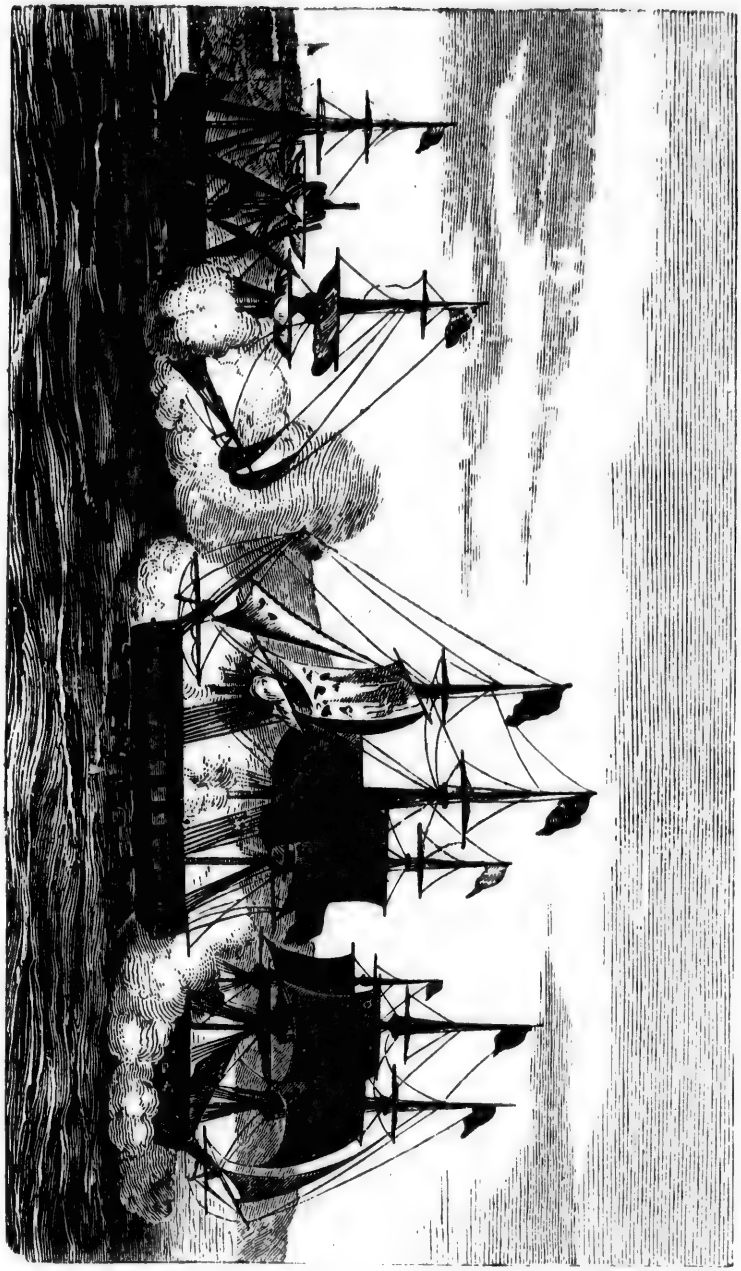
After passing among the islands, without meeting any thing, a sail was discovered on the morning of the 15th of September, apparently lying-to, a long distance to the southward and to windward. The Essex was immediately disguised, by sending down some of the light yards, and the ship kept turning to windward, under easy sail. At meridian, the vessels were so near each other, that the stranger was ascertained to be a

cting Lieu-
head of the
t to attempt
though the
sition within
recastle, and

eague apart,
e boats into
s the party
imidated by
d his ensign.
breeeze from
, she hauled
ed at the gig
nd went off,
mpted to fol-
ind, and, un-
he was com-
. The next

the Pacific,
e of a chase
d much mor-
wing to one
hat leave one
near her, has

ames's Island
nportant dis-
een damaged
apatam could
hip was ren-
, all the ves-
were moored,
the 24th.
ng any thing,
n of Septem-
uthward and
sed, by send-
kept turning
vessels were
ined to be a



CAPTURE OF THE ESSEX. Page 297.

whaler, in the act of cutting in. He was evidently drifting down fast on the frigate. At 1 P. M., when the ships were about four miles apart, the stranger cast off the whales, and made all sail to windward. As it was now evident that he had taken the alarm, the Essex threw aside all attempts at disguise, and pursued him, under every thing that would draw. By 4 P. M., the frigate had the stranger within reach of her guns; and a few shot, well thrown, brought him down under her lee. This ship was the Sir Andrew Hammond, of 301 tons, 12 guns, and 31 men; and she proved to be the vessel that had escaped, in the manner previously related. Fortunately, the prize had a large supply of excellent beef, pork, bread, wood, and water, and the Essex got out of her an ample stock of those great necessaries. On returning to Banks' Bay with her prize, the ship shortly after was joined by the Essex Junior, on her return from Valparaiso. By this arrival, Captain Porter discovered that several enemy's vessels of force had sailed in pursuit of him; and having by this time captured nearly all the English whalers of which he could obtain intelligence, he determined to proceed to the Marquesas, in order to refit, and to make his preparations for returning to America. He was urged to adopt this resolution, also, by understanding from Mr. Downes that the government of Chili no longer preserved the appearance of amity towards the United States, but was getting to be English in its predilections.

CHAPTER XXXII.

On the 23d of October the group of the Marquesas was made from the mast-head of the Essex, and after passing among the islands for a few days, Captain Porter took his ships into a fine bay of Nooaheevah, where he anchored. Here he was soon after joined by the Essex Junior, which vessel had parted company to cruise, when he believed himself sufficiently secure, to commence a regular overhauling of the different ships.

The situation of the Essex was sufficiently remarkable, at this moment, to merit a brief notice. More than ten thousand

miles from home, without colonies, stations, or even a really friendly port to repair to, short of stores, without a consort, and otherwise in possession of none of the required means of subsistence and efficiency, she had boldly steered into this distant region, where she had found all that she required, through her own activity; and having swept the seas of her enemies, she had now retired to these little-frequented islands to refit, with the security of a ship at home. It is due to the officer, who so promptly adopted, and so successfully executed this plan, to add, that his enterprise, self-reliance, and skill, indicated a man of bold and masculine conception, of great resources, and of a high degree of moral courage; qualities that are indispensable in forming a naval captain.

The island of Nooaheevah, on which Captain Porter landed his stores, was intersected by valleys, and different tribes possessed them, forming distinct communities, which not unfrequently waged war on each other, converting this little and retired fragment of the earth into an epitome of the passions and struggles of the world beyond it. In consequence of his intimate connexion with the inhabitants of the valley in which he was accidentally thrown, Captain Porter was compelled to join in these hostilities, the assailants of his allies beginning to treat him as an enemy. After some fruitless negotiating, a party was sent against the hostile tribe, and several conflicts occurred, in which the armed seamen and marines prevailed, as a matter of course, though not without a sharp resistance. This success quieted the island; and during the remainder of his stay, Captain Porter appears to have been unmolested.

It has been seen, that the Essex reached the Marquesas at the close of October, and in the early part of December she was again ready for sea. In the course of November, the New Zealander was filled with oil, from the other prizes, and despatched for America, under the charge of a master's mate. Shortly after, a fort was constructed on a small conical hill, near the water, when the Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were warped close in, and moored under its guns. The command of this fort was given to Lieutenant John M. Gamble, of the marines, a spirited and intelligent young officer; and Messrs. Feltus and Clapp, two of the midshipmen, with twenty-one men, were put under his orders, having volunteered to remain on the island during the contemplated cruise of the Essex. This arrangement was made to secure the means of future repairs, as it was now believed that no

more whalers were to be found, and the Essex was going to sea, in the expectation of meeting one of the frigates that it was known had been sent into the Pacific, in pursuit of her.

The Essex, and Essex Junior, quitted the harbour of Nooaheevah, on the 12th of December, 1813, bound for the coast of South America, which was made early in January. After watering at San Maria, and looking into Concepcion, the ships proceeded to Valparaiso. Up to this time, not a dollar had been drawn for, to meet the expenses of the frigate. The enemy had furnished provisions, sails, cordage, medicines, guns, anchors, cables, and slops. A considerable amount of pay even had been given to the officers and men, by means of the money taken in the Nocton. Thus far, the cruise had been singularly useful and fortunate, affording an instance of the perfection of naval warfare, in all that relates to distressing an enemy, with the least possible charge to the assailants; and it remained only to terminate it with a victory, over a ship of equal force, to render it brilliant. It is, perhaps, a higher eulogium on the officers and crew of this memorable little frigate to add, that while her good fortune appeared at last to desert her, they gave this character to their enterprise, by the manner in which they struggled with adversity.

After the arrival at Valparaiso, it was found that the feelings of the Chilian government had taken an entirely new direction, as had been reported by Mr. Downes, favouring on all occasions the interests of the English, in preference to those of the Americans. Without paying much regard to this circumstance, however, Captain Porter determined to remain in, or off, the port, in waiting for the Phœbe 36, Captain Hillyar, one of the ships sent out in quest of him, under the impression that her commander would not fail, sooner or later, to seek him at that place. There was also the prospect of intercepting such of the English traders as might happen to touch at the port.

The Phœbe arrived as was expected, but instead of coming alone, she had the Cherub 20, Captain Tucker, in company. When these ships hove in sight, the Essex Junior was cruising off the harbour, and she came in and anchored. As the Phœbe alone was a vessel of a heavier rate than the Essex, this addition to her force put a conflict between the four ships quite out of the question. Captain Porter, who had every opportunity of observing the armaments of the two English vessels, states, in his official communications to the department, that the Phœbe mounted 30 long eighteens, 16 thirty-two-pound carronades,

with one howitzer, and 6 threes in her tops. This was a forced equipment for a ship of her rate, but she had probably taken in extra guns with a view to meet the Essex. Her crew is said to have consisted of 320 souls. The Cherub 20 mounted 18 thirty-two pound carronades below, with 8 twenty-four pound carronades and 2 long nines above, making a total of 28 guns, and her crew mustered 180 men and boys. In consequence of the number of prizes that had been manned, some deaths that had occurred, and the people placed in the Essex Junior, the American frigate could muster but 255 souls, notwithstanding the enlistments she had made from the whalers. The force of the Essex Junior was too inconsiderable to be relied on, in an action against ships of a metal as heavy as that of the enemy. She mounted 10 eighteen-pound carronades and 10 short sixes, with a crew of 60 souls. Her guns would have been of little service in a frigate action.

As the Phœbe came in, the wind was light, and she passed quite near the Essex, with her people at quarters. Captain Hillyar hailed, and inquired after the health of Captain Porter. After making the usual reply, the latter informed the English officer that if the vessels got foul, much confusion would ensue, and that he could not be answerable for the consequences. Captain Hillyar now observed that he did not meditate any attack, though the manner in which this was uttered, does not appear to have quieted the suspicions of the American officers. While the two vessels and their crews were in this novel position, the Phœbe was taken suddenly aback, and her bows payed off directly upon the Essex. Captain Porter immediately called away his boarders, and for a few minutes there was every appearance of a combat in a neutral port.

A great deal of confusion is said to have existed on board the Phœbe, and her commander was earnest in his protestations of an intention not to have recourse to hostilities, while he handled his yards in a way to get a stern-board on his ship. As she fell off, the jib-boom of the Phœbe passed over the Essex's deck, and she lay, for a short time, with her bows exposed to the whole broadside of the American frigate, and her stern to that of the Essex Junior. Captain Porter declining to profit by his advantage, the Phœbe was enabled to get out of her awkward situation, there being no doubt that she had lain entirely at the mercy of her enemies. There can be little question that this extraordinary occurrence would have fully

justified the American ship in having recourse to her means of defence.

The English ships, having obtained some supplies, went outside and cruised off Valparaiso for six weeks. During this time, the Essex made several attempts to engage the Phœbe alone, sometimes by bringing her to action with the Essex Junior in company, and at others, by bringing her to action singly, having the crew of the Essex Junior on board the frigate. Captain Porter ascertained to his satisfaction, that he could easily outsail either of the enemy's vessels, but his object was not so much to escape, as to capture the Phœbe, which he had reason to think he might do, could he bring her to close action, without her consort's interference.

A short time after the blockade had commenced, Captain Porter determined to make an attempt on the Cherub by boarding. A strong party was detailed for this service, Captain Porter and Lieutenant Downes both accompanying it. The boats went out at night, and at first had strong hopes of being able to get alongside of the enemy; but, by the subsequent movements of the Cherub, the Americans were induced to think that the English received an intimation of their intention in the course of the night.

Having heard that several other cruisers of the enemy might soon be expected, Captain Porter now determined to go to sea, on the first good occasion, and by leaving the Phœbe and Cherub off the coast, to allow the Essex Junior to follow. This plan was formed on the 27th of March. The very next day the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, when the Essex parted her larboard bower, and dragged the other anchor directly out to sea. The harbour of Valparaiso opens to the northward, being formed by a headland on its western side, and a cove that makes to the southward within it; the main coast sweeping round to the north and east again, affording the necessary protection. On the 28th of March, when the accident just mentioned occurred, the enemy's ships were at no great distance off the point, though far enough to allow the Essex to fetch past to windward of them, by hugging the land. The Point of Angels, however, is an exceedingly dangerous bluff to double, and most ships deem it prudent to reef before going round it, on account of the liability to sudden and violent squalls.

As there was no time to lose, sail was got on the Essex. On opening the enemy, Captain Porter took in his topgallant-

sails, hauled close by the wind, and made an attempt to pass out, by keeping his weatherly position. Every thing looked promising for a short time; and there is little question that the ship would have gone clear, but, in doubling the headland, a squall carried away the main-topmast, throwing several men into the sea, all of whom were drowned. Nothing remained, of course, but to endeavour to regain the port, or to fight both the enemy's ships, under the additional disadvantage of being already crippled.

Finding it impossible to beat up to the common anchorage, Captain Porter stood across the entrance of the harbour, to its northeastern side, where he let go an anchor, about three miles from the town, a mile and a half from the Castello Viego, which, however, was concealed by a bluff, half a mile from a detached battery of one twenty-four-pound gun, and within pistol-shot of the shore. Notwithstanding this position, the enemy continued to approach, and it soon became evident, by the motto flags and jacks he set, that it was his serious intention to engage. The Essex, in consequence, cleared for action, and attempted to get a spring on her cable, but had not succeeded in effecting this important object, when the Phœbe, having obtained an advantageous position, nearly astern, about 4 P. M. opened her fire, at long shot. At the same time, the Cherub commenced the action on the starboard bow. The fire of the Phœbe, from the double advantage she possessed in her long guns and her station, became very destructive, as scarce a gun from the Essex could touch her. The Cherub, however, was soon driven off, when she ran down to leeward, and engaged from a position near that taken by the Phœbe. Three long twelves were got out aft, and they played with so much effect on the enemy, that at the end of half an hour, both his ships hauled off the land to repair damages. This important fact, which is affirmed by the Americans, is sufficiently corroborated by the accounts of the enemy.

During this first attack, the Essex, through the great exertions of the master and boatswain, had succeeded in getting springs on the cable no less than three different times, but before the ship's broadside could be sprung to bear, they were as often shot away. The ship also received a great deal of injury, and several men had been killed and wounded. Notwithstanding all the disastrous circumstances under which they engaged, and the superior force opposed to them, the officers and crew of the Essex were animated by the best spirit, and it

was not possible for efforts to be more coolly made, or better directed.

The enemy was not long in making his repairs, and both ships next took a position on the starboard quarter of the Essex, where it was not in the power of the latter vessel to bring a single gun to bear upon them, as they were too distant to be reached by carronades. Their fire was very galling, and it left no alternative to Captain Porter, between submission, and running down to assail them. He gallantly decided on the latter. But, by this time, the Essex had received many serious injuries, in addition to the loss of her topmast. Her topsail sheets, topsail halyards, jib and fore-topmast staysail halyards, had all been shot away. The only sail that could be got upon the ship, to make her head pay off, was the flying jib, which was hoisted, when the cable was cut, and the vessel edged away, with the intention of laying the Phœbe aboard.

The fore-topsail and foresail were now let fall, though, for want of tacks and sheets, they were nearly useless. Still the Essex drove down on her assailants, closing near enough to open with her carronades. For a few minutes, the firing on both sides was tremendous, the people of the Essex proving their discipline and gallantry, at that trying moment, in a way to justify all the high expectations that had been formed of them, though their decks were already strewed with killed, and the cockpit was crowded with the wounded. This work proved too hot for the Cherub, which hauled off a second time, nor did she come near enough to use her carronades again, during the remainder of the action, keeping up a distant fire with her long guns.

The Phœbe showed no disposition to throw away the immense advantage she possessed, in her long eighteens; and when she found the Essex's fire becoming warm, she kept edging off, throwing her shot at the same time with fatal effect, cutting down the people of her antagonist almost with impunity to herself. By this time, many of the guns of the American ship were disabled, and the crews of several had been swept away. One particular gun was a scene of carnage that is seldom witnessed in a naval combat, nearly three entire crews falling at it in the course of the action. Its captain alone escaped with a slight wound.

This scene of almost unresisted carnage had now lasted nearly two hours, and, finding it impossible to close with his adversary, who chose his distance at pleasure, Captain Porter

felt the necessity of taking some prompt measure, if he would prevent the enemy from getting possession of his ship. The wind had got more to the westward, and he saw a hope of running her ashore, at a spot where he might land his people and set her on fire. For a few minutes every thing appeared to favour this design, and the Essex had drifted within musket-shot of the beach, when the wind suddenly shifted from the land, paying the ship's head broad off, in a way to leave her exposed to a dreadful raking fire. Still, as she was again closing with the Phœbe, Captain Porter indulged a hope of finally laying that ship aboard. At this moment, Lieutenant Commandant Downes came on board of the Essex, in order to receive the orders of his commanding officer, having pulled through all the fire in order to effect this object. He could be of no use, for the enemy again put his helm up, and kept away, when Mr. Downes, after remaining in the Essex ten minutes, was directed to return to his own ship, and to make preparations to defend, or, at need, to destroy her. On going away, he carried off several of the Essex's wounded, leaving three of his own men behind him, in order to make room in the boat.

The slaughter in the Essex having got to be horrible, the enemy firing with deliberation, and hulling her at almost every shot, Captain Porter, as a last resort, ordered a hawser to be bent to the sheet-anchor, and the latter let go, in order to bring the head of the ship round. This effected the object, and once more the Americans got their broadside to bear, remaining stationary themselves, while their enemy, a good deal crippled, was drifting slowly to leeward. Even in these desperate circumstances, a ray of hope gleamed through this little advantage, and Captain Porter was beginning to believe that the Phœbe would drift out of gun-shot, before she discovered his expedient, when the hawser parted with the strain.

There was no longer any chance of saving the ship. To add to her distress, she was on fire, the flames coming up both the main and forward hatchways; and for a few minutes it was thought she must consume. An explosion of powder also occurred below, to add to the horrors of the scene, and Captain Porter told his people, that in preference to being blown up, all who chose to incur the risk, might make the attempt to reach the shore by swimming. Many availed themselves of the permission, and some succeeded in effecting their escape. Others perished, while a few, after drifting about on bits of

spars, were picked up by the boats of the enemy. Much the greater part of the crew, however, remained in the ship, and they set about an attempt to extinguish the flames; the shot of the enemy committing its havoc the whole time. Fortunately, the fire was got under, when the few brave men who were left, went again to the long guns.

The moment had now arrived, when Captain Porter was to decide between submission or the destruction of the remainder of his people. In the midst of this scene of slaughter, he had himself been untouched, and it would seem that he felt himself called on to resist as long as his own strength allowed. But his remaining people entreated him to remember his wounded- and he at last consented to summon his officers. Only one, Acting Lieutenant M'Knight, could join him on the quarter, deck! The first lieutenant, Mr. Wilmer, had been knocked overboard by a splinter, and drowned, while getting the sheet-anchor from the bows; Acting Lieutenant Cowell, the next in rank, was mortally wounded; Acting Lieutenant Odenheimer had just been knocked overboard from the quarter, and did not regain the vessel for several minutes. The reports of the state of the ship were fearful. A large portion of the guns were disabled, even had there been men left to fight them. The berth-deck, steerage, ward-room, and cock-pit, were full of wounded; and the latter were even killed by shot while under the surgeon's hands. The carpenter was sent for, and he stated that of his crew, he alone could perform any duty. He had been over the side to stop shot-holes, when his slings were cut away, and he narrowly escaped drowning. In short, seventy-five men, officers included, were all that remained for duty; and the enemy, in perfectly smooth water, was firing his long eighteens, at a nearly unresisting ship, with as much precision as he could have discharged them at a target. It had become an imperative duty to strike, and the colours were accordingly hauled down, after one of the most remarkable combats that is to be found in the history of naval warfare.

In this bloody contest, the Essex had 58 men killed, including those who soon died of their hurts, and 66 wounded; making a total of 124, or nearly half of all who were on board at the commencement of the action. Of the missing there were 31, most of whom were probably drowned, either in attempting to swim ashore, when the ship was on fire, or by being knocked overboard by the splinters, or pieces of the

rigging. Including the missing, the entire loss was 152, out of 255.

The Essex, with a very trifling exception while closing, fought this battle with her six long twelves, opposed by fifteen long eighteens in broadside,* the long guns of the Cherub, and, a good deal of the time, or while they lay on her quarter, by the carronades of both the enemy's ships. Captain Hillyar's published official letter makes the loss of the Phœbe 4 killed and 7 wounded; that of the Cherub, 1 killed and 3 wounded. There is no apparent reason for distrusting this account, as Captain Hillyar's official letter was singularly modest and just. Captain Tucker, of the Cherub, was wounded, and the first lieutenant of the Phœbe was killed. The English ships were cut up more than could have been expected under the circumstances, the latter having received no less than eighteen twelve-pound shot below the water-line. It would seem that the smoothness of the water rendered the fire very certain, on both sides, and it is only to be regretted that the Essex could not have engaged under her three topsails, from the commencement. The engagement lasted nearly two hours and a half, the long guns of the Essex, it is said, having been fired no less than seventy-five times each, in broadside. The enemy must have thrown, agreeably to the statements made at the time, not less than 700 eighteen-pound shot, at the Essex.

The battle was witnessed by thousands from the shore; and so near were all the ships to the land, that, at one time, many of the Phœbe's eighteen-pound shot struck the beach. This fact appears to be well authenticated, and, of itself, it settles the question of a violation of the neutrality of Chili; since even they who maintain the doctrine that jurisdiction does not properly extend three leagues to sea, substitute the greatest range of a shot, or a shell, in their place. During the action, Mr. Poinsett, the American consul, repaired to the governor's and asked the protection of the batteries in behalf of the Essex. He received the evasive answer, that, should the ship succeed in reaching the ordinary anchorage, an officer would be sent to the British commander, requesting him to cease his fire. The governor, however, declined resorting to force, un-

* It has been said that the Phœbe mounted but 26 long eighteens, her upper-deck long guns having been twelves. We have followed Captain Porter's account, though the difference, under the peculiar circumstances, was of no great moment.

der any circumstances. This conduct left no doubt of a collusion between the English officers and the local authorities, and Mr. Poinsett took the first occasion to quit the country.

In the mode in which he fought his ship, though it was much criticised at the time, Captain Hillyar discovered seamanship and a strict attention to his duty; but his situation must have been in the last degree painful, while compelled to avoid meeting the Essex singly, under circumstances that admit of no other plausible construction than an obedience to the most rigid orders.

Captain Porter now entered into an arrangement with Captain Hillyar, under the provisions of which, the Essex Junior was converted into a cartel, and a passport was given, by means of which all the survivors of the Essex came home. From this arrangement, however, Acting Lieutenant M'Knight, Mr. Adams, the chaplain, and Mr. Lyman, a master's mate, were exempted; these three gentlemen, and eleven seamen, being exchanged on the spot, for a part of the people of the Sir Andrew Hammond, who were then prisoners in the Essex Junior. Mr. M'Knight and Mr. Lyman went round to Rio de Janeiro, in the Phœbe, in order to give some testimony in behalf of the captors. We shall have occasion to advert to the two last hereafter.

The Essex Junior left Valparaiso shortly after this arrangement, encountering no difficulty in doubling the Horn. She was brought-to, off New York, by the Saturn rasée, Captain Nash. This officer questioned the authority of Captain Hillyar to grant the passport, under which the Essex Junior was sailing, and he directed that ship to lie by him during the night. After some communications, the next morning, when thirty miles from the beach, Captain Porter put off in a whaleboat, and, though chased, by pulling vigorously for the land, he got ashore on Long Island, escaping in a fog. It does not appear, however, to have been the intention of Captain Nash seriously to detain the Essex Junior. He probably distrusted some artifice, as he permitted the ship to proceed, after again examining her papers.

Thus terminated this enterprising and singular cruise, its end proving as disastrous as its commencement had been fortunate, though it was, at all times, highly creditable to the spirit, resources, self-reliance, and zeal of those engaged in it Before quitting the subject, however, it remains to give a brief account of the fortunes of the officers and men left at Nooa-

heevah, with the three prizes, the Greenwich, the Sir Andrew Hammond, and the Seringapatam, under the orders of Lieutenant Gamble of the marines.

The Essex had no sooner disappeared than the savages began to pilfer, and to betray a turbulent disposition. Mr. Gamble was compelled to land a party, and to bring the natives to terms by a show of force. Fortunately this object was effected without firing a musket. In February, one of the small party left was drowned, reducing their number to twenty-two, the officers included. Not long after this event, four of the men deserted in a whale-boat, carrying off with them several small articles of value. But eighteen now remained.

On the 12th of April, Mr. Gamble began to rig the Seringapatam and the Sir Andrew Hammond, with the intention of quitting the islands, the long absence of the Essex inducing him to despair of her return. Some symptoms of a mutiny now began to show themselves, and he had all the arms and ammunition brought on board the Greenwich, in which vessel he lived; but having occasion to be on board the Seringapatam, on the 7th of May, a party of six men rose, and took the ship from him. During the time Mr. Gamble was in the hands of these men, he was badly wounded in the foot by a pistol-ball, and they succeeded in carrying off the Seringapatam, sending the officer, and the people with him, on board another vessel.

Every exertion was made to get to sea with the Sir Andrew Hammond, but on the 9th, the natives made an attack, and Mr. Feltus, with three men, was killed, and one other was severely wounded. The situation of those that remained, now became exceedingly critical, the whole party consisting of only eight individuals, of whom two were badly wounded, one was a cripple, and another was just recovering from a serious attack of the scurvy. In fact, there were but four men on board the Sir Andrew Hammond fit for duty. The jib and spanker were bent as fast as possible, the moorings were cut, and, under that short sail, the ship passed slowly out to sea, under cover of the night. When safe in the offing, but six cartridges were left, the Seringapatam having carried off most of the ammunition in kegs.

To add to the difficulties of his situation, Mr. Gamble had no chart. He made out to reach the Sandwich Islands, however, in seventeen days, where he was captured by the Cherub, and first learned the fate of the Essex. The Americans con-

tinued seven months in this ship, until they were landed at Rio de Janeiro, from which port Mr. Gamble got to New York, late in August, 1815.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

It has been seen, that the declaration of war found the naval preparations in so imperfect a condition, that the Constellation 38, Chesapeake 38, and Adams 28, were not ready even to receive crews, while it was found necessary to rebuild entirely the New York 36, Boston 28, and General Greene 28. The appropriations for the repairs of the three first ships having been made in March, 1812, the Constellation was equipped and manned at Washington, in the course of the season. When Commodore Bainbridge left her for the Constitution, the command of this ship had been given to Captain Stewart, the officer who had served as second in command under Commodore Preble, during most of the operations of that celebrated captain, before Tripoli. In the course of the month of January, 1813, Captain Stewart dropped down the river with an intention to get to sea, but on reaching St. Mary's, an order was received, that induced him to go to Annapolis, in order to examine his powder. From this place, the ship was directed to proceed to Norfolk. In executing this order, the Constellation anchored in Hampton Roads, and the next morning a fleet of the enemy, consisting of several two-decked ships, frigates and sloops of war, came in and anchored off Willoughby's Point, where they were becalmed. While the English ships were waiting for the turn of the tide, the Constellation was kedged up until she grounded on the flats above; and the same night, when she floated with the tide, she was carried up, and anchored between the forts at Norfolk.

A few days later, the Constellation dropped down abreast of Craney Island, with a view to cover the fortifications then erecting at that place. At this time, the enemy was still lying in force in Hampton Roads.

The Constellation was anchored in the middle of the channel, which is quite narrow, and on each side of her were

moored seven gun-boats, on board of which were placed officers and men belonging to the ship. A circle of booms, securely fastened, protected the gun-boats from being boarded, which would enable them to maintain a flanking fire, on all assailants of the frigate. The gun-deck guns of the latter were housed, and the ports were shut in. Great care was taken that no rope should be permitted to be hanging over the side of the vessel, the stern-ladders were taken away, and even the gangway-cleets were removed. Boarding-nettings were made of twenty-one thread ratlin-stuff, that had been boiled in half-made pitch, which rendered it so hard as almost to defy the knife. To give greater strength, nail rods and small chains were secured to the netting in lines about three feet apart. Instead of tricing to the rigging, this netting was spread outboard, towards the yard-arms, rising about twenty-five feet above the deck. To the outer rope or ridge-line of the netting, were secured pieces of kentledge, that by cutting the tricing lines when the enemy should get alongside, his boats and men might be caught beneath. Pieces of kentledge were also suspended forward, from the spritsail-yard, bowsprit, &c. &c., to prevent boats from lying under them, while the netting was here hoisted to the fore stay. The carronades were charged to the muzzles with musket-balls, and depressed to the nearest range, in order to sweep around the ship. As the frigate was light, and unusually high out of the water, it was the opinion of the best judges, that defended as she would certainly have been, under the officers who were in her, she could not have been carried without a loss of several hundred men to the enemy, if she could have been taken by boats at all.

It would appear, notwithstanding, that the enemy was disposed to make the attempt. A large force of British ships having collected in the Roads, the admirals in command seriously contemplated an assault on the Constellation. Fortunately, Captain Stewart received notice of their intentions. A Portuguese had been stopped by the fleet, on his way to sea, and his ship was anchored at the upper part of the Roads, just out of gun-shot of the frigate. On board of this vessel, the Admiral kept a guard and a look-out, to signal the movements above. An American passenger, on board the Portuguese, learned from the conversation of different officers, their designs on the Constellation, and he found means to get on board the frigate in order to apprise her commander of the enemy's plan, handsomely volunteering to remain in the ship to help defend

her.* Of course the guard-boats were enjoined to be more than usually vigilant, and every thing was got ready to receive the enemy.

The night succeeding the notice was starlight, and nothing was attempted. The next morning, the master of the Portuguese stopped alongside of the frigate, on his way to Norfolk, and stated that a large number of boats had collected at his ship the previous evening, but that the expedition had been deferred until that night, which promised to be dark and drizzling. Accordingly the guard-boat was on the look-out, and it fell in with a division of boats, that was supposed to contain from 1500 to 2000 men. As soon as the enemy was seen, the officer in the boat showed two lanterns on the off-side of his cutter, and all hands were called in the ship. It would seem the enemy ascertained that his approach was discovered, and he retired.

The following night, the attempt was renewed, with the same want of success. A few nights later, it again proved dark and drizzling, and a third expedition came up. On this occasion, Mr. B. J. Neale, the second lieutenant of the Constellation, was in the guard-boat, and he edged close in with the enemy, who discovered him. As soon as the word of "a stranger," was given, the people of the cutter sprang to their oars, and pulled out of sight; but finding he was not pursued, Mr. Neale returned and kept company with the brigade of boats, which passed up on the inside of the flats, above the mouth of Tanner's creek, and anchored at no great distance below the forts. Here many of the officers landed and walked about to keep themselves warm, the guard-boat anchoring also. When the ebb tide made, the brigade returned, the Constellation's boat quitting them only when they had got below the frigate.

Shortly after, the fortifications being sufficiently advanced, and block ships being ready for sinking in the channel, the Constellation was carried up again to a place of security. About this time Captain Stewart was transferred to the command of the Constitution 44, and Captain Tarbell received a temporary appointment to the Constellation, though, the enemy

* The name of this gentleman deserves to be honourably mentioned. It was Mr. Francis March, of the mercantile firm of J. Howard, March & Co., of Madeira.

always maintaining a strong force in the waters of the Chesapeake, the ship continued to be blockaded until the peace.

The Chesapeake, lying at Boston, had less difficulty in getting to sea, for the enemy did not keep any force before that port, during the first few months of the war; most probably under the false impression that such was the disaffection of the eastern states, that it would virtually be annoying friends. She sailed at the close of February, 1813, under the orders of Captain Evans, and passing by the Canary Isles and the Cape de Verds, she crossed the equator, and remained for six weeks near the line. She then made the coast of South America, passed the spot where the Hornet sunk the Peacock, the day after that action had occurred, and went through the West-Indies, and along the American coast, to the port from which she had sailed. During this long run, Captain Evans saw but three men-of-war, a ship of the line and a frigate, near the Western Islands, and a sloop of war, off the Capes of Virginia. The latter escaped in the night, after a chase of two days. The Chesapeake captured four merchant vessels.

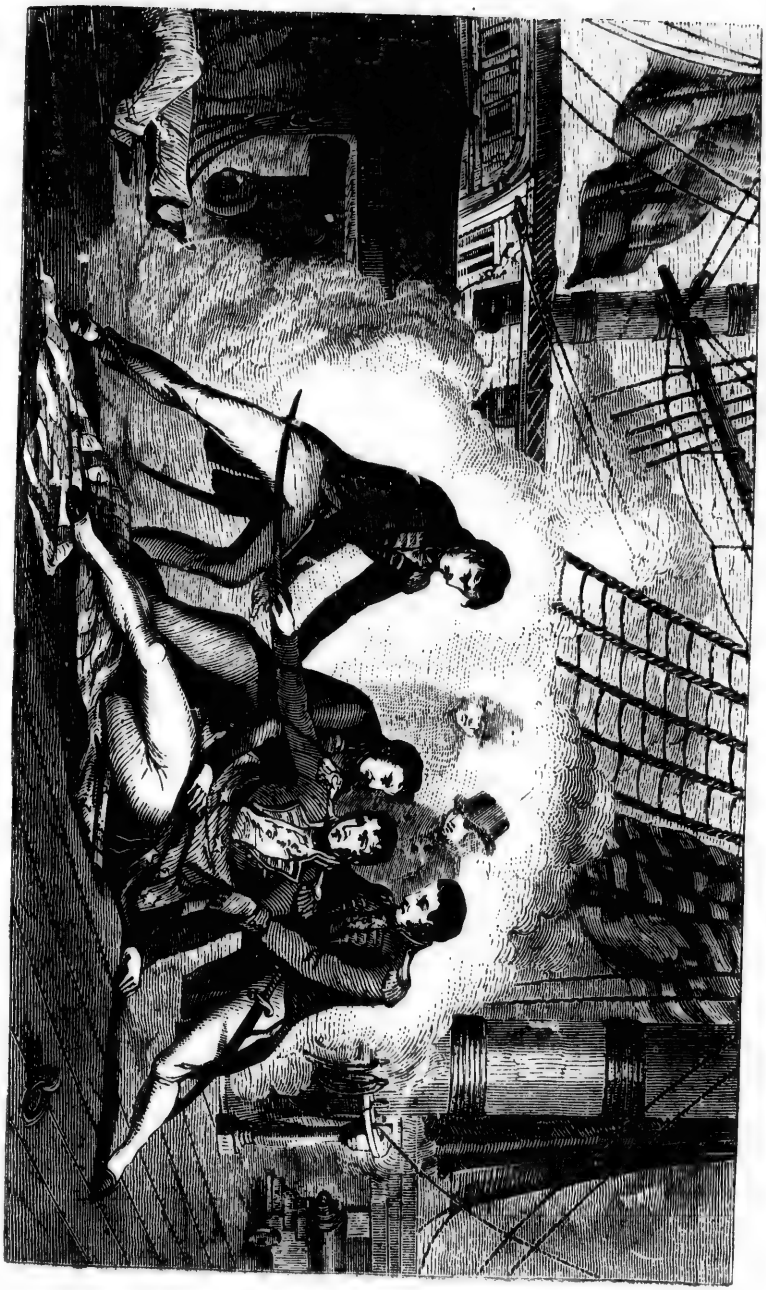
Captain Evans gave up the command of his ship on his return, on account of ill health, and was succeeded by Captain James Lawrence.

By this time, the enemy had changed his policy as regards the eastern states, and he kept a few frigates in the vicinity of Massachusetts Bay, with a view to intercept the American ships of war that passed in and out. Two of these cruisers, the Shannon 38, and Tenedos 38, had been off Boston, it was said, in waiting for the President 44, and Congress 38 to come out, but these ships had sailed without encountering them, and it was by no means probable that the English seriously wished a meeting. When it was understood, however, that the Chesapeake was ready to sail, the Shannon, Captain Broke, appeared alone in the offing, and as the ships were fairly matched, a combat appeared much more probable. It is now known, that Captain Broke, that very day, sent in an invitation to Captain Lawrence, to meet him in any latitude and longitude that might be agreed on. Unfortunately, this letter was not writ, ten until about the moment the Chesapeake was getting under way, and the advantage of having officers and men accustomed to act a little together, was lost. The Chesapeake's contemplated cruise was to the northward and eastward, with a view to intercept the store-ships and troop-ships that were steering for the St. Lawrence. The Hornet 18, Captain Biddle, had

of the Chesa-
e peace.
iculty in get-
e before that
ost probably
fection of the
ying friends.
the orders of
and the Cape
for six weeks
uth America,
ock, the day
gh the West-
t from which
vans saw but
gate, near the
s of Virginia.
of two days.

hip on his re-
d by Captain

cy as regards
he vicinity of
he American
ese cruisers,
Boston, it was
s 38 to come
ng them, and
iously wished
at the Chesa-
oke, appeared
y matched, a
y known, that
on to Captain
ongitude that
was not writ,
getting under
n accustomed
ke's contem-
, with a view
were steering
Biddle, had



DEATH OF LAWRENCE. Page 207.

been put under the orders of Captain Lawrence, and it was intended that the two ships should cruise in company. The Greenland whale-fishery was the ultimate object of these vessels.

In the forenoon of June 1st, 1813, the Shannon appeared in the bay. The Chesapeake was then lying in President Roads, ready for sea; though some disaffection existed among the crew, on account of the prize-money of the last cruise, which was still unpaid. The ship had an unusual number of mercenaries in her; and among others, was a boatswain's mate, a Portuguese, who was found to be particularly troublesome. Under the extraordinary circumstances in which the vessel was placed, it was thought prudent to temporise, and the people were addressed, and some promises were made to them, which apparently had the effect of putting them in a better humour.

At 12, meridian, the Chesapeake lifted her anchor, and stood out, with a pleasant breeze from the southward and westward. As the Shannon was then in plain sight, the ship was cleared for action, and the best appearances were assumed, although it is known that Captain Lawrence went into this engagement with strong reluctance, on account of the peculiar state of his crew. He had himself only joined the vessel a few days before; her proper first lieutenant, Mr. O. A. Page, of Virginia, an officer of experience, was ill on shore, and died soon after, in Boston; the acting first lieutenant, Mr. Augustus Ludlow, of New York, though an officer of merit, was a very young man, and was in an entirely novel situation; and there was but one other commissioned sea-officer in the ship, two of the midshipmen acting as third and fourth lieutenants, and now performing this duty for the first time. One, if not both of these young gentlemen, had also just joined the ship, following the captain from the Hornet. In addition, the Chesapeake had an unusual number of landsmen in her.

The Shannon stood off under easy sail, when Captain Lawrence fired a gun, about half-past 4, which induced her to heave to, with her head to the southward and eastward. By this time the wind had freshened, and at 5, the Chesapeake took in her royals and topgallant-sails, and half an hour later, she hauled up her courses. The two ships were now about 30 miles from the light, the Shannon under single-reefed topsails and jib, and the Chesapeake under her whole topsails and jib, coming down fast. As the Shannon was running with the

wind a little free, there was an anxious moment on board of her, during which it was uncertain on which side the Chesapeake was about to close, or whether she might not be disposed to commence the action on her quarter. But Captain Lawrence chose to lay his enemy fairly alongside, yard-arm and yard-arm; and he luffed, and ranged up abeam, on the Shannon's starboard side. When the Chesapeake's foremast was in a line with the Shannon's mizzen-mast, the latter ship discharged her cabin guns, and the others in succession, from aft forward. The Chesapeake did not fire until all her guns bore, when she delivered a very destructive broadside. For six or eight minutes the cannonading was fierce, and the best of the action, so far as the general effect of the fire was concerned, is said to have been with the American frigate, though it was much in favour of the enemy, in its particular and accidental consequences. While passing the Shannon's broadside, the Chesapeake had her fore-topsail tie and jib sheet shot away. Her spanker-brails also were loosened, and the sail blew out. These accidents occurring nearly at the same instant, they brought the ship up into the wind, when, taking aback, she got sternway, and fell aboard of the enemy, with her mizzen-rigging foul of the Shannon's fore-chains. By some accounts, the fluke of an anchor on board the Shannon hooked in the rigging of the Chesapeake. Whatever may have served to keep the ships together, it appears to be certain, that the American frigate lay exposed to a raking fire from the enemy, who poured into her the contents of one or two carronades, that nearly swept her upper deck. At the few first discharges of the Shannon, Captain Lawrence had received a wound in the leg; Mr. Broom, the marine officer, Mr. Ballard, the acting fourth lieutenant, and the boatswain, were mortally wounded; Mr. White, the master, was killed; and Mr. Ludlow, the first lieutenant, was twice wounded by grape and musketry. Such was the state of the upper deck, as the accidents mentioned, brought the vessels in contact. When Captain Lawrence perceived that the ships were likely to fall foul of each other, he directed the boarders to be called; but unfortunately, a bugleman had been substituted for the drummer, and this man, a negro, was so much alarmed at the effects of the conflict, that he had concealed himself under the stern of the launch; when found he was completely paralysed by fear, and was totally unable to sound a note. Verbal orders were consequently sent below, by the captain's aids, for the boarders to come on deck. At

this critical moment Captain Lawrence fell with a ball through the body.

The upper deck was now left without an officer above the rank of a midshipman. It was the practice of the service, in that day, to keep the arms of the boarders on the quarter-deck, and about the masts; and even when the boarders had been summoned in the slow and imperfect manner that, in the confusion of a combat, was allowed by the voice, they were without arms; for, by this time, the enemy was in possession of the Chesapeake's quarter-deck.

As soon as the ships were foul, Captain Broke passed forward in the Shannon, and, to use his own language, "seeing that the enemy were flinching from his guns," he gave the order to board. Finding that all their officers had fallen, and exposed to a raking fire, without the means of returning a shot, the men on the Chesapeake's quarter-deck had indeed left their guns. The marines had suffered severely, and having lost their officer, were undecided what to do, and the entire upper deck was left virtually without any defence.

When the enemy entered the ship, from his fore-channels, it was with great caution, and so slowly, that twenty resolute men would have repulsed him. The boarders had not yet appeared from below, and meeting with no resistance, he began to move forward. This critical moment lost the ship, for the English, encouraged by the state of the Chesapeake's upper deck, now rushed forward in numbers, and soon had entire command above board. The remaining officers appeared on deck, and endeavoured to make a rally, but it was altogether too late, for the boatswain's mate mentioned, had removed the gratings of the berth-deck, and had run below, followed by a great many men.* Soon after, the Chesapeake's colours were hauled down by the enemy, who got complete possession of the ship, with very little resistance.

Captain Broke, in his official report of this action, observes that after he had boarded, "the enemy fought desperately, but in disorder." The first part of this statement is probably true, as regards a few gallant individuals on the upper deck, but there was no regular resistance to the boarders of the Shannon at all. The people of the Chesapeake had not the means to resist, neither were they collected, nor commanded in the mode in which they had been trained to act. The enemy fired down

* As this man performed this act of treachery, he is said to have cried out, "so much for not having paid the men their prize-money."

the hatches, and killed and wounded a great many men, in this manner, but it does not appear that their fire was returned. Although the English lost a few men when they boarded, it is understood that the slaughter was principally on the side of the Americans, as might be expected, after the assault was made.*

Few naval battles have been more sanguinary than this. It lasted altogether not more than 15 minutes, and yet both ships were charnel-houses. The Chesapeake had 48 men killed, and 98 wounded, a large portion of whom fell by the raking fire of the Shannon, after the Chesapeake was taken aback, and by the fire of the boarders. The Shannon had 23 killed and 56 wounded, principally by the Chesapeake's broadsides. It was impossible for ships of that size to approach so near, in tolerably smooth water, and to fire with so much steadiness, without committing great havoc. On board the Chesapeake fell, or died of their wounds shortly after the combat, Captain Lawrence, Lieutenants Ludlow, Ballard, and Broom, (of the marines,) Mr. White, the master, Mr. Adams, the boatswain, and three midshipmen. All but the midshipmen, fell before the enemy boarded. Mr. Budd second, and Mr. Cox third lieutenant, were wounded after the enemy had got on the Chesapeake's decks. Several midshipmen were also wounded. The Shannon lost her first lieutenant, and one or two inferior officers, and Captain Broke was badly wounded; the boatswain lost an arm, and one midshipman was wounded, mostly after the boarding.

As soon as the ships were clear of each other, they both made sail for Halifax, where they soon after arrived. Captain Lawrence died of his wounds on the 6th of June, and, with Mr. Ludlow, was buried by the enemy with military honours.

Perhaps the capture of no single ship ever produced so much exultation on the side of the victors, or so much depression on that of the beaten party, as that of the Chesapeake. The American nation had fallen into the error of their enemy, and had begun to imagine themselves invincible on the ocean, and this without any better reason than having been successful in

* The fact that the English met with no resistance in coming on board the Chesapeake, is fully confirmed by the official account of Captain Broke. This officer, who appears to have behaved with great personal gallantry, was among the first to board, and he says, "having received a sabre wound, *at the first onset*, while charging a part of the enemy, who had rallied *on their forecastle*," &c. &c. The enemy came in *astern*, and the *first onset* occurring on the *forecastle*, it follows that there was no resistance aft.

a few detached combats, and its mortification was in proportion to the magnitude of its delusion; while England hailed the success of the Shannon as a proof that its ancient renown was about to be regained.

In America reflection soon caused the mortification in a great measure to subside, as it was seen that the capture of the Chesapeake was owing to a concurrence of circumstances that was not likely again to happen. It was soon understood that the closeness and short duration of this combat were actually owing to their own officer, who brought his ship so near that the battle was necessarily soon decided, while its succeeding incidents were altogether the results of the chances of war. At the moment when the English boarded, the total loss of the Shannon in men, is believed to have been at least equal to that of the Chesapeake; yet the former vessel was deprived of the services of no important officer but the boatswain, while the Chesapeake had lost those of her captain, two of her lieutenants, master, marine officer, and boatswain, including every one in any authority on the upper deck. These fortuitous events are as unconnected with any particular merit on the one side, as with any particular demerit on the other; and the feeling of the Americans gradually settled down into a sentiment of sincere respect for the high-spirited Lawrence, and of deep regret for his loss. When told of their defeat, and called on to acknowledge that their enemy was victorious in one of the most extraordinary combats of the age, they have generally given all the credit to the conquerors that they deserved; and while they frankly admit that the victory was remarkable, they may be excused for believing it quite as much so for standing alone in such a war, as for any other distinguishing characteristic.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

WHILE these different events were occurring among the frigates and larger sloops of war, the lighter cruisers of the navy had not been idle. The fate of the Nautilus has been already mentioned; the Argus's cruises have also been alluded to; but nothing has been said of the Siren, Enterprise, and Vixen, the other three little vessels, which were so distinguished in the Tripolitan contest. The latter, like her sister the Nautilus, had but a short career after the declaration of war. During the first few months, she was on the southern coast, under the command of Captain Gadsden, but that officer dying, she was given to Captain Washington Reed, who went on a cruise among the Islands. A few days out, he was fallen in with and chased by the Southampton 32, Captain Sir James Lucas Yeo, which ship succeeded in getting alongside of the Vixen, after a short but severe trial of speed, and of course captured her. Both vessels were soon after wrecked on one of the Bahama Islands, when, it is said, that the American crew set an example of subordination, sobriety, and order, that produced a strong impression on the British officers.

The Siren cruised a short time in the Gulf of Mexico without meeting with any thing, under Lieutenant Commandant Joseph Bainbridge, and then came north, going into Boston. Here Mr. Bainbridge, who had been promoted, was transferred to the Frolic, one of the new sloops built under the late laws; and Mr. George Parker, who had been the first lieutenant of the Constitution, in her action with the Java, having been promoted, was attached to the brig in his place. The future history of this little cruiser being brief, it may be given here. She sailed from Boston in the summer of 1814, and, shortly after she got to sea, Captain Parker died; when Lieutenant N. Nicholson succeeded to the command. On the 12th of July, the Siren fell in with the Medway 74, Captain Brine, and, after a vigorous chase of eleven hours, during which the brig threw her guns overboard, she was captured, and taken into the Cape of Good Hope.

The fortune of the Enterprise was better. Her first commander was Mr. Johnston Blakely, who kept her on the east-

ern coast, where she was of great service, in driving off the small privateers that were sent out of the adjacent English ports. In August, she captured the Fly privateer; and soon after, Mr. Blakely, having risen to the rank of master and commander, was given the command of a new sloop called the Wasp. His successor in the Enterprise was Mr. William Burrows. The service of the vessel, under this officer, was not changed; but she was still kept to watch the enemy's privateers, between Cape Ann and the Bay of Fundy.

The Enterprise left Portsmouth, N. H., on the 1st of September, 1813, and steering to the eastward, was led into Portland, in chase of a schooner, on the 3d. On the 4th, she swept out to sea again, and pursued her course to the eastward in quest of several privateers that were reported to be off Manhagan. While opening the bay, near Penguin Point, a brig was seen getting under way, that had every appearance of being a vessel of war. The character of the stranger was soon put out of all doubt, by her setting four British ensigns, firing several guns, which are since known to have been signals of recall to a boat that had gone to the shore, and her making sail to close with the Enterprise. Being satisfied that he had an enemy and a vessel of war to deal with, Lieutenant Commandant Burrows hauled up, in order to clear the land.

While the two vessels were standing out, the Enterprise leading, some preparations were making on board the latter that produced uneasiness in a portion of her crew. This little brig had a small poop-cabin on deck, and Mr. Burrows had directed a long gun from forward to be brought aft, and to be run out of one of the windows. Owing to the rake of the stern-frame, and to the fixtures of the cabin, this arrangement could not be completed without cutting away some of the wood. On observing this, the impression became general among the men that it was the intention of their commander, who was almost a stranger to them, to keep off, and to use the gun as a stern-chaser. This was an unpleasant idea to the forecastle-men in particular, who were burning with a desire to be carried alongside of the enemy. The forecastle was commanded by a young officer of great promise, and the seamen at length urged him to go aft and state their anxiety to engage, as well as their entire confidence of success. This gentleman so far complied as to speak privately to the first lieutenant, who explained the intention of Mr. Burrows, and fully satisfied the people.

At 3 P. M., believing himself far enough from the land, and

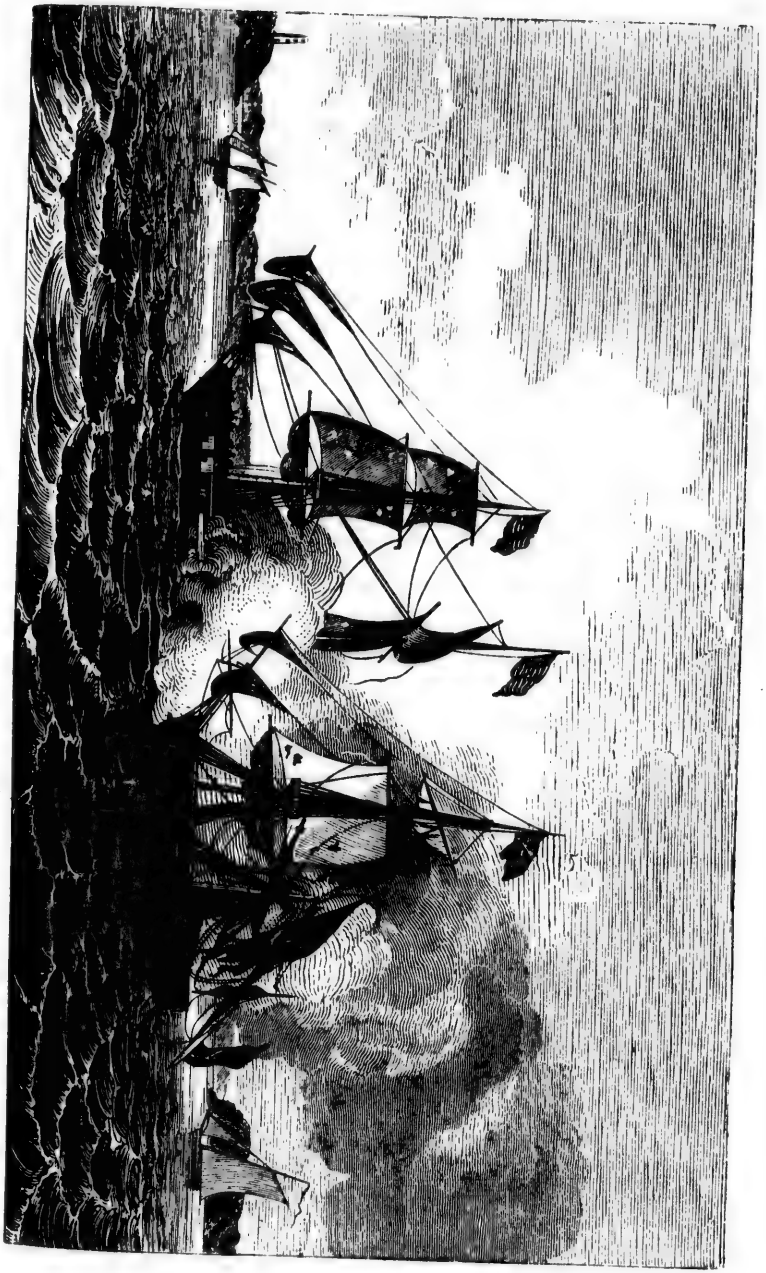
having completed his preparations, Lieutenant Commandant Burrows shortened sail and edged away towards his enemy, who seemed equally willing to engage. The two brigs approached on contrary tacks. As they neared each other, or at 20 minutes past 3, they kept away together; and as they came side by side, both delivered their fire, within pistol-shot. The Enterprise opened with her larboard, and the enemy with his starboard guns. The former brig drew ahead, keeping up an animated fire, and finding himself well forward of the English vessel's bow, Mr. Burrows put his helm a-starboard, and sheered across his antagonist's forefoot, firing the gun that had been run out of the cabin window once or twice with great effect in passing. The enemy was now allowed to come up again on the Enterprise's quarter, when the two vessels engaged with their opposite guns; the American brig continuing to keep well on the enemy's bow. In this situation the English vessel lost her main-topmast, when the Enterprise again sheered athwart her forefoot, raked her once or twice more with the long gun aft, which proved to be the most serviceable piece in the vessel, and resumed her position on the enemy's starboard bow, maintaining an animated fire. While lying in this favourable situation, the enemy struck.

In this hot and vigorous combat, the Enterprise was singularly well handled, manœuvring on the bows of her enemy with effect, while she was kept perfectly in command, and was ready at any moment to meet any change of position on the part of her antagonist. That it was the original intention of her commander to fight her in this novel manner, was apparent by the forethought he discovered in shifting the bow gun aft.

The fire of the enemy ceased about 4, though his colours were still flying. He now hailed to say he had struck; and when ordered to haul down his ensign, an answer was given that it had been nailed aloft, and could not be lowered until the fire of the Enterprise should cease. After this awkward explanation, the Enterprise stopped firing, and took possession. The prize proved to be H. B. M. brig Boxer 14, Captain Blythe, an officer of merit, who had been cut nearly in two by an eighteen-pound shot. The loss of the Boxer in killed has never been accurately ascertained, though it is thought to have been relatively heavy. She had 14 men wounded. The Enterprise had 1 man killed, and 13 wounded, of whom 3 subsequently died. Among the latter, unhappily was her gal-

Commandant
his enemy,
wo brigs ap-
ach other, or
and as they
n pistol-shot,
d the enemy
ahead, keep-
forward of
helm a-star-
ot, firing the
nce or twice
w allowed to
the two ves-
can brig con-
situation the
e Enterprise
nce or twice
he most ser-
sition on the
fire. While
ck.
e was singu-
f her enemy
and, and was
sition on the
intention of
r, was appa-
the bow gun

h his colours
struck; and
ver was given
lowered until
this awkward
k possession.
14, Captain
nearly in two
oxer in killed
is thought to
ounded. The
, of whom 3
was her gal-



lant commander. Although the disparity in the casualties of this action was not so striking as in some of the previous engagements, that in the injuries received by the two vessels was very great. But one eighteen-pound shot hulled the Enterprise; one passed through her mainmast, and another through her foremast. She was much cut up aloft, particularly by grape; and a great many shot of the latter description had struck her hull. Nearly all of the casualties were received from grape or canister shot. On the other hand, the Boxer had been repeatedly hulled, had no less than three eighteen-pound shot through her foremast alone; several of her guns were dismounted, her topgallant-forecastle was nearly cut away, and her sails, spars, and rigging generally, were much torn to pieces. The water being quite smooth, neither vessel was dismasted. The Enterprise returned to Portland on the 7th, with the Boxer, where Lieutenant Commandant Burrows, and Captain Blythe, were both buried with the honours of war.

After the death of Mr. Burrows, Lieutenant James Renshaw was appointed to the command of the Enterprise, under which officer, during the following winter, she made a cruise to the southward, as far as the West-Indies. Here her usual good fortune accompanied her; for though she sailed badly, and was three times hard chased, she always escaped. The Rattlesnake 16, a fast-sailing brig, bought into the service, was in company, under the orders of Lieutenant Commandant Creighton, who was the senior officer of the two vessels. Mr. Creighton went on cruising ground much frequented by the enemy, and yet fell in with no man-of-war he could engage. He was chased by heavy ships, and, to use his own expression, "in every instance, the good fortune of the Enterprise has been wonderfully manifest." The Rattlesnake outsailed her consort with so much ease, that most of the cruise she was under her topsails.

While off the coast of Florida, the Enterprise got alongside of the Mars 14, a British privateer, with a crew of 75 men. When the two brigs appeared, near half the people of the Mars took to the boats and went ashore, to escape impressment; but her master, notwithstanding this reduction of his force, ranged up under the broadside of the Enterprise, with his tompions out and guns trained. Lieutenant Renshaw, being ignorant of the strength of the crew of the Mars, fired into her, when she struck, having had 4 men killed and wounded. On the 25th of April, the brigs separated while

chased by a frigate. The enemy pursued the Enterprise, and for 70 hours pressed her very hard. Lieutenant Commandant Renshaw was compelled to throw all his guns but one overboard, and yet the enemy frequently came within the range of shot. On the morning of the 27th, it was perfectly calm, and the frigate, then at long gun-shot, began to hoist out her boats, when a light breeze sprang up, and brought this lucky little brig again dead to windward. Nothing but this favourable shift of wind saved the Enterprise from capture.

Shortly after, Mr. Creighton was promoted, and appointed to the command of a new sloop of war just launched at Washington, and Mr. Renshaw was transferred to the Rattlesnake. The two vessels being in a southern port, the Enterprise was sent to Charleston, where she became the guard-vessel, her sailing being too indifferent to allow of her being sent to sea again, in such a war. When cruising in the Rattlesnake, in lat. 40° N., long. 33° W., Lieutenant Commandant Renshaw was chased by a frigate, and compelled to throw overboard all his armament but the two long guns. By this means he escaped. June 22d, near the same spot, however, he fell in with the Leander 50, a new ship, constructed on the most approved modern plan, which vessel captured him; the Rattlesnake having been unfortunately placed between an enemy that had the advantage of the wind, and the land. On this occasion, Lieutenant Commandant Renshaw kept his colours flying in a very steady and officer-like manner, until the Leander threw her shot into the Rattlesnake with precision and effect.

CHAPTER XXXV.

In addition to the law of January 2d, 1813, which authorised the construction of four ships of the line and six heavy frigates, it will be remembered that the executive was also empowered to cause several sloops of war to be laid down. These ships were of the class of the Hornet and Wasp, but were a little larger than the old vessels of the same rate; and they all mounted 20 thirty-two-pound carronades, besides the two bow guns. Most of them were got into the water in the course of

the year 1813, though their preparations were in different degrees of forwardness. They were called the Wasp, the Frolic, the Peacock, the Erie, the Ontario, and the Argus. As there had been a brig in the navy of the latter name, however, with which the reader has long been acquainted, it is now necessary to allude to her fate.

After the return of the Argus from her cruise under Lieutenant Commandant Sinclair, as has been already stated, Mr. William Henry Allen, who had been the first lieutenant of the United States 44, in her action with the Macedonian, was appointed to command her. Lieutenant Allen first obtained the Argus by an order from Commodore Decatur; and there was a moment when it was uncertain whether Captain Biddle, or this gentleman, should go to sea in the brig, but the former was put into the Hornet. Mr. Allen was shortly after promoted, when his new station was confirmed by the department. June 18th, 1813, the Argus sailed from New York, with Mr. Crawford, then recently appointed minister to France, on board; and after a passage of 23 days, she arrived safe at l'Orient. Remaining but three days in the port, Captain Allen proceeded on a cruise.

The Argus sailed from l'Orient about the middle of July, and her exploits for the next few weeks, revive the recollections of those of Captains Jones, Wickes, and Conyngham, during the Revolution. Captain Allen kept his brig for some time in the chops of the English Channel, then went round the Land's End, and shifted his cruising ground to the Irish Channel. He captured twenty sail of merchantmen, while passing, as it might be, through the very centre of the enemy, most of which were destroyed. The appearance of this vessel so near the British coast, excited much interest in the English commercial world, and several cruisers were immediately sent in chase of her.

It will readily be understood, that the duty on board the Argus, was of the most harassing and fatiguing nature, the feelings of Captain Allen inducing him to allow the masters and passengers of the different vessels he took, to remove every thing of value, that belonged to themselves, before he caused the prizes to be burned. Indeed, in so honourable and chivalrous a spirit did this excellent officer conduct the peculiar warfare in which he was engaged, that even the enemy did ample justice to his liberality.

On the night of the 13th of August, the Argus fell in with

a vessel from Oporto, loaded with wine. It has been said, and apparently on authority entitled to credit, that a good deal of the liquor was brought on board the brig, clandestinely, as the boats passed to and fro, and that many of the people, who had been over-worked and kept from their rest, partook of the refreshment it afforded too freely. A little before daylight the prize was set on fire, when the Argus left her, under easy sail. Shortly after, a large brig of war was seen standing down upon the American vessel, under a cloud of canvass; and finding it impossible to gain the wind of his enemy, Captain Allen shortened sail to allow him to close. At 6, the Argus wore, and fired her larboard broadside, the English vessel being then within good grape and canister range. The fire was immediately returned, the brigs fast drawing nearer. Within four minutes after the commencement of the action, Captain Allen was mortally wounded, by a round shot's carrying off a leg. He refused to be taken below, but fainting from loss of blood, he was carried off the deck at 8 minutes past 6. At 12 minutes past 6, Mr. Watson, the first lieutenant, was severely wounded in the head by a grape-shot, which stunned him, and he was also taken below. But one lieutenant remained, Mr. W. H. Allen, who continued to fight the brig, in a very gallant manner, under the most discouraging circumstances. At this juncture, the Argus was beautifully handled, an attempt of the enemy to cross her stern, by keeping away, having been frustrated, by the American brig's luffing into the wind, making a half-board and throwing in a completely raking broadside herself. But all the braces aft having been shot away, the Argus broke round off, in filling again, when the enemy succeeded in crossing her stern and raking. At 25 minutes past 6, the wheel-ropes and nearly all the running rigging being gone, the Argus became unmanageable, and the enemy chose his position at pleasure. At half-past 6, Mr. Watson returned to the deck, when he found the enemy lying under the Argus's stern, pouring in his fire without resistance. An attempt was made to get alongside, with a view to board, but it was found impracticable to move the American brig, while the enemy kept on her quarter, or bow, throwing in a cross or raking fire with impunity, the Argus seldom being able to bring a gun to bear. At 47 minutes past 6, the colours were ordered to be hauled down; the enemy, at the same moment, falling on board, and taking possession over the bow.

The English brig was the Pelican 18, Captain Maples,

mounting 16 thirty-two-pound carronades, four long guns, and one twelve-pound carronade. The armament of the Argus, by crowding guns into the bridle ports, was 18 twenty-four pound carronades and two chase guns. The enemy was so much heavier, that it may be doubted whether the Argus could have captured her antagonist under any ordinary circumstances, but it has been usual, in the service, to impute this defeat to a want of officers, and to the fact that the people of the Argus were not in a fit condition to go into action. The American vessel was particularly well officered, so far as quality was concerned, though her batteries were necessarily left without a proper supervision, after Mr. Watson was taken below. It is not easy to believe that Captain Allen would have engaged with his people under any very obvious influence from a free use of wine, but nothing is more probable than that the crew of the Argus should have been overworked, in the peculiar situation in which they were placed; and they may have been exposed to the particular influence mentioned, without the circumstance having come to the knowledge of the superior officers. They have, indeed, been described as "nodding at their guns," from excessive fatigue. One thing would seem to be certain, that, while the brig was beautifully handled, so long as she was at all manageable, the fire of no other American cruiser in this war, was as little destructive as that of the Argus.* This has been attributed to the fatigue of the crew, and it is reasonable to suppose that the circumstance of the two lieutenants having been so early taken from the batteries, did not contribute to the accuracy of the fire. It ought, moreover, to be added, that the Pelican was about a fourth larger than her antagonist.

On the other hand, the fire of the enemy, when its length, closeness, and want of resistance, are considered, does not appear to have been remarkable. The Argus had two midshipmen, and four men killed, and 17 men wounded, in an action of three quarters of an hour. The Pelican, notwithstanding,

* Since the publication of the first edition of this book, we have heard the following circumstance from an officer of the Argus. The brig having expended a good deal of her powder, Captain Allen took a quantity on board, from a prize bound to South America. Shortly after, the gunner had occasion to fill a number of cylinders, and he used the powder of the prize, which lay uppermost in the magazine. It was afterwards ascertained that this powder was condemned powder of the British government, going to South America to be sold. In proof of its effect, the officer in question assures us that the Pelican's side was dotted with the impression of shots that did not enter.

was extremely well managed, and was very gallantly fought. She lost 7 men in killed and wounded, but appears to have suffered very little in her hull, or even aloft.

Captain Allen died of his wound in the hospital of Mill Prison, and was buried by the enemy with the honours of war. Mr. Watson recovered of his hurts.

Thus the navy lost all but the Enterprise, of the five little cruisers that had figured before Tripoli, and which had become endeared to the service by its traditions and recollections. The Argus alone, had been taken under circumstances that allowed a gun to be fired.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

Shortly after the commencement of the war, a hundred British pennants were assembled in the American seas. A considerable force collected in the Chesapeake, a part of which was kept to watch the Constellation, in the manner mentioned, while the small vessels made descents on the coast, or entered the rivers and creeks, with which those waters abound.

In the early part of June, 1813, the enemy was thought to have had more than twenty sail of cruisers in and about the Chesapeake, of which several were ships of the line. The flags of two admirals were flying among them. On the 18th, three frigates came into Hampton Roads, and one of them went up nearly to the quarantine ground, sending her boats to destroy some small vessels in the James. The next day the flotilla of gun-boats descended to attack her, under the orders of Captain Tarbell, then temporarily in command of the Constellation. There were fifteen boats in all, acting in two divisions, one of which was directed by Lieutenant Gardner, and the other by Lieutenant Robert Henley. Officers and men were taken from the frigate to man them, including nearly all her lieutenants and midshipmen. A company of riflemen volunteered to join the seamen, and were also distributed among the boats. The weather prevented Captain Tarbell from approaching the enemy, until Sunday, the 20th, when it fell calm, and the gun-boats dropped down within a good range for shot, and opened

on the upper frigate, about 4, A. M. At this time the two other frigates were still lying in the Roads.

The gun-boats formed in a crescent, and a brisk cannonade was commenced on the part of the Americans. It was some time before the enemy returned it, the approach in the dark and mist having taken him completely by surprise. The flotilla began the action at anchor, but it was soon found impossible to keep the boats steady, and most of them weighed, and got out their sweeps, by means of which the guns were kept bearing in the right direction. The defence of the frigate was very feeble, and after discharging two or three broadsides, she got under way, but the wind was too light to enable her either to close, or to haul off. This vessel was in a very critical situation, and owed her escape in a great measure to her consorts; for, after a severe cannonade of more than an hour, one of the ships below was enabled to close, when a much sharper contest occurred. But the wind increasing, and the third ship drawing near, Captain Tarbell made a signal for the flotilla to retire.

In this affair, most of the boats were conducted with spirit. Their fire was well directed, and they treated the upper ship quite roughly. The fire of this vessel was extremely feeble, and it appears to have done no execution whatever. That of the second ship, however, was very animated, and it was particularly well directed. Although the loss of the Americans in men was small, consisting of only one master's mate killed, and two men wounded, the enemy's grape flew around them in great numbers. One boat received a bad shot between wind and water, and several had their sweeps shot away, or were otherwise injured. The gun-boat commanded by Mr. Nantz, the sailing-master, was crippled, and in danger of being captured by the enemy, when, by order of Captain Tarbell, she was taken in tow by the boat commanded by Lieutenant W. B. Shubrick, of the Constellation, and brought off.

The frigate first engaged was thought to be the Narcissus 32, and the vessel that came to her relief, the Junon 38, Captain Saunders. This experiment had the effect to convince most of the sea-officers engaged on board the gun-boats, of the bad qualities of that description of vessel, they having been very generally found wanting in a sufficient degree of steadiness to render their fire certain, even in smooth water. The recoils of the guns caused them to roll to a degree that rendered

the aim uncertain, and it has been seen that they could only be kept in the proper positions by the aid of sweeps.

The next flood, a large force of the enemy, consisting of fourteen sail, came into the Roads, and an attack was expected. On the 20th, the enemy's ships weighed, and ascended with the tide to the mouth of James river, where, in the afternoon, they were seen making preparations to send up a large force in boats. As so much depended on the defence of the batteries of Craney Island, Captain Cassin, who commanded the naval force at Norfolk, sent three of the lieutenants of the Constellation, Messrs. Neale, W. Branford Shubrick, and Sanders on shore, with 100 seamen, to take charge of the principal guns. This party was sustained by Lieutenant Breckenridge, of the marines, and about 50 men of that gallant corps. Most of the officers of the navy then at Norfolk, and who did not belong to the frigate, were also employed in the gun-boats, or about the island.

Early on the morning of the 22d, the enemy was discovered landing a large force round the point of the Nansemond; and about 8 A. M., the barges of the vessels of war attempted to land in front of Craney Island, at a point where they were safe from the fire of the gun-boats, though exposed to that of the seamen's battery. Mr. Neale now opened his fire, which was directed with great coolness and precision; and, after having three of his boats sunk, the enemy abandoned the attempt. The narrative of the remainder of the operations of this day, belongs to the general history of the war, rather than to a work of this character.

The officers, seamen, and marines of the Constellation, as well as the other portions of the navy employed on this occasion, gained great credit for their steadiness, discipline, and spirit. One of the barges sunk was said to have been a peculiar boat, called, from the great number of oars she rowed, the Centipede. She was described as having been fifty feet long, and as having contained 75 men. About 40 prisoners were made from the boats that were sunk, though the total loss of the enemy who were opposed to the seamen and marines, is not known. Captain Cassin, in describing the fire of the seamen's battery, observed that it resembled the shooting of riflemen. There is no doubt that the enemy found it much too cool and direct to be faced.

The government had fitted out several small vessels for the defence of the bays and rivers, and among others were the

Scorpion and Asp. On the 14th, these two little cruisers got under way from the Yeocomico, and stood out into the river, when, at 10 A. M., a considerable force of the enemy was seen in chase. The Scorpion, on board of which was the senior officer, immediately made a signal for the Asp to act at discretion, and began to beat up the river. The Asp being a dull sailer, her commander, Mr. Sigourney, thought it expedient to re-enter the creek. He was followed by two brigs, which anchored off the bar, and hoisted out their boats. Mr. Sigourney now deemed it more prudent to run higher up the Yeocomico; and as the enemy was already pulling in, he cut his cable and made sail. Three boats soon after attacked the Asp, which made a very gallant defence, and handsomely beat them off. The enemy, however, reinforced, and renewed the attack with five boats, when Mr. Sigourney ran the Asp on shore, and was boarded by about 50 men, who succeeded in carrying her. She was set on fire and abandoned, but Mr. M'Clintock, the officer second in command, got on board her again, and succeeded in extinguishing the flames. In this affair, Mr. Sigourney was killed, dying sword in hand in defence of his vessel, in a manner to reflect the highest credit on his professional training and personal gallantry. The Asp had but two or three light guns, and a crew of 21 souls. Of the latter, 10 were killed, wounded, and missing: facts that attest the gallantry of the defence.

While these events were occurring at the south, some movements farther north brought a part of the enemy's force within the waters of Long Island Sound, where, with occasional changes of ships, it continued to the close of the war. After the United States had refitted at New York, on her return from the cruise in which she had captured the Macedonian, Commodore Decatur prepared to sail again, with the latter frigate in company. The Hornet being about to go to sea, at the same time, in order to join the Chesapeake, Captain Lawrence, the three vessels got under way, and passed Hell Gate on the 27th of May, with a view to run off the coast between Montauk and Block Island. It was June the 1st before the ships found an opportunity to pass through the Race: but they were met near the end of the island by a greatly superior force, and were chased into New London. Here all three of the vessels were closely blockaded, nor was either of the frigates able to get to sea during the remainder of the war, though opportunities were long and anxiously sought. In the end,

their officers and people were transferred to other vessels. It will give an idea of the great importance that ought to be attached to the means of raising blockades, when it is remembered that, while watching the three American vessels which then lay in the Thames above New London, the enemy also had it in his power to blockade the most important point on the continent connected with the coasting trade.

About this time, also, a small brig called the Viper, which had been put into the service under the orders of Lieutenant John D. Henley, was taken by the Narcissus 32, under circumstances that require no particular description.

In January, 1814, the Alligator, another small schooner, commanded by Mr. Basset, a sailing-master, was lying at anchor off the coast, abreast of Cole's Island, and observing an enemy's frigate and brig, just without the breakers, Mr. Basset suspected that an attempt would be made on him in the course of the night. Preparations to receive the enemy were made accordingly. About half-past 7 in the evening, six boats were discovered, under cover of the marsh grass, pulling up with muffled oars. When near enough, they were hailed, and a musket was fired at them. The boats now made a general discharge of musketry and grape, which the Alligator immediately returned. The schooner then cut her cable, and availing herself of a light breeze, she was immediately brought under command of her helm. By this promptitude, Mr. Basset succeeded in beating off his assailants, notwithstanding the schooner soon after grounded. The Alligator had 2 men killed, and 2 wounded, while the loss of the enemy was never known. The schooner had but 40 men on board, while the boats are thought to have contained about 100. Of the latter, the loss must have been severe, or they would not have abandoned the attack after the Alligator had grounded. The firing continued half an hour, and the schooner was a good deal cut up in her sails and rigging. A large cutter, that was supposed to have been one of the boats of the enemy on this occasion, was shortly after picked up on the North Edisto, much injured by shot. The bodies of one officer and of a common seaman were also found near by. The former had lost an arm, besides receiving a musket-shot wound. Mr. Basset was promoted for his gallantry.

The in-shore war at the south was distinguished by many other little exploits, resembling those already related; one of which, performed under the eyes of Captain Dent, who com-

manded at Charleston, is deserving of particular notice. Although it will be advancing the time to a period near the close of the war, it may be related here, with a view to present to the reader most of these isolated instances of gallantry in one picture.

In January, 1815, while Captain Dent was at the North Edisto, he obtained information that a party of officers and men, belonging to the Hebrus, Captain Palmer, was watering on one of the islands of the vicinity, and he directed Mr. Lawrence Kearny to proceed outside, with three barges, to cut them off, while a party of militia endeavoured to assail them by land. The frigate was at anchor, out of gun-shot; but as soon as she perceived the design of the Americans, she fired guns, and made other signals of recall, when two of the boats pulled towards her, and a tender, that contained a strong party, attempted to run out also. Fortunately the wind shifted, bringing the Hebrus to windward of the American barges, but the tender to leeward of them. Discovering his advantage, Mr. Kearny determined to make a dash at the latter, regardless of the frigate and of the two boats that were pulling off. The Hebrus, perceiving the danger in which her tender was placed, now made the greatest exertions to save her. Shot were fired at her own cutters, to drive them back to the assistance of the tender; and a third boat was sent from the frigate with the same object. She also opened her fire on the American barges with some effect, one of her shot taking off the head of a man at Mr. Kearny's side. But this gallant officer, disregarding every thing but his object, laid the tender aboard in the steadiest manner, and carried her off, directly under the guns of the frigate to which she belonged. The Hebrus's launch was also taken, her people having hurried on board the tender when the alarm was given. The latter had a carronade and six brass swivels in her, besides other arms.

Mr. Kearny took about 40 prisoners on this occasion. The Hebrus intercepting his return, by the way he had come out, he carried his prize to the South Edisto.

A few days later, Mr. Kearny, in the launch of the Hebrus, with a crew of 25 men, went out and captured a tender belonging to the Severn, having on board between 30 and 40 men. Handsomer exploits of the sort were not performed in the war.

To this list of the minor conflicts, may be added an attack on gun-boat No. 160, commanded by Mr. Paine. This officer,

who then held the rank of sailing-master, was convoying a number of coasters from Savannah to St. Mary's, when an expedition, consisting of a tender full of men, and ten boats, attacked him in St. Andrew's Sound, about 3 A. M. of the 6th of October, 1814. After a short cannonading and a sharp discharge of musketry, that lasted about 20 minutes, the enemy closed, and carried the boat by boarding. There were but 16 men fit for duty in No. 160 at the time; her entire complement consisting of 30 souls. Mr. Paine was badly wounded, as were two of his people. The enemy suffered severely, the defence having been spirited and obstinate.

A short notice of the warfare in the Delaware properly occurs next. This bay had no longer the importance it possessed in the war of 1775. Philadelphia had now lost the distinction of being the commercial and political capital of the country; and in the way of shipping, several ports were fast outstripping it. The enemy, consequently, paid much less attention to these waters than to those of the Chesapeake, and to other points of more interest. The length of the river, too, added to the security of the places that lie on its banks, and there was little apprehension of any serious descent. Still a flotilla consisting of gun-boats and block-sloops had been equipped, and it was put under the orders of Lieutenant Angus, an officer of tried spirit.

On the 29th of July, 1813, Mr. Angus had an affair with the Junon 38, and Martin 16, in which No. 121, Mr. Shead, was taken, after a handsome resistance.

The loss of the enemy's ships was 7 killed and 12 wounded. No. 121 had 7 men wounded.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

In the summer of 1814, several of the new ships were put into the water: among them were the Independence 74, the Guerriere and Java, 44 each, and the Wasp, Frolic and Peacock, sloops of war. The Frolic 18, Captain Bainbridge, had a short career, having been chased and captured, on the 20th of April, 1814, by the Orpheus 36, Captain Pigot, soon after

she got out. There was no action, the Frolic having thrown most of her guns overboard in the chase.

The Adams 28 had been cut down to a sloop of war and lengthened, at Washington, so as to mount 28 guns on one deck, under the law of 1812. She succeeded in passing the enemy's ships in Lynnhaven Bay, on the night of the 18th of January, 1814, under the command of Captain Morris, and made a cruise in the track of the enemy's East Indiamen; returning to Savannah in April. Quitting this port early in May, she went off the coast of Ireland, when she was hard chased, on different occasions, by heavy frigates.

The ship had now been near two months in a cold, foggy, damp atmosphere, and the scurvy made its appearance on board. So many men were laid up with this terrible disease, that Captain Morris deemed it prudent to go into port. At 4 A. M. on the 17th of August, in very thick weather, the Adams ran ashore on the Isle of Haute, but was got off by lightening. It was found, however, that she made nine feet of water in an hour, and Captain Morris succeeded in getting her into the Penobscot, in Maine, as high up as Hampden, which is several miles above Castine.

While the Adams lay ready to be hove out, with nothing in her, a strong expedition of the enemy, consisting of troops and vessels of war, entered the river, and ascended as high as Hampden. A small force of militia was assembled, and a battery was mounted with the guns of the ship, in order to protect her; but the irregular troops giving way, and leaving the seamen and marines exposed in the rear, the first without muskets, nothing remained but to set the vessel on fire, and to make a retreat. All the service connected with the ship was performed in the most orderly and creditable manner, until a part of the country was reached where it was found impossible to subsist the men in a body, on account of the distance between the inhabitants, when the people were directed to break up into small parties, and to make the best of their way to Portland. It is a fact worthy of being recorded, that every man rejoined his commander, though a fatiguing march of two hundred miles was necessary to do so.

The ship had made many prizes during this cruise, most of which were destroyed.

While the Adams was thus running the chances of chases and shipwreck, the Wasp 18, Captain Blakely, sailed from Portsmouth, N. H., on a cruise. A letter from Captain Blakely

announced that he was in the offing, on the 1st of May, 1814, with a fine breeze at N. W. He ran off the coast without molestation, and soon appeared near the chops of the English Channel, where he began to repeat the ravages caused by the Argus. The position of the ship now exacted the utmost vigilance, as she was in the very track of the enemy. At a quarter past 4 A. M., on the 28th of June, 1814, the Wasp, then cruising in lat. 48° 36′ N., long. 11° 15′ W., made two sail, a little forward of the lee-beam. The weather was fine, the wind light, and the water exceedingly smooth for that sea. After keeping away in chase, another stranger was discovered on the weather-beam, when the ship was immediately brought by the wind, in order to close with her, it being obviously expedient for the American vessel to select the antagonist that had the most weatherly position. At 10 the chase showed English colours, and began to make signals. At noon her signals were repeated, and she fired a gun. The Wasp did not go to quarters until 15 minutes past 1; and soon after, believing he could weather the chase, Captain Blakely tacked. The stranger also tacked, and stood off, no doubt to preserve the weather-gage. The Wasp now showed her ensign, and fired a gun to windward. The enemy, a large man-of-war brig, gallantly answered this defiance. The Wasp immediately set her light canvass to close, when, at 32 minutes past 2, the enemy tacked, and began to draw near. The American now took in her light sails, and tacked in her turn; the English vessel still maintaining her weatherly position, and making sail to close.

At 17 minutes past 3, the enemy was on the weather-quarter of the Wasp, distant about sixty yards, when he fired his shifting-gun, a twelve-pound carronade mounted on a topgallant forecastle. Two minutes later he fired again; and the discharges were repeated until the gun had been deliberately fired five times into the Wasp, at that short distance, and in unusually smooth water. All this time the Wasp could not bring a gun to bear; and finding that the enemy drew ahead very slowly, Captain Blakely put his helm down, and made a half-board, firing from aft forward, as the guns bore. He now hauled up the mainsail, and the two ships being necessarily very near, every shot told. But the fire of the Wasp was too heavy to be borne, and the brig ran her aboard, on her starboard-quarter, at 40 minutes past 3, her larboard bow coming foul. The English now made several trials to enter the Wasp,

led by their commander in person, but were repulsed with steadiness and without confusion. Two or three desperate efforts were repeated, but with the same want of success, when, at 44 minutes past 3, Captain Blakely gave the order in turn, to go on board the Englishman, and in one minute the flag of the latter was lowered. On the part of the enemy, this action lasted 28 minutes; on the part of the Wasp, 19 minutes, including the time employed in boarding.

The prize was his Britannic Majesty's sloop of war Reindeer 18, Captain Manners. The Reindeer was an ordinary thirty-two-pounder brig, but, like the Peacock, her armament, when taken, was of twenty-four-pound carronades. She mounted 18 guns, besides the shifting carronade, and had a complement on board of 118 souls. Her loss was 25 killed, and 42 wounded; 10 of the latter dangerously. Among the slain was Captain Manners; and the first lieutenant and master were wounded. The Wasp had 5 men killed, and 22 wounded. Two midshipmen, both of whom subsequently died, were among the latter. The Reindeer was literally cut to pieces, in a line with her ports; her upper works, boats, and spare spars being one entire wreck. A breeze springing up next day, her foremast fell. The Wasp was hulled six times, and she was filled with grape. The principal loss she sustained in men, however, was in repelling the attempt to board.

Captain Blakely put a portion of his wounded prisoners on board a neutral, and proceeded himself to l'Orient, where he arrived on the 8th of July, with the remainder. The prize was burned, on account of the great danger of recapture.

After a detention in port until the 27th of August, the Wasp sailed on another cruise. Two prizes were made when a few days out; and on the 1st of September she cut a vessel, loaded with guns and military stores, out of a convoy of ten sail, that was under the care of the Armada 74; but was chased off by the enemy, in an attempt to seize another. On the evening of the same day, while running free, four sail were seen nearly at the same time, of which two were on the larboard, and two on the starboard bow. The latter being farthest to windward, the Wasp hauled up for the most weatherly. At 7 P. M., the chase began to make signals, with flags, lanterns, rockets, and guns. These the Wasp disregarded, but kept steadily approaching. At 20 minutes past 9, she had the enemy on her lee bow, within hail, and a gun was fired into him. The shot was returned, when Captain Blakely put his helm

up, and passed to leeward, under an apprehension that the enemy might attempt to escape, for it was blowing fresh, and the ship was running ten knots. This was easily effected, the enemy being still in doubt as to the character of the Wasp, both vessels hailing. As soon as she had got the desired position, however, the American ship poured in a broadside, and a warm engagement commenced at 29 minutes past 9. The firing was close and severe, though the combat had the usual embarrassments of a night action. By 10 o'clock, notwithstanding the darkness and the swell that was on at the time, the fire of the enemy had ceased, and Captain Blakely hailed to ascertain if he had surrendered. Receiving no answer, and a few guns being fired on board the English vessel, the Wasp poured in a fresh broadside; but at 12 minutes past 10, perceiving that the enemy did not fire any longer, he was again hailed, with a demand to know if he had surrendered. The answer was in the affirmative, and the Wasp lowered a boat to take possession. Before the latter reached the water, however, the smoke having blown away, another vessel was seen astern, coming up fast, when the boat was run up, the people were again sent to the guns, and the Wasp was brought under command, in readiness to receive this second antagonist. At 36 minutes past 10, two more sail were seen astern, and it became necessary to abandon the prize.

The helm of the Wasp was now put up, and the ship ran off dead before the wind, in order to reeve new braces, and in the hope of drawing the nearest vessel farther from her consorts. This vessel continued the chase, until she got quite near, when she hauled her wind across the stern of the Wasp, delivered a broadside, and made stretches to rejoin the captured vessel, which, by this time, was firing guns of distress. It would have been easy for the second vessel to run alongside of the Wasp, but the urgent situation of her consort, probably, prevented the experiment.

As the Wasp left her prize so suddenly, she had no means of learning her name or loss. She had herself but two men killed, and one wounded, the latter by a wad; a circumstance that proves the closeness of the combat. She was hulled four times, had a good many grape in her, and was much cut up aloft. All that Captain Blakely could state concerning his enemy, was his impression that she was one of the largest brigs in the British navy. The four shot that hulled the Wasp,

weighed each just 32 pounds. She had many hands in her tops, and otherwise appeared to be strongly manned.

It is now known that the vessel captured by the Wasp, was the Avon 18, Captain Arbuthnot. The brig that followed the Wasp, and fired into her, was the Castilian 18. The Avon was so much injured that she sunk, and it was with great difficulty that the other vessel saved her people. By some accounts indeed, a few of the wounded were lost. The loss of men on board the Avon is not accurately known, the statements varying from 30 to 50. The vessel was cut up in an extraordinary manner. She is believed to have mounted 18 thirty-two-pound carronades, with the usual chase guns, and to have had a crew of 120 men in her.

The action between the Wasp and the Avon occurred on the 1st of September, 1814, (sea-time,) in lat. 47° 30′, N. long. 11° W. September the 12th, in lat. 38° 2′, N., and long. 14° 58′, W., the former ship took the brig Three Brothers, and scuttled her. September 14th, in lat. 37° 22′, N., long. 14° 33′, W., she took the brig Bacchus, and scuttled her. September the 21st, in lat. 33° 12′, N., long. 14° 56′ W., she took the brig Atalanta 8, with 19 men. As this was a valuable prize, Mr. Geisinger, one of the midshipmen of the Wasp, was put on board her, and she was sent to America. The Atalanta arrived safely at Savannah, Nov. 4th, and brought the last direct intelligence that was ever received from the regretted Blakely and the Wasp. Various accounts have been given of the manner in which she was probably lost, but nothing that can be deemed authentic has ever been ascertained.

An incident occurred a few years after the last direct intelligence was received from this gallant ship, that suddenly and keenly revived the interest of the public in her fate, which had begun to settle into a saddened sympathy with the friends of those who had perished. It will be remembered that Acting Lieutenant M'Knight, and Mr. Lyman, a master's mate, both of the Essex, had been exchanged by Captain Hillyar, and taken to Rio de Janeiro, in the Phœbe, with a view to make certain affidavits necessary to the condemnation of the American frigate. These gentlemen, after remaining some time in Brazil, took passage in a Swedish brig bound to England, as the only means of getting home. A long time passing without any intelligence from Mr. M'Knight and his companion, inquiries were set on foot, which terminated in ascertaining this fact, and, subsequently, in finding the master of the Swedish

brig, who proved by his log-book and other documents, that he had fallen in with the Wasp 18, Captain Blakely, when his two passengers seized the occasion to put themselves under the flag.*

The Peacock 18, Captain Warrington, went to sea from New York, in March, 1814, and proceeded to the southward as far as the Great Isaacs, cruising in that vicinity and along the Florida shore, to Cape Carnaveral. On the 29th of April, in lat. 27° 47′, N., long. 80° 9′, W., three sail were made to windward, under convoy of a large brig of war. The merchantmen hauled up to E. N. E., and the sloop of war edged away for the American ship. The two vessels were soon alongside of each other, when a close action commenced. The Peacock received two thirty-two-pound shot in the quarter of her fore-yard, from the first broadside of the enemy, which rendered the head-sails nearly useless. This injury compelled the Peacock to fight running large, and prevented much ma-

* *Extracts from the Journal kept on board the Swedish brig Adonis, during a voyage from Rio de Janeiro towards Falmouth, in the year* 1814.

"August 23.—Left Rio de Janeiro; Stephen Decatur M'Knight, and James Lyman, passengers for England.

"October 9th.—In lat. 18° 35′ N., long. 30° 10′ W., sea account, at 8 o'clock in the morning, discovered a strange sail giving chase to us, and fired several guns; she gaining very fast. At half-past 10 o'clock hove to, and was boarded by an officer dressed in an English doctor's uniform, the vessel also hoisted an English ensign. The officer proceeded to examine my ship's papers, &c. &c., likewise the letter-bags, and took from one of them a letter to the victualling-office, London. Finding I had two American officers as passengers, he immediately left the ship, and went on board the sloop of war; he shortly after returned, took the American gentlemen with him, and went a second time on board the sloop. In about half an hour, he returned again with Messrs. M'Knight and Lyman, and they informed me that the vessel was the United States sloop of war the Wasp, commanded by Captain Bleaky, or Blake, last from France, where she had refitted; had lately sunk the Reindeer, English sloop of war, and another vessel which sunk without their being able to save a single person, or learn the vessel's name, — that Messrs. M'Knight and Lyman had now determined to leave me, and go on board the Wasp—paid me their passages in dollars, at 5*s.* 9*d.*, and having taken their luggage on board the Wasp, they made sail to the southward. Shortly after they had left, I found that Lieutenant M'Knight had left his writing-desk behind; and I immediately made signal for the Wasp to return, and stood towards her; they, observing my signals, stood back, came alongside, and sent their boat on board for the writing-desk; after which they sent me a log-line and some other presents, and made all sail in a direction for the line; and I have reason to suppose for the convoy that passed on Thursday previous."

nœuvring, the combat being effectually decided by gunnery. At the end of 42 minutes, the enemy struck.

The prize was H. B. M. brig Epervier 18, Captain Wales. The Epervier was extensively injured, having received no less than 45 shot in her hull, and had 22 men killed and wounded. Her main-topmast was over the side, her main boom was shot away, her foremast tottering, her bowsprit badly wounded, standing rigging much cut, and she had five feet water in her hold. The Peacock received very little injury; that done the fore-yard being the principal; while her hull escaped almost entirely, not a round shot touching it. No person was killed, and only two men were wounded.

The Peacock was a heavier vessel than the Epervier, while, as usual, the disparity in the loss was infinitely greater than that in the force. The metal was nominally the same; but, if the shot of the Peacock were as short of weight as those of the Wasp are known to have been, she threw at a broadside only twenty pounds of metal more than her antagonist. The Epervier mounted 18 thirty-two-pound carronades, and it would seem had no chase guns; her crew consisted of 128 men. On board this vessel were found $118,000 in specie.

In one hour after the retreat from quarters was beat, the Peacock had her fore-yard fished, and in all respects was ready again to engage. The Epervier struck about 11 A. M., and by sunset she was in a condition to carry sail. It was only by the greatest exertions, however, that she was, at first, kept from sinking.

Mr. J. B. Nicolson, the first lieutenant of the Peacock, was put in charge of the prize, with directions to make the best of his way to Savannah. The southern coast was then much infested by the enemy, and, as Captain Warrington knew that she was liable to be brought to action at any moment, he determined to convoy his prize into port. On the evening of the 29th of April, or the day of the capture, the vessels made sail, and the next afternoon they were abreast of Amelia Island, when two frigates were discovered at the northward, and to leeward. At Mr. Nicolson's request, Captain Warrington now took all the prize crew from the Epervier but that gentleman and sixteen officers and men, intending to send the prize into St. Mary's, and to haul to the southward with the Peacock, to lead the enemy off the coast. This plan succeeded, the Peacock getting rid of the frigate that chased her next day. The Epervier, while subsequently running along the coast, on

her way to Savannah, however, fell in with the other frigate, and keeping close in, in shoal water, the wind being light, the enemy manned his boats, and sent them in chase. There was a moment when the prize was in great danger of falling into the hands of her pursuers, for the boats got quite near, in her wake. In this critical situation, Mr. Nicolson had recourse to a stratagem to keep them off. He used the trumpet as if full of men, and when the boats were the nearest, he issued an order, in a very loud voice, to make a yaw, in order to fire a broadside. This appearance of a readiness to engage intimidated the enemy, who abandoned his attempt at a moment when he might have carried the Epervier with little or no loss. On the 1st of May the brig arrived safely at Savannah, and, on the 4th, the Peacock came in also. Mr. Nicolson's steadiness and ingenuity were much applauded.

Shortly after, the Peacock sailed on a cruise for the enemy's seas, the Bay of Biscay, the coast of Portugal, and among the Islands, constantly changing her position to elude the English squadrons. After passing over some of the best cruising ground in the Atlantic, the ship returned to New York, at the end of October, without having fallen in with an enemy of a force proper for her to engage. She captured, however, 14 sail of merchantmen.

The President 44 continued to cruise under the orders of Commodore Rodgers, and the Congress 38 under those of Captain Smith, with a similar want of success, when the merits of their commanders were considered. These two fine frigates traversed the Northern Atlantic, in a variety of directions, in company and singly, and yet it was never the good fortune of either to fall in with an enemy, that could be brought to action. The latter ship even went south of the equator, and one of her cruises extended to eight months; but her luck did not vary.

In one of his cruises Commodore Rodgers captured an enemy's man-of-war schooner, called the Highflyer, drawing her under his guns by an artifice, and this was the only English man-of-war that he took during his command of this ship.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

It would exceed the limits of a work of this nature, to enter into a minute relation of all the skirmishes to which the predatory warfare of the English, in the Chesapeake, gave rise; but it is due to the officers and men employed against them, to furnish an outline of their services. On various occasions, parties from the ships had conflicts with the detached militia, or armed citizens, who were frequently successful. Although it is a little anticipating events, it may be mentioned here, that in one of these skirmishes, Captain Sir Peter Parker, of the Menelaus, was killed, and his party driven off to its ship. In several other instances, captures were made of boats and their crews; the people of the country frequently displaying a coolness and gallantry that were worthy of trained soldiers. On the whole, however, the vast superiority of the enemy in numbers, and his ability to choose his time and place of attack, gave the English the advantage, and their success was usually in proportion.

The government had equipped a large flotilla, to protect those waters, the command of which was given to Capt. Josh. Barney, the officer who so much distinguished himself by the capture of the Monk, during the war of the revolution.

The presence of Captain Barney's flotilla compelled the enemy to be more guarded, and his small vessels became cautious about approaching the shallow waters in calms, or in light winds. On the 1st of June, this active and bold officer left the Patuxent, with the Scorpion, two gun-boats, and several large barges, in chase of two schooners. He was closing fast, by means of sweeps, when a large ship was discovered to the southward. Just at this moment the wind shifted, bringing the enemy to windward, blowing fresh and becoming squally. Signal was made for the flotilla to return to the Patuxent, as the weather was particularly unfavourable for that description of force, and the ship proved to be a two-decker. On re-entering the river, the wind came ahead, when the gun-boats began to sweep up under the weather shore. One of the latter being in some danger, Captain Barney anchored with the Scorpion and the other boats, and opened a fire, which immediately

drove the enemy's schooners out of the river. On this occasion, the English pushed a barge in front which began to throw Congreve rockets. By this essay, it was found that the rockets could be thrown farther than shot, but that they could not be directed with any certainty. The ship of the line anchored at the mouth of the Patuxent; the enemy's barges kept hovering about it, and the American flotilla was anchored about three miles within the river.

Between the 4th and 8th of June, the enemy was joined by a rasée and a sloop of war, when Captain Barney removed his flotilla up the river, to the mouth of St. Leonard's creek. On the morning of the 8th, the British were seen coming up the river, the wind being fair, with a ship, a brig, two schooners, and fifteen barges, which induced Captain Barney to move up the St. Leonard's about two miles, when he anchored in a line abreast, and prepared to receive an attack. At 8 A. M. the ship, brig, and schooners anchored at the mouth of the creek, and the barges entered it, with the rocket-boat in advance.

Captain Barney now left the Scorpion and the two gun-boats at anchor, and got his barges, 13 in number, under way, when the enemy retreated towards their vessels outside. In the afternoon, the same manœuvre was repeated, the enemy throwing a few rockets without effect.

On the afternoon of the 9th, the ship of the line having sent up a party of men, the enemy entered the creek again, with 20 barges, but after a sharp skirmish he retired. The object of these demonstrations was probably to induce the Americans to burn their vessels, or to venture out within reach of the guns of the ships; but the flotilla was commanded by an officer much too experienced and steady to be forced into either measure without sufficient reason. On the 11th, a still more serious attempt was made, with 21 barges, having the two schooners in tow. Captain Barney met them again, and, after a sharper encounter than before, drove them down upon their larger vessels. On this occasion, the pursuit was continued, until the rasée, which, by this time, had ascended the Patuxent, and the brig, opened a fire on the Americans. In this affair, the English are thought to have suffered materially, especially one of the schooners. A shot also struck the rocket-boat.

Some small works were now thrown up on the shore, to protect the American flotilla, and the blockade continued. In the mean time, Captain Miller, of the marine corps, joined the

flotilla, and a considerable force of militia was collected under Colonel Wadsworth, of the ordnance service. The enemy had also brought a frigate, in addition to the rasée, off the mouth of the creek. The largest of these vessels was believed to be the Severn, and the smallest the Narcissus 32. On the 26th, an attempt was made by the united force of the Americans to raise the blockade. The cannonade was close, for the species of force employed, and it lasted two hours, when the Severn cut, and was run on a sand-bank to prevent her sinking.* It is said that a raking shot ripped a plank from her bow, and placed her in imminent danger. Shortly after, in company with the Narcissus, she dropped down the river, and went into the bay. In this handsome affair, the flotilla lost 13 men in killed and wounded; but it effectually raised the blockade, and induced the enemy to be more cautious.

The portion of the flotilla that was in the Patuxent, remained in that river until the middle of August, when the enemy commenced that series of movements, which terminated in his advance upon Washington. On the 16th, Captain Barney received intelligence that the British were coming up the Patuxent in force, when he sent an express to the navy department for instructions. The answer was to land the men, and join the army that was hurriedly assembling for the defence of the coast, under General Winder, and, if pressed, to burn the flotilla.

On the 21st, the news was received that the enemy had landed a force of four or five thousand men at Benedict, and that he was marching in the direction of the capital. Captain Barney immediately landed 400 of his party, leaving the vessels in charge of Mr. Frazier, with orders to set fire to them, if attacked, and to join the main body with as little delay as possible. The next day this order was executed, a strong detachment of seamen and marines approaching the flotilla to attack it.

On the 22d, Captain Barney joined the assemblage of armed citizens, that was called an army, at the Wood-Yard. The next day he marched into Washington, and took up his quarters in the marine barracks.

After a good deal of uncertainty concerning the movements of the enemy, it was understood he was marching directly on Washington, and that it was intended to fight him at Bladens

* By some accounts this ship was the Loire.

burgh. The flotilla-men and marines left the Yard on the morning of the 24th; they arrived at the battle ground on a trot, and were immediately drawn up about a mile to the west of Bladensburgh, holding the centre of General Winder's position. After a short skirmish in front, where the enemy suffered severely in crossing a bridge, the militia fell back, and the British columns appeared, following the line of the public road. The entire force of the flotilla-men and marines, was about 500 men; and they had two eighteens, and three twelve-pounders, ship's guns, mounted on travelling carriages. Captain Barney took command of the artillery in person, while Captain Miller had the disposition of the remainder of the two parties, who were armed as infantry. The marines, 78 men in all, formed a line immediately on the right of the guns, while 370 of the seamen were drawn up a little in the rear, and on the right flank of the marines, on ground that permitted them to fire over the heads of the latter. Although the troops that were falling back did not halt, Captain Barney held his position; and as soon as the enemy began to throw rockets, he opened on him with a sharp discharge of round and grape. The column was staggered, and it immediately gave ground. A second attempt to advance was repulsed in the same manner, when the enemy, who, as yet, had been able to look down resistance by advancing steadily in column, was obliged to make an oblique movement to his left, into some open fields, and to display. Here he threw out a brigade of light troops, in open order, and advanced in beautiful style upon the command of Captain Barney, while the head of a strong column was seen in reserve in a copse in its rear. Captain Miller, with the marines, and that portion of the seamen who acted as infantry, met the charge in the most steady and gallant manner, and after a short conflict, drove the British light troops back upon their supporting column. In this conflict the English commanding officer, in advance, Colonel Thornton, with his second and third in rank, Lieutenant Colonel Wood, and Major Brown, were all wounded, and left on the field. The marines and seamen manifested the utmost steadiness, though it was afterwards ascertained that the light troops brought up in their front, amounted to about 600 men.

There can be no question, that a couple of regular regiments would now have given the Americans the day; but no troops remained in line, except the party under Captain Barney, and two detachments on his right, that were well posted.

Having been so roughly handled, the enemy made no new attempt to advance directly in front of the seamen and marines, but, after forcing the troops on their right from the field, by a demonstration in that direction, they prepared to turn the rear of Captain Barney, in order to surround him. While these movements were going on in front, and on the right of the Americans, a party of light troops had been thrown out on the enemy's right, and the militia having abandoned the ground, they were also beginning to close upon the Americans that stood. By this time, Captain Barney, Captain Miller, and several other officers were wounded; and victory being impossible, against odds so great, an order was given to commence a retreat. The defence had been too obstinate to admit of carrying off the guns, which were necessarily abandoned. All the men retired, with the exception of the badly wounded; among the latter, however, were Captain Barney and Captain Miller, who both fell into the enemy's hands. The loss of the latter in front of the seamen and marines, was near 300 men, in killed and wounded. Of the marines, nearly one-third were among the casualties; and the flotilla-men suffered considerably, though in a smaller proportion.

The people of the flotilla, under the orders of Captain Barney, and the marines, were justly applauded for their excellent conduct on this occasion. No troops could have stood better; and the fire of both artillery and musketry has been described as to the last degree severe. Captain Barney himself, and Captain Miller, of the marine corps, in particular, gained much additional reputation; and their conspicuous gallantry caused a deep and general regret, that their efforts could not have been sustained by the rest of the army.

As the enemy took possession of Washington, a perfectly defenceless straggling town of some eight or nine thousand inhabitants, that evening, and a considerable force in ships was ascending the Potomac, it was thought necessary to destroy the public property at the navy yard. At that time, a frigate, of the first class, called the Columbia, was on the stocks; and the Argus 18, and Lynx 12, had not long been launched. A small quantity of stores and ammunition had been removed, but on the night of the 24th, fire was communicated to the remainder. It is difficult to say why the vessels afloat were not scuttled, a measure that would have allowed of their being raised, as it would have been impossible for the enemy to injure ships in that state, and equally so to

remove them. Indeed the expediency of setting fire to any thing has been questioned, since the enemy himself could not very easily have done more. It is, however, just to remember, that the sudden retreat of the English could not have been foreseen, and that they had a commanding naval force in the Potomac. The loss in vessels was not great; the Columbia 44, on the stocks, and the Argus 18, being the only two destroyed that were of any value. The Lynx escaped; and it would seem that the enemy was in too great a hurry to do her any injury. On this occasion, the Boston 28 was burned; but the ship had been previously condemned. The hulk of the New York 36 escaped; but all the naval stores were consumed.

To aid in resisting these descents which were believed, at the time, to be made by a force greatly exceeding that actually employed, the officers and men of the navy, who were in the vicinity, were collected on the shores of the Chesapeake. Commodore Rodgers, with the crew of the Guerriere 44, then nearly ready for sea, was withdrawn from Philadelphia; Captain Perry, of the Java 44, which ship was fitting at Baltimore, and Captain Porter, with other gentlemen of the service, had been actively employed on the banks of the Potomac, in endeavouring to intercept the return of the British ships that had ascended to Alexandria; a duty that could not be effected, however, for want of means and time. The guns at command were altogether too light. Some fighting occurred. Several gallant attempts with fire-ships were made, but the enemy's movements were too rapid, to allow of the necessary preparations in a country so thinly settled, and almost destitute of military supplies. In the course of this service, Commodore Rodgers repelled an attack on a small party of less than 50 men, that was made by the enemy in an attempt to cut off a lighter and a fire-vessel, on which occasion, Mr. Newcomb, Mr. Ramage, Mr. Forrest, and Mr. Stockton, of the Guerriere, were conspicuously useful. These gentlemen were also active in endeavouring to fire the enemy's ships, though unsuccessful. Most of these officers, and all their men, were ordered to Baltimore, when that town was threatened.

Baltimore was a much more formidable place to assail than Washington, being compact, and containing, at that time, more than 40,000 souls. Its water defences were respectable, though it had no other fortifications on the side of the land, than temporary breastworks of earth. The seamen, both of the ships of war and of the flotilla, with the marines pre-

sent, were all under the command of Commodore Rodgers, who made a judicious disposition of his force.

The enemy landed early on the 12th of September, near a place called North Point. While this was effecting, the British frigates, sloops, and bomb-vessels, under the command of Captain Nourse, of the Severn, proceeded up the Patapsco, with a view to cannonade and bombard the water defences of the town. Vice-Admiral Cochrane, and Rear-Admiral Malcolm, were with this squadron. A brigade of seamen accompanied the army, under Captain Crofton. With this party Rear-Admiral Cockburn landed in person. The troops, as at Washington, were led by Major General Ross.

After proceeding about five miles, a small advanced party of the local militia momentarily checked the march of the enemy, falling back, agreeably to orders, when it found itself about to be surrounded. In the trifling skirmish that occurred at this spot, Major General Ross was killed. A sharper encounter took place shortly after, in which the Americans had about 1500 men engaged. On this occasion, the militia had 24 men killed, and 129 wounded. They lost also, 1 officer and 49 privates, prisoners. According to the accounts of the enemy, he lost in both affairs, 290 in killed and wounded. Shortly after the second skirmish, the English retreated to the place of debarkation, and abandoned the enterprise. The armed citizens of Baltimore and its vicinity, composed the force that met the enemy on this occasion.

The attack by water was equally unsuccessful. Fort M'Henry was bombarded for twenty-four hours, without making any serious impression on it. A small battery in advance, manned by officers and men of the flotilla, although much exposed, returned the fire to the last. In the course of the night, a strong brigade of boats pushed into the Ferry Branch, and would have gained the harbour, had it not been received by a warm fire from Forts Covington and Babcock, as well as from the barges of the flotilla. The defence was found to be too obstinate, and the enemy retreated. Fort Covington was manned by 80 seamen of the Guerriere, under Mr. Newcomb, a very excellent young officer of that ship; and Mr. Webster, a sailing-master, with 50 men of the flotilla, was in the six-gun battery called Babcock. The barges were under the orders of Lieutenant Rutter, the senior officer present, in that branch of the service. All these gentlemen, and their several

commands, distinguished themselves by their steadiness and efficiency.

The barges, in particular, though exposed for nearly a day and a night to the shells and rockets of the enemy, maintained their position with unflinching firmness, and when more closely attacked, repelled the attempt with ease. At a most critical moment, several vessels were sunk in the channel, which would have completely prevented the enemy from bringing up his heavy ships, had he seen fit to attempt it. The duty was performed with coolness and expedition by Captain Spence.

This failure virtually terminated the warfare in the Chesapeake, the enemy shortly after collecting most of his forces at the south, with a view to make a still more serious attempt on New Orleans. Small predatory expeditions, however, continued in this quarter, to the close of the war, though they led to no results of sufficient importance to be mentioned. This warfare was generally beneficial to the American government; the excesses into which the enemy were led, whether intentionally or not, having the effect to disgust that portion of the population which had been seriously averse to the conflict; and the administration was probably never stronger, than after the wanton destruction of the public buildings at Washington. About this time, Captain Barney was exchanged, and he resumed his former command, less than half of his flotilla having been destroyed in the Patuxent.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

The movements in the Chesapeake were made by a force that was assembled for other and greater objects. The principal expedition of the year was not commenced until near the close of the season, when Admiral Cochrane, after collecting, in the different islands, a large number of ships of war, transports, and store-vessels, suddenly appeared off the mouth of the Mississippi. This was at the commencement of December, 1814, and left no doubt, of a design to make a formidable attempt on the important town of New Orleans.

The defences of the place, with the exception of some re-

spectable fortifications that commanded the river, were of a very trifling nature. The latter were formidable, and they rendered it necessary to make either a descent in some of the bayoux, by means of boats, or to destroy the works by bombardment. As the latter required time, which would allow the Americans to assemble a force to resist the invasion, and was of doubtful issue, the former project was adopted.

On the 12th of December, when the enemy's fleet first made its appearance off the entrance of Lake Borgne, a division of five gun-boats was in that bay, under the command of Mr. Thomas Ap Catesby Jones, then a young sea-lieutenant. As soon as apprised of the appearance of the enemy, Mr. Jones reconnoitred his force, and, having ascertained its strength, he retired higher into the bay, with a view to take a position to command the approaches towards the town. There were several small forts, either at the entrance of Lake Ponchartrain, or at the mouth of different bayous, or creeks, that put up into the low swampy grounds below New Orleans, and it was the intention of Mr. Jones to anchor near one of them, at a place called les Petites Coquilles. His vessels consisted merely of gun-boats, No. 5, commanded by Mr. Ferris, a sailing-master, and mounting 5 guns, with a crew of 36 men; No. 23, Acting Lieutenant M'Keever, 5 guns and 39 men; No. 156, Lieutenant Commandant Jones, 5 guns and 41 men; No. 162, Acting Lieutenant Spedden, 5 guns and 35 men; and No. 163, Mr. Ulrick, a sailing-master, 3 guns and 21 men; making a united force of 23 guns and 183 men. The metal varied, some of the boats having two long heavy guns, others but one, and all having two or three short lighter pieces. The vessels themselves, like all gun-boats, were low, easy of entrance, slow in their movements, and totally without quarters.

Some movements of the enemy, who appeared with a large flotilla of barges and boats in the bay, induced Mr. Jones to expect an attack, on the 13th, and he got under way from the position he then held, at 3 30 P. M., to attain les Petites Coquilles, as mentioned. A small tender, called the Seahorse, had been despatched into the Bay of St. Louis, a short time previously, to destroy some stores; and about 4 o'clock the enemy sent three boats in after her, to cut her out. The Seahorse carried one light six-pounder, and had but 14 men. She was commanded by Mr. Johnson, a sailing-master. A few discharges of grape drove back the boats, which were soon reinforced, however, by four more, when a spirited engagement ensued. This was the

commencement of actual hostilities, in the celebrated expedition against New Orleans. Mr. Johnson having got a position, where he was sustained by two sixes on the shore, made a handsome resistance, and the barges retired with some loss. A few hours later, however, the Seahorse and stores were set on fire by the Americans themselves, as it was not possible to prevent them from eventually falling into the hands of a force as formidable as that brought up by the enemy. Not long after, another tender, called the Alligator, armed with a four-pounder, and with a crew of only 8 men, fell into the hands of the English.

About 1 A. M. on the 14th, the flotilla, which had been endeavouring to gain a better position, was compelled to anchor in the west end of the passage of Malhereux Island, on account of a failure of wind and the strength of the current. At daylight the boats of the enemy were seen, having brought up about three leagues to the eastward. It was a perfect calm, and a strong ebb tide setting through the Pass, no alternative was left Mr. Jones, but to prepare obstinately to defend, or to abandon his vessels. He gallantly determined on the first, although the force that would be brought against him was known to be overwhelming. Arrangements were accordingly made to resist the expected attack to the utmost. It had been the intention to form the five gun-boats with springs on their cables, directly across the channel, in a close line abreast, but the force of the current deranged the plan; Nos. 156 and 163 having been forced about a hundred yards down the Pass, and that much in advance of the three other boats. The approach of the enemy prevented an attempt to repair this great disadvantage, which exposed the vessels mentioned to being assailed while, in a measure, unsupported by their consorts. When the character of the resistance is considered, it appears probable that this accident alone prevented a victory from having been obtained.

The English flotilla consisted of between 40 and 50 barges and boats, the former expressly constructed for the purposes of the invasion, and they are said to have mounted 42 guns, principally carronades of the calibers of 12, 18, and 24 pounds. The number of men embarked in these boats has been computed as high as 1200 by some accounts, while by others it has been put as low as 400. The size and number of the barges, however, render the latter account improbable, ten men

to a boat being altogether too few. The truth would most probably lie between the extremes.

At 10 39, A. M., the enemy raised his grapnels and kedges, and forming in open order, in a line abreast, he pulled up steadily to the attack. When near enough to be reached by shot, the gun-boats opened a deliberate fire on the approaching barges, though with little effect, as they presented objects too small to be aimed at with any accuracy. At 11 10, however, the enemy opened a fire through his whole line, and the action immediately became general and destructive. At 11 49, the enemy was near enough to make an attempt to board 156, which vessel was much exposed by her advanced position. Three boats dashed at her, but two were sunk, and the attack was repulsed. It was renewed by four boats, which were also beaten off with a heavy loss. In repelling this last attack, Mr. Jones was unfortunately shot down, when the command devolved on Mr. Parker, a young midshipman, who defended his vessel until he was severely wounded himself, and was overpowered by numbers. The enemy got possession of No. 156 at 12 10, and he immediately turned her guns on the other American boats. No. 163 was next carried, after a very gallant resistance; and No. 162 followed, but not until Mr. Spedden was severely wounded. The twenty-four-pounder of No. 5 had been dismounted by the recoil, and the fire of the captured boats having been turned on her, she was also compelled to submit. No. 23, Mr. M'Keever, was the last vessel taken, hauling down her flag about 12 30, when under the fire of the captured boats, and all the enemy's remaining force. Captain Lockyer of the Sophie commanded the English flotilla on this occasion, assisted by Captain Montresor of the Manley, and Captain Roberts of the Meteor.

Although the loss of this division of gun-boats was a serious impediment to the defence of New Orleans, both the country and the service looked upon the result of the combat as a triumph. On the latter, in particular, the resistance made by Mr. Jones, and the officers and men under his orders, reflected great honour, for it was known to have been made almost without hope. Circumstances compelled the assailed to fight to great disadvantage, and it would seem that they struggled to render their chances more equal by a desperate but cool gallantry. In consequence of the character of this defence, it is usually thought, in the service, to bestow as much credit on an officer

to have been present at the defeat of Lake Borgne, as to have been present at a signal victory.

There is the same disagreement in the published accounts of the loss of the British on this occasion, as in the published accounts of their force. It was the opinion of Lieutenant Commandant Jones, who was carried on board the enemy's fleet, that their killed and wounded amounted to nearly 400; while other prisoners, who, from not having been wounded, had perhaps better opportunities for ascertaining facts of this nature, have never placed it lower than between 200 and 300 men. By the official statement of the enemy, as published, his loss was 94. As even this was more than half the number of the Americans engaged, it proves the gallantry of the resistance, but it is believed that the true account was varied for the purposes of effect. The American loss, though severe, was comparatively trifling.

The command of the naval force at New Orleans had been given to Captain Patterson, one of the young officers who had been a prisoner at Tripoli with Captain Bainbridge. Captain Patterson was a master commandant, and he was assisted by many excellent officers; but his force was merely intended to command the river and the shallow waters in the vicinity of the town. A ship called the Louisiana had been purchased and armed with 16 long twenty-fours. Men were pressed in the streets for the emergency, under a law of the state, and the command of the vessel was given to Lieutenant C. B. Thompson.

The enemy finding himself in command of Lake Borgne, by the capture of the gun-boats, sent up a brigade of troops, under Major General Keane, which succeeded in entering a bayou, and in landing but a few miles below the town. Here he encamped, after advancing to some hard ground, on the night of the 23d of December, with his left flank resting on the Mississippi. No sooner was the position of the British known to the Americans, than General Jackson marched against them with all the disposable force he could assemble, making a total of about 1500 men, and by a prompt and spirited night attack he saved New Orleans. The movements of the troops on this occasion, were preceded by Captain Patterson's dropping down abreast of the English bivouac, in the U. S. schooner Carolina 14, and opening a most galling fire. The excellent use made of this little vessel, on the 23d, as well as her continuing to threaten the left flank of the enemy, materially con-

tributed to the general success of the campaign, there being no question that the check received by the English in the action just mentioned, alone prevented them from marching into New Orleans, from which town they were distant only a few miles. It had been intended that the Louisiana should join in this attack, but the ship could not be got ready in time.

A few days later, however, the Carolina was very critically placed. The enemy had landed some guns, and the wind having blown fresh for some time at N. N. W., it had been found impossible to ascend the stream against a current that was even too strong for warping. The armament of the schooner consisted only of twelve-pound carronades, and one long gun of the same calibre. On the morning of the 27th, the wind being quite light at the northward, the enemy opened upon the Carolina with hot shot and shells, from a five-gun battery. The cannonade was returned from the long twelve, the only piece that could be used, but the schooner was soon set on fire, beneath her cable tiers, and a little after sunrise Captain Henley was compelled to give orders to abandon her. Before this could be effected, 7 men were killed and wounded, and the vessel was much injured by shot. Shortly after the crew had got on shore, the Carolina blew up. During four or five of the most critical days of the campaign, this little vessel rendered signal service, and the enemy have always paid a just tribute to the spirit, judgment, and intrepidity with which she was managed. Her behaviour on the night of the 23d, reflected great credit on Captain Patterson, and on all under his orders.

The Louisiana was now the only vessel in the river, and she covered the flank of the American lines. On board this ship Captain Patterson repaired, after the loss of the Carolina. On the morning of the 28th, an advance of the enemy against the American troops, drew a fire from and upon the ship, which was maintained for seven hours. In the course of this long cannonade, the Louisiana threw 800 shot among the enemy, suffering very little in return.

After the destruction of the Carolina, her officers and people volunteered to man some of the heavy guns that were mounted on the American lines, and they had a share in all the subsequent successes obtained on shore. Captain Patterson also erected a battery on the right bank of the river, which was put up under the orders of Captain Henley, and was of material use. On the 8th of January the English made their grand assault, and were defeated with dreadful slaughter. In this extraordi-

nary battle, the loss of the enemy was computed at from two to three thousand men; more than two thousand having been killed and wounded. The seamen's battery on the right bank of the river was temporarily abandoned, but the Louisiana was of great use, and the officers and men of the service distinguished themselves by their activity, zeal, and courage. On this occasion Captain Henley was wounded. One gun in particular, commanded by Mr. Philibert, a midshipman, was served in a manner to attract general attention. The Louisiana continued to assist in annoying the enemy, until the night of the 18th, when the English retreated to their boats, and embarked, abandoning their attempt altogether.

Captain Patterson immediately despatched several officers, in command of expeditions, to intercept and annoy the enemy on their retreat, though the want of a direct communication between the river and the lakes, prevented the employment of any vessels larger than boats, on this service. Mr. Thomas Shields, a purser, who had previously been a sea-officer, and who had 6 boats and 50 men under his orders, was so fortunate as to capture one of the enemy's large boats, with 40 officers and men of the 14th light dragoons, and 14 seamen on board. After securing these prisoners, Mr. Shields captured a barge and a transport schooner, and subsequently five other boats, making in all 83 more prisoners. Some skirmishing occurred, and Mr. Shields lost one or two of his prizes and a few of his prisoners; but he succeeded in bringing in with him 78 of the latter, besides destroying several boats. Mr. Johnson, a sailing-master, also performed some service of the same nature with credit, destroying a transport and capturing a party of men.

In all the important service performed in front of New Orleans, during this short but arduous campaign, the navy had a full share, though its means were necessarily limited. Captain Patterson, Captain Henley, Lieutenants Jones, Thompson, M'Keever, Spedden, Cunningham, Norris, Crowley, with several sailing-masters and midshipmen, distinguished themselves on different occasions. The service also witnessed with particular satisfaction the intelligence and spirited conduct of Mr. Shields, an officer who had received his training in its own school. The marine corps had its share, too, in the honour of this glorious campaign, a small detachment of it having acted with its usual good conduct, under the command of Major Carmick, who was wounded in the affair of the 28th of December.

CHAPTER XL.

We have now reached a period when it has become proper to advert to events on the different lakes, which were the scenes of some of the most important, as well as of the most interesting incidents of the war. In order to do this, it will be necessary to return to the commencement of hostilities, for the whole of this portion of the subject has been reserved, in order to lay it before the reader in a continued narrative, having no immediate connexion with the war on the ocean.

The English government had long maintained a small naval force on the great lakes; though much the larger portion of Champlain being within the jurisdiction of the United States, it had kept no cruiser on that water. On Lake Ontario, however, there were several vessels, as early as the commencement of the century, one of which was a ship called the Earl of Moira. When the American government caused the Oneida 16 to be built, that of the Canadas laid down the keel of a ship called the Royal George, which was pierced for 22 guns, and which was about one-half larger than the American vessel.

The Oneida was manned and equipped at the declaration of the war, and was still under the command of Mr. Woolsey, who had built her four years previously. The naval station on the American side of the lake, was at Sackett's Harbour, a beautiful and safe basin, not far from the commencement of the St. Lawrence; while that of the British was nearly opposite, at Kingston. The enemy, however, had greatly the advantage in ports, those of the north shore of this lake being generally the most commodious and easy of entrance, though probably not as numerous as those of the south. The English also possessed a material advantage over the Americans, in all the warfare of this region of country, whether on the water, or on the land, in the age and more advanced civilisation, and, consequently, in the greater resources of the settlements on their southern frontier, over those on the northern frontier of the United States.

The great superiority of the enemy in force, notwithstanding his known inferiority in discipline and comparative efficiency,

prevented Lieutenant Commandant Woolsey from inviting hostilities, which were permitted to come from the enemy. On the 19th of July, or about a month after war was declared, five sail were discovered from the fort at Sackett's Harbour, a few leagues in the offing; and shortly after, they captured a boat belonging to the custom-house, which they sent in, with a demand that the Oneida should be surrendered to them, as well as a schooner called the Lord Nelson, that had been captured not long before by the brig. The Oneida now got under way, and ran down, to windward of the enemy's squadron, to try her sailing, and, if possible, to pass it, with a view to escape. Finding the latter impracticable, however, Lieutenant Commandant Woolsey beat back into the harbour, and anchored his brig close under a bank, where she could rake the entrance. All the guns of her off side were landed and mounted on the shore, presenting a force of 16 twenty-four-pound carronades in battery. On a height that commanded the offing, as well as the entrance, was a small fort; and here a long thirty-two-pounder, that had been originally intended for the Oneida, in her legal character of a gun-boat, was mounted; and the enemy still remaining outside, Mr. Woolsey repaired to the spot, and took charge of the piece in person.

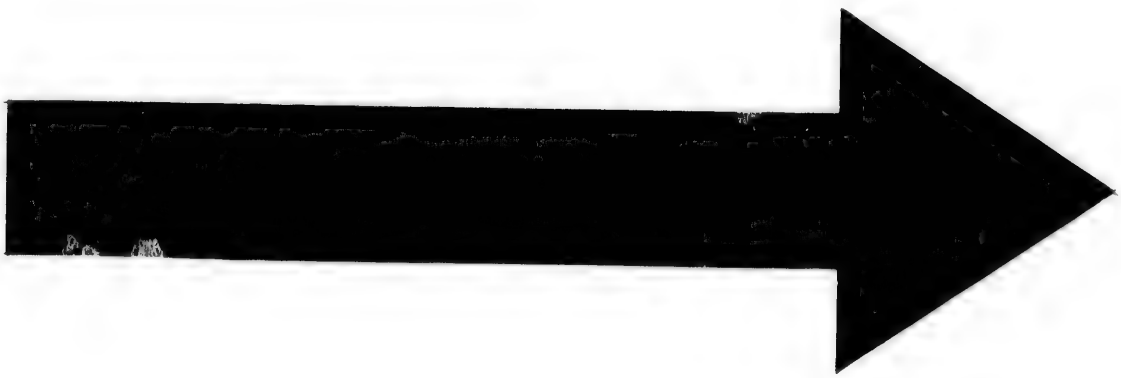
The enemy kept turning to windward, and having got within gun-shot, he opened a slow, irregular, and ill-directed fire on the fort, brig, and batteries. His fire was returned; and, after a cannonade of about two hours, the English vessels bore up, and stood back towards Kingston. This was the commencement of hostilities on the lakes, and it fully proved the incompetency of the officers in charge of the enemy's force, for the duty with which they had been entrusted. The English vessels consisted of the Royal George 22, Prince Regent 16, Earl of Moira 14, Duke of Gloucester, Seneca, and the Simcoe. On the part of the Americans, no harm was done; while the enemy is believed to have received some trifling injuries.

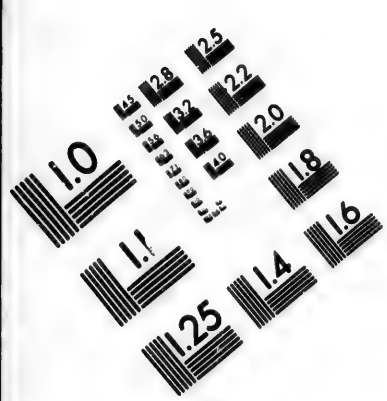
It is probable that the government of Canada was itself dissatisfied with the result of this first experiment of its naval forces, for soon after arrangements were made to send officers and men who belonged to the royal navy, upon the lakes. It was apparent to both nations, that the command of the inland waters was of great importance in carrying on the war of the frontiers, and each of the belligerents commenced systematic operations to obtain it. As the enemy was already much the strongest on Ontario, it was incumbent on the American go-

vernment to take the first measures, and it set about them in earnest, very shortly after the beginning of hostilities. It being evident that the command was one of the most important that had ever been confided to an American officer, great care was necessary in the selection of the individual to whom this highly responsible and arduous duty was to be entrusted. The choice of the department fell on Captain Isaac Chauncey, then at the head of the New York navy-yard. His orders were dated August 31st, 1812, and on the 6th of October, he arrived at Sackett's Harbour in person. Forty ship-carpenters left New York in the first week of September, and more followed immediately. Instructions were sent Mr. Woolsey, to purchase sundry small merchant vessel on the 18th of September, 100 officers and seamen lef York for Sackett's Harbour, with guns, shot, stores, &c.

The vessels used by the Americans in the navigation of Lake Ontario, were schooners, varying in size from 30 to 100 tons; and the first measure of Commodore Chauncey was to purchase a sufficient number of these craft to obtain the command of the lake, until others better fitted for war could be constructed. A selection of the most eligible was accordingly made by Mr. Woolsey; they were bought, armed, equipped, manned, and put into the service, under the names of the Hamilton, Governor Tompkins, Conquest, Growler, Julia, Pert, &c., &c. Neither of these schooners had the construction or the qualities requisite for a vessel of war, but they were the best for the service contemplated that could then be found on those waters. Without quarters, their armaments consisted principally of long guns, mounted on circles, with a few of a lighter description, that could be of no material service, except in repelling boarders. The keel of a ship to mount 24 thirty-two-pound carronades, however, was laid down in September, or before the commanding officer reached the station.

In conjunction with the Oneida, the entire flotilla that could be made immediately available mounted 40 guns, and it was manned with 430 men, the marines included. As the armament of the Oneida was just 16 guns, it follows that there was an average of 4 guns each, among the six other vessels. At this time, the enemy was said to possess on Ontario, the Royal George 22, Earl of Moira 14, both ships; and the schooners Prince Regent 16, Duke of Gloucester 14, Simcoe 12, and Seneca 4; making a force in guns, more than double that of the Americans, with a proportionate disparity in the number of





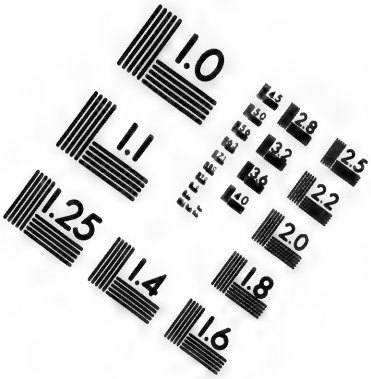
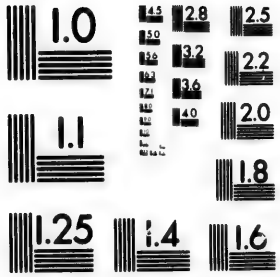
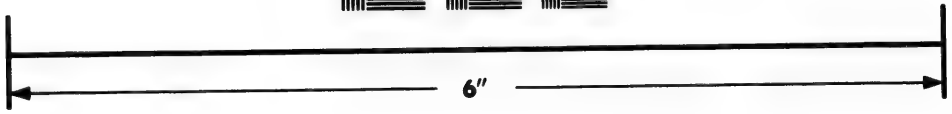
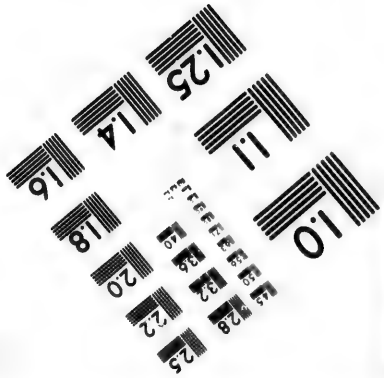


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

the men. As cruising vessels, the enemy's squadron possessed an advantage in their size and construction, that greatly increased their superiority.

Previously to the war of 1812, there was no vessel on the upper lakes, that properly belonged to the American marine. A brig, called the Adams, however, had been constructed on these waters, for the convenience of the war department, which, under its own officers, had long found it useful in the transportation of stores and military supplies. By the capture of Michigan, the Adams fell into the hands of the enemy, who changed her name to the Detroit, and took her into their service. At this time, the enemy possessed two or three other vessels on the upper lakes, and of course, this capture, for the moment, gave them complete command of the waters between the outlet of Lake Erie and the head of Lake Michigan.

With a view to counteract this ascendency, Lieutenant J. D. Elliot was sent by Commodore Chauncey to the upper lakes, about the time that the latter officer appeared at Sackett's Harbour, with directions to purchase any suitable vessels that might be found, and to make preparations also for the creation of the necessary force in that quarter. While Mr. Elliot was thus employed, a fortunate concurrence of circumstances, put it in the power of this officer to plan a blow at the enemy, of which he availed himself with a spirit and promptitude that were highly creditable. On the morning of the 7th of October, the Detroit came down the lake, in company with another brig, called the Caledonia, and anchored under Fort Erie; and that very day intelligence was received that the first party of seamen intended for the lake, was within a short march of the Niagara frontier. Orders were accordingly sent to hasten their arrival, which actually took place about noon of the same day.

Finding that the men were without arms, Mr. Elliot applied to Brigadier General Smythe, the officer in command of the troops on that frontier, who not only furnished the necessary means, but who permitted about fifty soldiers to volunteer to aid in the enterprise.

Two of the large boats used in those waters, containing about 50 men each, partly seamen and partly soldiers, were prepared for the service, and a small boat, or two, were manned by a few citizens. The party attempted to pull out of Buffalo Creek, early in the evening of the 7th; but the large

boats grounded on the bar. Here some delay occurred, it being found necessary for most on board to get into the water, before they could make the boats float again. It was consequently much later when the adventurers reached the stream.

As the enemy lay near their own shore, the party pulled some distance up the lake in order to get above his vessels, before they edged away. It was past midnight when they got near the two brigs, the Detroit lying highest up stream, and farthest from the land. The boat destined to attack the Caledonia was directed to lead, in order that both vessels might be assaulted as nearly as possible at the same moment. This boat was under the orders of Mr. Watts, a sailing-master, supported by Captain Towson of the artillery; while Mr. Elliott, in person, had charge of the other boat, in which were Lieutenant Roach of the artillery, and Ensign Pressman of the infantry.

As the leading boat crossed the bow of the Detroit, the enemy took the alarm, and the party of Mr. Elliott, as it approached, received two volleys of musketry. Without regarding this, both boats pulled steadily on, that which led reaching the Caledonia in proper time, but it would seem that one of the grapnels missed, and she fell so far astern as to allow the enemy to make a stout resistance. Here the decision and spirit of Captain Towson were of material service, and the vessel was captured. Lieutenant Roach of the army, who was accustomed to the duty, steered the boat of Mr. Elliott, which was laid alongside of the Detroit with great steadiness and accuracy, when the party went aboard of the enemy, Lieutenants Elliott and Roach leading. The former had a narrow escape, his hat having been struck from his head, and at the same instant he nearly cleft the skull of the English commander, who discovered the greatest resolution. Being well supported, this brig was carried with great rapidity.

In this handsome affair one man was killed, and a few were wounded, including Mr. Cummings a midshipman, in the boat of Mr. Elliott; while that of Mr. Watts, owing to the circumstance mentioned, sustained rather more loss. Mr. Elliott reported the Detroit as carrying six long nines, and to have had a crew of fifty-six souls. The Caledonia mounted but two guns, and had a much smaller complement of men. About thirty American prisoners were found in the former vessel, and ten in the latter.

The Caledonia was brought successfully over to the Ameri-

can side, but the Detroit met with greater difficulty. Mr. Elliott found himself obliged to drop down the river, passing the forts under a brisk fire, and anchoring within reach of their guns. Here a cannonade took place, during which fruitless efforts were made to get lines to the American shore, in order to warp the brig across. Finding himself assailed by the guns of the enemy's works, as well as by some light artillery, Mr. Elliott determined to cut, and drop out of the reach of the first, believing himself able to resist the last. This plan succeeded in part, but the pilot having left the vessel, she brought up on Squaw Island. The prisoners were now sent on shore, and shortly after Mr. Elliott left her, with a view to obtain assistance. About this time the enemy boarded the prize, but were soon driven out of her, by the artillery of Lieutenant Colonel Scott, the Detroit being commanded equally by the guns on both sides of the Niagara. Under such circumstances, the vessel was effectually rendered unfit for service, and in the end, after removing most of her stores, she was burned by the Americans.

This was the first naval success obtained by either nation, in the warfare on the lakes, and it was deemed a fortunate commencement for the Americans, on waters where they might hope to contend with their powerful foes on an equality. The conduct of Mr. Elliott was much applauded, and Congress voted him a sword. His promptitude and decision were of great service, and it adds to the merit of all engaged, that the Caledonia was thought to be a brig of a force much superior to what she proved to be, when they left the shore. The army had an equal share, in the credit of this dashing little enterprise, Captain Towson, who, in effect, commanded one of the boats, though it was necessarily managed by a sea-officer, having particularly shown decision and conduct. The names of Lieutenant Roach of the artillery, Ensign Pressman of the infantry, and of several volunteers from Buffalo, were also included in the eulogies of the commanding officer.

Not long after this successful exploit, part of the crew of the John Adams 28, which had been laid up at New York, reached Buffalo, to help man the vessels government intended to equip on Lake Erie. Mr. Angus, his senior officer, accompanying this party, and there being a want of lieutenants on the other lake, Mr. Elliott now went below to join the force immediately under the orders of Commodore Chauncey. Before quitting this station, however, this officer had contracted for

several schooners, that lay in the Niagara, but which it was subsequently found difficult to get into the lake on account of the enemy's batteries.

Commodore Chauncey first appeared on the lake on the 8th of November, with his broad pennant flying on board the Oneida 16, Lieutenant Commandant Woolsey, and having in company the Conquest, Lieutenant Elliott; Hamilton, Lieutenant M'Pherson; Governor Tompkins, Lieutenant Brown; Pert, Mr. Arundel; Julia, Mr. Trant; and Growler, Mr. Mix; the three last named officers holding the rank of sailing-masters. The object in going out, was to intercept the return of the enemy's vessels, most of which were known to have been to the westward, conveying supplies to the army at Kingston. In order to effect this purpose, the American squadron, or flotilla, for it scarcely merited the former term, went off the False Ducks, some small islands that lie in the track of vessels keeping the north shore aboard. As it approached the intended station, a ship was made in-shore. She was soon ascertained to be the Royal George, then much the largest vessel that had ever been constructed on the inland waters of America. That a ship of her force should feel it necessary to retire before the Oneida, must be attributed to the circumstance of her not being properly officered, the enemy not having yet made their drafts from the royal navy for the service on the lakes. Commodore Chauncey chased the Royal George into the Bay of Quinté, and lost sight of her in the night. The next morning, however, she was seen again, lying in the narrow passage that leads down to Kingston. Signal was immediately made for a general chase, which was vigorously kept up, with alternate squalls and light airs, until the enemy was fairly driven in under the protection of his own batteries.

Although the wind blew directly in, and made a retreat difficult, Commodore Chauncey decided to follow the enemy, and feel his means of defence, with an intention of laying the ship aboard, should it be found practicable. Arrangements for that purpose were accordingly made, and a little before 3 P. M. the vessels that were up, got into their stations, and stood towards the mouth of the harbour. The Conquest, Lieutenant Elliott, led in handsome style, followed by the Julia, Mr. Trant, Pert, Mr. Arundel, and Growler, Mr. Mix, in the order named. The Oneida brought up the rear, it being intended to give time for the heavy guns of the schooners to open the way for a closer attack by the brig. The Hamilton and Governor Tomp-

kins were a considerable distance astern, having been sent to chase, and did not close for some time.

At five minutes past 3, the batteries on India and Navy Points opened on the Conquest, but their fire was not returned until seven minutes later. In three minutes after the Conquest commenced firing, she was joined by the other three schooners in advance. The gun of the Pert bursted at the third discharge. By this accident, Mr. Arundel, her commander, was badly, and a midshipman and three men were slightly wounded. The vessel was rendered, in a great degree, useless for the remainder of the day. The Oneida, though under fire for some time previously, did not open with her carronades on the Royal George, until forty minutes past 3; but when she did commence, the enemy was soon thrown into confusion, and at 4 P. M. he cut his cables, ran deeper into the bay, and made fast to a wharf, directly under the protection of the muskets of the troops. Here, a part of her people actually deserted her, though they subsequently returned on board. Soon after, the Governor Tompkins, Lieutenant Brown, bore up off the harbour in a beautiful manner, and engaged, having been preceded some time, with equal gallantry, by the Hamilton, Lieutenant M'Pherson. The action became warm and general, and was maintained with spirit for half an hour, the enemy firing from five batteries, the ship, and some moveable guns. It was now so near night, the wind blew so directly in, and the weather looked so threatening, that the pilots declared their unwillingness to be responsible any longer for the vessels; and Commodore Chauncey, who found the enemy much stronger on shore than he had been taught to believe, made the signal for the flotilla to haul off. When an offing of about two miles had been gained, the squadron anchored, with an intention to renew the attack in the morning.

In this spirited affair, which partook of the character of the assaults on Tripoli, and which, after a due allowance is made for the difference in the force employed, was probably inferior to none of the cannonades on that town, for gallantry and vigour, the Americans suffered much less than might have been expected. The Oneida had one man killed and three wounded, and she received some damage aloft. The other vessels escaped even better, the audacity of the attack, as is so often the case, producing a sort of impunity. Mr. Arundel, of the Pert, however, who had refused to quit the deck, though

badly wounded, was unfortunately knocked overboard and drowned, while the vessel was beating up to her anchorage.

The vessels shortly after returned to port, bringing in with them two or three small prizes.

Intelligence reaching Commodore Chauncey that the Earl of Moira was off the Ducks, he sailed on the 13th with the Oneida, in a snow storm, to capture her; but the enemy was too much on the alert to be caught by surprise, and the distances on the lake were too short to admit of his being easily overtaken in chase. The Oneida saw the Royal George and two schooners, but even these three vessels were not disposed to engage the American brig singly. The two schooners in company with the Royal George on this occasion, were supposed to be the Prince Regent and the Duke of Gloucester. Commodore Chauncey then went off Oswego to cover some stores expected by water. During this short cruise the Oneida narrowly escaped shipwreck, and the ice made so fast, that at one time, it would have been impossible to work the carronades had there been a necessity for it. The Conquest, Tompkins, Growler, and Hamilton, notwithstanding, continued to cruise off Kingston, until the 17th of November. On the 19th the Commodore attempted to go to the head of the lake, but was driven back by a gale, during which so much ice was made as to endanger the vessels. The Growler was dismasted. Early in December the navigation closed for the season.

While these events were occurring on the lower lake, the navy was not altogether unemployed on the upper waters. Towards the close of November, it was believed that the arrangements were in a sufficient degree of forwardness to admit of an attempt to drive the enemy from the batteries that lined the opposite shore of the Niagara in order to clear the way for the landing of a brigade of troops. To aid it in executing this important service, the army naturally turned its eyes for professional assistance towards the body of seamen collected at this point.

The men of the John Adams had encamped in the woods, near the river, and finding the enemy in the practice of cannonading across the Niagara, shortly after their arrival they dove into the wreck of the Detroit, at night, made fast to, and succeeded in raising four of that vessel's guns, with a large quantity of shot. These pieces were mounted in battery, and a desultory cannonading was maintained, by both parties, until the arrival of some heavy guns from the seaboard, when the

Americans got a force in battery, that enabled them completely to maintain their ground against their adversaries. In this manner, more than a month had passed, when the application was made to Mr. Angus, for some officers and seamen to assist in carrying and silencing the batteries opposite, in order to favour the intended descent. The arrangements were soon completed, and the morning of the 28th of November was chosen for the undertaking.

The contemplated invasion having separate points in view, the expedition was divided into two parties. One, commanded by Captain King of the 15th infantry, was directed to ascend the current a little, in order to reach its point of attack, while the other was instructed to descend it, in about an equal proportion. The first being much the most arduous at the oars, the seamen were wanted especially for this service. Mr. Angus accordingly embarked in 10 boats, with 70 men, exclusively of officers, and accompanied by Captain King, at the head of a detachment of 150 soldiers. With this party went Mr. Samuel Swartwout of New York, as a volunteer. Lieutenant Colonel Boerstler commanded 10 more boats, which conveyed the detachment, about 200 strong, that was to descend with the current.

The division containing the seamen left the American shore about 1 A. M. with muffled oars, and pulled deliberately, and in beautiful order into the stream. That the enemy was ready to meet them is certain, and it is probable he was aware of an intention to cross that very night. Still all was quiet on the Canada side, until the boats had passed out of the shadows of the forest into a stronger light, when they were met with a discharge of musketry and a fire from two field-pieces, that were placed in front of some barracks known by the name of the Red House. The effect of this reception was to produce a little confusion and disorder, and some of the officers and a good many men being killed or wounded, all the boats did not gain the shore. Those in which efficient officers remained, however, dashed on, in the handsomest manner, and the seamen in them landed in an instant. A body of the enemy was drawn up in front of the barracks, with their left flank covered by the two guns. As soon as the troops could be formed, the enemy's fire was returned and a short conflict occurred. At this juncture a small party of seamen armed with pikes and pistols, headed by Mr. Watts, a sailing-master, and Mr. Holdup, made a détour round the foot of the hill, and charging the

artillerists, took the guns in the most gallant manner, mortally wounding and capturing Lieutenant King, who commanded them. At the same instant the remaining seamen and the troops charged in front, when the enemy broke and took refuge in the barracks.

The enemy's fire was now very destructive, and it became indispensable to dislodge him. Several spirited young midshipmen were with the party; and three of them, Messrs Wragg, Holdup, and Dudley, with a few men, succeeded in bursting open a window, through which they made an entrance. This gallant little party unbarred an outer door, when Mr. Angus and the seamen rushed in. In an instant, the straw on which the soldiers slept was on fire, and the barracks were immediately wrapt in flames. The enemy, a party of grenadiers, was on the upper floor, and finding it necessary to retreat, he made a vigorous charge, and escaped by the rear of the building. Here he rallied, and was attacked by Captain King, who had formed outside.

The party of seamen and soldiers now got separated, in consequence of an order having been given to retreat, though it is not known from what quarter it proceeded, and a portion of both the seamen and the soldiers fell back upon the boats and re-embarked. Mr. Angus, finding every effort useless to stop this retreat, retired with his men. But Captain King, with a party of the troops, still remained engaged, and with him were a few seamen, with Messrs. Wragg, Dudley, and Holdup at their head. These young officers fell in with the soldiers, and a charge being ordered, the enemy again broke and fled into a battery. He was followed, and driven from place to place, until, entirely routed, he left Captain King in complete command of all the batteries at that point.

Believing that their part of the duty was performed, the young sea-officers who had remained, now retired to the shore, and crossed to the American side, in the best manner they could. Most of the seamen, who were not killed, got back, by means of their professional knowledge; but Captain King, and several officers of the army, with 60 men, fell into the enemy's hands, in consequence of not having the means of retreat. The attack of Colonel Boerstler succeeded, in a great degree, and his party was brought off.

Although this affair appears to have been very confused, the fighting was of the most desperate character. The impression made by the seamen with their pikes, was long remembered,

and their loss was equal to their gallantry. The enemy was effectually beaten, and nothing but a misunderstanding, which is said to have grown out of the fact that the boats which did not come ashore at all, were supposed to have landed and then retreated, prevented the attack from being completely successful. Still, the batteries were carried, guns spiked, barracks burned, and caissons destroyed.

Owing to the nature of the service and the great steadiness of the enemy, who behaved extremely well, this struggle was exceedingly sanguinary. Of twelve sea-officers engaged, eight were wounded, two of them mortally. The entire loss of the party was about 30 in killed and wounded, which was quite half of all who landed, though some were hurt who did not reach the shore. The troops behaved in the most gallant manner also, and many of their officers were wounded. Both Mr. Angus and Captain King, gained great credit for their intrepidity.

As none of the great lakes are safe to navigate in December, this closed the naval warfare for the year, though both nations prepared to turn the winter months to the best account, while the coasts were ice-bound.

CHAPTER XLI.

Both parties employed the winter of 1812–13 in building. In the course of the autumn, the Americans had increased their force to eleven sail, ten of which were the small schooners bought from the merchants, and fitted with gun-boat armaments, without quarters. In addition to the vessels already named, were the Ontario, Scourge, Fair American and Asp. Neither of the ten was fit to cruise; and an ordinary eighteen-gun brig ought to have been able to cope with them all, in a good working breeze, at close quarters. At long shot, however, and in smooth water, they were not without a certain efficiency. As was proved in the end, in attacking batteries, and in covering descents, they were found to be exceedingly serviceable.

On the 26th of November, the new ship was launched at

Sackett's Harbour, and was called the Madison. She was pierced for 24 guns, and her metal was composed of thirty-two-pound carronades, rendering her a little superior to the Royal George. Nine weeks before this ship was put into the water, her timber was growing in the forest. This unusual expedition, under so many unfavourable circumstances, is to be ascribed to the excellent dispositions of the commanding officer, and to the clear head, and extraordinary resources of Mr. Henry Eckford, the builder employed, whose professional qualities proved to be of the highest order.

On the other hand, the enemy laid the keel of a ship a little larger than the Madison, which would have effectually secured the command of the lake, notwithstanding the launching of the latter, as their small vessels were altogether superior to those of the Americans; and the Royal George was perhaps strong enough to engage two brigs of the force of the Oneida. It became necessary, therefore, to lay down a new ship at Sackett's Harbour, and for this purpose a fresh gang of shipwrights went up in February.

About this time, the enemy made choice of Captain Sir James Lucas Yeo, to command on the American lakes.

In the meantime, preparations were made for constructing a force on Lake Erie, two brigs having been laid down at Presque Isle, (now Erie,) during the month of March.

Fresh parties of seamen began to arrive at Kingston in March, where the new ship was fast getting ready.

On the 6th of April Mr. Eckford put into the water, on the American side, a beautiful little pilot-boat schooner, that was intended for a look-out and despatch vessel. She was armed with merely one long brass nine on a pivot, and was called the Lady of the Lake. Two days later, the keel of the new ship was laid. She was considerably larger than the Madison.

About the middle of the month, the lake was considered safe to navigate, and on the 19th, the squadron was reported ready for active service. On the 22d, accordingly, General Dearborn caused a body of 1700 men to be embarked, and on the 24th, owing to the impatience of the army, which suffered much by being crowded into small vessels, an attempt was made to get out. The commodore, however, agreeably to his own expectations, was obliged to return, it blowing a gale. These few days had a very injurious effect on the health of both branches of the service, as there was not sufficient room for the men to remain below, and on deck they were exposed

to the inclemency of the season. The Madison alone, a mere sloop of war, had 600 souls in her, including her own people. On the 25th, however, the squadron, consisting of the Madison, Lieutenant Commandant Elliott, Commodore Chauncey; Oneida, Lieutenant Commandant Woolsey; Fair American, Lieutenant Chauncey; Hamilton, Lieutenant M'Pherson; Governor Tompkins, Lieutenant Brown; Conquest, Mr. Mallaby; Asp, Lieutenant Smith; Pert, Lieutenant Adams; Julia, Mr. Trant; Growler, Mr. Mix; Ontario, Mr. Stevens; Scourge, Mr. Osgood; Lady of the Lake, Mr. Flinn; and Raven, transport, got out, and it arrived off York, on the morning of the 26th, without loss of any sort. All the vessels ran in and anchored about a mile from the shore, to the southward and westward of the principal fort.

Great steadiness and promptitude were displayed in effecting a landing. The wind was blowing fresh from the eastward, but the boats were hoisted out, manned, and received the troops, with so much order, that in two hours from the commencement of the disembarkation, the whole brigade was on shore, under the command of Brigadier General Pike. The wind drove the boats to leeward of the place that had been selected for the landing, which was a clear field, to a point where the Indians and sharp-shooters of the enemy had a cover; but the advance party was thrown ashore with great gallantry, and it soon cleared the bank and thickets, with a loss of about 40 men. This movement was covered by a rapid discharge of grape from the vessels. As soon as a sufficient number of troops had got ashore, they were formed by General Pike in person, who moved on to the assault. The small vessels now beat up, under a brisk fire from the fort and batteries, until they had got within six hundred yards of the principal work, when they opened with effect on the enemy, and contributed largely to the success of the day. The commodore directed the movements in person, pulling in in his gig, and encouraging his officers by the coolness with which he moved about, under the enemy's fire. There never was a disembarkation more successfully, or more spiritedly made, considering the state of the weather, and the limited means of the assailants. In effecting this service, the squadron had two midshipmen slain, and 15 men killed and wounded, mostly while employed in the boats. After sustaining some loss by an explosion that killed Brigadier General Pike, the troops so far carried the place, that it capitulated. It remained in peace-

able possession of the Americans until the 1st of May, when it was evacuated to proceed on other duty.

The capture of York was attended with many important results, that fully established the wisdom of the enterprise. Although the Prince Regent, the third vessel of the enemy, escaped, by having sailed on the 24th for Kingston, the Duke of Gloucester, which had been undergoing repairs, fell into the hands of the Americans. A vessel of twenty guns, that was nearly finished, was burnt, and a large amount of naval and military stores was also destroyed. A very considerable quantity of the latter, however, was saved, shipped, and sent to Sackett's Harbour. Many boats that had been built for the transportation of troops were also taken. In the entire management of this handsome exploit, the different vessels appear to have been well conducted, and they contributed largely to the complete success which crowned the enterprise.

Although the brigade re-embarked on the 1st of May, the squadron was detained at York until the 8th, by a heavy adverse gale of wind. The men were kept much on deck for more than a week, and the exposure produced many cases of fever, in both branches of the service. More than a hundred of the sailors were reported ill, and the brigade, which had lost 269 men in the attack, the wounded included, was now reduced by disease to about 1000 effectives. As soon as the weather permitted, the commanding naval and army officers crossed in the Lady of the Lake, and selected a place for an encampment about four miles to the eastward of Fort Niagara, when the vessels immediately followed and the troops disembarked.

As soon as released from this great incumbrance on his movements, Commodore Chauncey sailed for the Harbour, with a view to obtain supplies, and to bring up reinforcements for the army. A few of the schooners remained near the head of the lake, but the greater part of the squadron went below, where it arrived on the 11th. The small vessels were now employed in conveying stores and troops to the division under General Dearborn, which was reinforcing fast by arrivals from different directions.

On the 15th of this month the enemy had advanced so far with his new ship, which was called the Wolfe, as to have got in her lower masts, and expedition became necessary, an action for the command of the lake being expected, as soon as this vessel was ready to come out. On the 16th, 100 men

were sent to the upper lakes, where Captain Perry, then a young master and commander, had been ordered to assume the command, some months previously. On the 22d, the Madison, with the commodore's pennant still flying in her, embarked 350 troops, and sailed for the camp to the eastward of the mouth of the Niagara, where she arrived and disembarked the men on the 25th. The Fair American, Lieutenant Chauncey, and Pert, Acting Lieutenant Adams, were immediately ordered down to watch the movements of the enemy at Kingston, and preparations were made, without delay, for a descent on Fort George. On the 26th Commodore Chauncey reconnoitred the enemy's coast, and his position; and that night he sounded his shore, in person, laying buoys for the government of the movements of the small vessels, which it was intended to send close in. The weather being more favourable, the Madison, Oneida, and Lady of the Lake, which could be of no use in the meditated attack, on account of their armaments, received on board all the heavy artillery of the army, and as many troops as they could carry, while the rest of the soldiers embarked in boats.

At 3 A. M., on the 27th of May, the signal was made to weigh, and the army having previously embarked, at 4 the squadron stood towards the Niagara. As the vessels approached the point of disembarkation, the wind so far failed, as to compel the small vessels to employ their sweeps. The Growler, Mr. Mix, and Julia, Mr. Trant, swept into the mouth of the river, and opened on a battery near the lighthouse. The Ontario, Mr. Stevens, anchored more to the northward to cross their fire. The Hamilton, Lieutenant M'Pherson, the Asp, Lieutenant Smith, and the Scourge, Mr. Osgood, were directed to stand close in, to cover the landing, to scour the woods, or any point where the enemy might show himself, with grape-shot; while the Governor Tompkins, Lieutenant Brown, and Conquest, Lieutenant Pettigrew, were sent farther to the westward to attack a battery that mounted one heavy gun.

Captain Perry had come down from the upper lake on the evening of the 25th, and on this occasion was the sea-officer second in rank, present. Commodore Chauncey confided to him the duty of attending to the disembarkation of the troops. The marines of the squadron were embodied with the regiment of Colonel Macomb, and 400 seamen held in reserve, to land,

if necessary, under the immediate orders of the commodore in person.

When all was ready, the schooners swept into their stations, in the handsomest manner, opening their fire with effect. The boats that contained the advance party, under Colonel Scott, were soon in motion, taking a direction towards the battery near Two Mile Creek, against which the Governor Tompkins and Conquest had been ordered to proceed. The admirable manner in which the first of these two little vessels was conducted, drew the applause of all who witnessed it, on Mr. Brown and his people. This officer swept into his station, under fire, in the steadiest manner, anchored, furled his sails, cleared his decks, and prepared to engage, with as much coolness and method, as if coming-to in a friendly port. He then opened with his long gun, with a precision that, in about ten minutes, literally drove the enemy from the battery, leaving the place to his dead. The boats dashed in, under Captain Perry, and Colonel Scott effected a landing with the steadiness and gallantry for which that officer is so distinguished. The enemy had concealed a strong party in a ravine, and he advanced to repel the boats; but the grape and the canister of the schooners, and the steady conduct of the troops, soon drove him back. The moment the command of Colonel Scott got ashore, the success of the day was assured. He was sustained by the remainder of the brigade to which he belonged, then commanded by Brigadier General Boyd, and after a short but sharp conflict, the enemy was driven from the field. The landing was made about 9 A. M., and by 12 M. the town and fort were in quiet possession of the Americans, the British blowing up and evacuating the latter, and retreating towards Queenston.

In this handsome affair, in which the duty of the vessels was performed with coolness and method, the navy had but one man killed and two wounded. So spirited, indeed, was the manner in which the whole duty was conducted, that the assailants generally suffered much less than the assailed, a circumstance that is, in a great measure, to be ascribed to the good conduct of the covering vessels. General Dearborn reported his loss, on this occasion, at only 17 killed and 45 wounded, while he puts that of the enemy at 90 killed, and 160 wounded, most of whom were regular troops. One hundred prisoners were also made.

Both the commanding general, and the commanding sea-officer, spoke in the highest terms of the conduct of the naval

force employed in the descent on Fort George. General Dearborn admitted the extent of his obligations to Commodore Chauncey for the excellent dispositions he had made for landing the troops, always a service of delicacy and hazard, and his judicious arrangements for silencing the batteries, under the fire of which it was necessary to approach the shore. The trifling amount of the loss, is the best evidence how much these thanks were merited. Commodore Chauncey himself commended all under his orders, though he felt it due to their especial services, particularly to mention Captain Perry, and Lieutenant M'Pherson. Lieutenant Brown, of the Governor Tompkins, was signally distinguished, though his name, from some accident, was omitted in the despatches.

The occupation of Fort George brought with it an evacuation by the British of the whole Niagara frontier. Lieutenant Colonel Preston took possession of Fort Erie on the evening of the 28th, and the entire river, for the moment, was left at the command of the Americans. By this success, the squadron obtained the temporary use of another port, Commodore Chauncey running into the Niagara and anchoring, on the afternoon of the 27th. Captain Perry was immediately despatched above the falls, with a small party of seamen, to carry up five vessels that had been purchased, or captured, and which it had not been practicable, hitherto, to get past the enemy's batteries. This duty was performed during the first days of June, though not without infinite labour, as it was found necessary to track the different vessels by the aid of oxen, every inch of the way, against the strong current of the Niagara, a party of soldiers lending their assistance. By the close of the month, that zealous officer had got them all across the lake to Presque Isle, where the two brigs, laid down early in the spring, were launched in the course of May, though their equipment proceeded very slowly, from the state of the roads and a want of men.

CHAPTER XLII.

WHILE these important movements were in the course of execution near the western end of the lake, others of equal magnitude were attempted near its eastern. The descent on Fort George took place on the 27th of May, and almost at the same moment, Sir George Prevost, the British Commander-in-chief and Commodore Sir J. L. Yeo, meditated a *coup de main* against Sackett's Harbour, in revenge for the blow they had received at York. By destroying the new ship, Commodore Yeo would most probably secure a superiority on the lake for the remainder of the season, the Americans having no cruising vessel but the Madison, fit to lie against the Wolfe or Royal George.

On the morning of the 28th of May, the Wolfe, Royal George, Moira, Prince Regent, Simcoe, and Seneca, with two gun-boats, and a strong brigade of barges and flat-bottomed boats, appeared off Sackett's Harbour. When about two leagues from the shore, a considerable party of troops was placed in the boats, and the whole squadron bore up, with a view to land; but their attention was diverted by the appearance to the westward of a brigade containing nineteen boats, which were transporting troops to the Harbour. The enemy immediately sent his own barges in pursuit, and succeeded in driving twelve boats on shore, and in capturing them, though not until they had been abandoned by the Americans. The remaining seven got into the Harbour. Hoping to intercept another party, the enemy now hauled to the westward, and sent his boats ahead to lie in wait, and the intention to disembark that afternoon was abandoned.

As the day dawned, on the morning of the 29th, a strong division of barges, filled with troops, and covered by the two gun-boats, was seen advancing upon Horse Island, a peninsula at a short distance from the village of Sackett's Harbour. A body of about 800 men effected a landing, accompanied by Sir George Prevost in person, and an irregular and desultory, but spirited engagement took place. At first, the enemy drove all before him, and he advanced quite near the town, but being

met by a detachment of regulars, he was driven back with loss, and compelled to abandon his enterprise.

In this affair, had the enemy's vessels done as good service as the American vessels performed near the Niagara, the result might have been different; but, though some of them swept up pretty near the shore, they were of no assistance to the troops. Unfortunately false information was given to the sea-officer in charge of the store-houses, and he set fire to them, by which mistake, not only most of the stores taken at York, but many that had come from the sea-board, were consumed. But for this accident, the enemy would have had no consolation for his defeat.

Information reached Commodore Chauncey on the 30th of May, that the enemy was out, and he immediately got under way from the Niagara, looked into York, then ran off Kingston, but falling in with nothing, he crossed to the Harbour, where he anchored; being satisfied that the English squadron had returned to port.

Every exertion was now made to get the new ship afloat, Commodore Chauncey rightly thinking he should not be justified in venturing an action with his present force. Although he had fourteen sail of vessels, which mounted altogether 82 guns, only two had quarters, or were at all suited to close action. As both the Madison and Oneida had been constructed for a very light draught of water, neither was weatherly, though the former acquitted herself respectably; but the latter was dull on all tacks, and what might not have been expected from her construction, particularly so before the wind. The schooners were borne down with metal, and could be of no great service except at long shot. On the other hand, all the enemy's vessels had quarters, most of them drew more water, relatively, and held a better wind than the Americans, and as a whole they were believed to mount about the same number of guns. In the way of metal the English large ships were decidedly superior to the two largest American vessels, mounting several sixty-eight-pound carronades among their other guns.

The keel of the new ship had been laid on the 9th of April, and she was got into the water June 12th. This ship was a large corvette, and was pierced for 26 guns, long twenty-fours, and she mounted two more on circles; one on a topgallant forecastle, and the other on the poop. The day before the launch, Captain Sinclair arrived and was appointed to this ves-

sel, which was called the General Pike. Lieutenant Trenchard, who arrived at the same time, received the command of the Madison.

Although the Pike was so near completion, there were neither officers nor men for her, on the station; and the canvass intended for her sails had been principally burned during the late attack on the Harbour. At this time, moreover, while the service pressed, only 120 men had been sent on lake Erie, Commodore Chauncey having entertained hopes of being able to reinforce that station from below, after defeating the enemy.

On Lake Champlain, two sloops, the Eagle and the Growler, were equipped early in the war, and placed under the orders of Lieut. Sidney Smith. Before the close of the season, however, Lieut. Thomas M'Donough, an officer already distinguished for his spirit and experience, assumed the command. This, however, was so late in the year, that nothing was accomplished before the winter.

Early in the spring, M'Donough, reinforced by another sloop, the President, took the lake, in company with the Growler, Lieut. Smith, and Eagle, Mr. Loomis; the President being under his own command. Learning in May, that a small British vessel had ascended the lake as far as Plattsburg, and committed depredations, he ordered the Growler and Eagle down as low as Champlain, in order to close the passage against any more such excursions. On the morning of the 3d of June, Lieut. Smith, commanding these sloops, stood down into the narrow part of the lake, until he came in sight of the enemy's works on Isle aux Noix. In seeking to return, it became necessary to beat with a light wind against an adverse current.

Perceiving their advantage, three of the row galleys of the enemy, each carrying a long 24, came out from under the works and opened their fire. The light guns of the Americans gave the heavy metal of the galleys a great superiority, it being impossible to come to close quarters without running within range of the fire of the batteries. The troops of the enemy also aided in the attack with musketry from the shores. The sloops replied for several hours, when a shot from the galleys ripped off a plank under water on the quarter of the Eagle. She went down immediately, though in water so shoal that her crew were saved by the boats of the enemy. Soon after, the Growler had her fore-stay and main-boom shot away, and becoming unmanageable, ran ashore, when of course she was compelled to strike. The loss of the Americans was 1 killed and 19 wounded.

The two captured sloops were taken into the British flotilla, and thus gave the command of the lake to the enemy, who under the orders of Captain Everard made an unresisted expedition as far as Burlington, capturing stores and some small trading craft.

The Americans now commenced building and purchasing, and by the end of the season had made some progress toward attaining a force likely to secure to them, again, the command of the lake.

In the mean time, the efforts on Ontario continued. Early in June, the British squadron went up the lake, most probably to carry troops, quitting port in the night; but Commodore Chauncey very properly decided that the important interests confided to his discretion required that he should not follow it, until his squadron was reinforced by the accession of the Pike, to get which vessel ready, every possible exertion was making.

On the 14th of June, the Lady of the Lake, Lieutenant W. Chauncey, left the harbour to cruise off Presque Isle, to intercept the stores of the enemy; and on the 16th, she captured the schooner Lady Murray, loaded with provisions, shot, and fixed ammunition. This vessel was in charge of an ensign and 15 men, the prisoners amounting, in all, to twenty-one. Mr. Chauncey carried his prize into the harbour on the 18th, passing quite near the enemy's squadron. The prisoners reported the launch of a new brig at Kingston.

About this time, the enemy's squadron, consisting of the Wolfe, Royal George, Moira, Melville, Berresford, Sidney Smith, and one or two gun-boats, appeared off Oswego. Preparations were made to disembark a party of troops, but the weather becoming threatening, Sir James Yeo was induced to defer the descent, and stood to the westward. He then went off the Genesee, where some provisions were seized and carried away, and a descent was made at Great Sodus, with a similar object, but which failed, though several buildings were burned, and some flour was captured. Shortly before, he had appeared off the coast, to the westward of Niagara, seizing some boats belonging to the army, loaded with stores. Two vessels, similarly employed, were also captured.

On the 23d of June, 14 of the guns, and a quantity of the rigging for the Pike, reached the harbour; and the next day, Commodore Chauncey advised the government to commence building a fast-sailing schooner. This recommendation was followed, and the keel of a vessel that was subsequently called

the Sylph, was soon after laid, her size being determined by the nature of the materials necessary for her equipment, which were principally on the spot.

It was the last of June before the people began to arrive for the Pike; the first draft, consisting of only 35 men, reaching the harbour on the 29th of that month. These were followed, on the 1st of July, by 94 more, from Boston. It was thought, by the assistance of the army, that the ship might be got out, with the aid of these men. In estimating the embarrassments of the lake service, in general, the reluctance of the sailors to serve on those inland waters should not be overlooked. The stations were known to be sickly, the service was exceedingly arduous, several winter months were to be passed, under a rigorous climate, in harbours that had none of the ordinary attractions of a seaport, and the chances for prize-money were too insignificant to enter into the account. At this period in the history of the navy, the men were entered for particular ships, and not for the general service, as at present; and it would have been nearly impossible to procure able seamen for this unpopular duty, had not the means been found to induce parts of crews to follow their officers from the Atlantic coast, as volunteers. A considerable party had been sent from the Constitution, to Lake Ontario, after her return from the coast of Brazil; and the arrival of a portion of the crew of the John Adams, on Lake Erie, has already been mentioned. On the 8th of July, Captain Crane arrived from the same ship; and two days later, he was followed by all the officers and men of that vessel, for which a new crew had been enlisted. This timely reinforcement was assigned, in a body, to the Madison, that ship being nearly of the size and force of the vessel from which they came.

On the afternoon of the 1st of July, however, or previously to this important accession to his force, a deserter came in and reported that Sir James Yeo had left Kingston the previous night, in 20 large boats, with a body of 800 or 1000 men, with which he had crossed and landed in Chaumont Bay, about seven miles from the Harbour. Here he had encamped in the woods, concealing his boats with the branches of trees, with an intention to make an attack on the American squadron, in the course of the approaching night. Preparations were accordingly made to receive the expected assault, but the enemy did not appear. On the following morning, Commodore Chauncey went out with the vessels that were ready, and examined the

shore, but the enemy could not be found. At sunset he returned, and moored the vessels in readiness for the attack. Still no enemy appeared. That night and the succeeding day, five more deserters came in, all corroborating each other's account, by which it would seem that the expedition was abandoned on the night of the 1st, in consequence of the desertion of the man who had first come in. At this time, the Pike had 16 of her guns mounted; and there is little doubt that Commodore Yeo would have been defeated, had he persisted in his original intention. By July 3d, the remainder of her armament had reached the Harbour.

On the 21st of July, the Madison, Captain Crane, went off Kingston, communicating with the commodore by signal, who remained at anchor in the Pike, which ship was getting ready as fast as possible. The same evening the latter went out, accompanied by the squadron, running over to the north shore, and then steered to the westward. The winds were light, and the vessels did not arrive off the mouth of the Niagara, until the 27th. Here a small body of troops was embarked under Colonel Scott, and the squadron proceeded to the head of the lake, with a view to make a descent at Burlington Bay. After landing the troops and marines, and reconnoitring, Colonel Scott believed the enemy to be too strong, and too well posted, for the force under his command; and on the 30th, the vessels weighed and ran down to York. Here Colonel Scott landed without opposition, and got possession of the place. A considerable quantity of provisions, particularly flour, was seized, five pieces of cannon were found, some shot and powder were brought off, and 11 boats, built to transport troops, were destroyed. Some barracks, and other public buildings, were burned. The troops re-embarked on the 1st of August, and on the 3d they were disembarked again, in the Niagara.

At daylight, on the morning of the 7th, while at anchor off the mouth of the Niagara, the enemy's squadron, consisting of two ships, two brigs, and two large schooners, were seen to the northwest, and to windward, distant about six miles. The American vessels immediately weighed, and endeavoured to obtain the weather-gage, the construction of a large portion of the force rendering this advantage important in a general action. At this time, Commodore Chauncey had present, the Pike, Madison, Oneida, Hamilton, Scourge, Ontario, Fair American, Governor Tompkins, Conquest, Julia, Growler, Asp, and Pert,

thirteen sail. The size of the lake, which at first view might seem to render it difficult to avoid a combat, was in truth in favour of such a design; the distances being so small, that the retiring party, under ordinary circumstances, would have it in his power to gain a harbour, before its enemy could close. Both commanders, it is now understood, acted under very rigid instructions, it being known that the fortune of the northern war, in a great measure, depended on the command of this lake, and neither party was disposed to incur any undue risks of losing the chance to obtain it.

On the present occasion, however, Commodore Chauncey was anxious to bring the enemy to battle, feeling a sufficient confidence in his officers and men to believe they would render his mixed and greatly divided force sufficiently available. The principal advantage of the enemy was in the identity of character that belonged to his squadron, which enabled him to keep it in compact order, and to give it concentrated and simultaneous evolutions, while the movements of the best of the American vessels, were necessarily controlled by those of their worst. In short, the manœuvring of the American squadron, throughout this entire summer, furnishes an illustration of that nautical principle to which there has elsewhere been an allusion, in an attempt to point out the vast importance of preserving an equality in the properties of ships. Indeed the Pike and Madison alone could compete with vessels of ordinary qualities, the Oneida proving to be so dull, that the Pike was frequently compelled to take her in tow.

At 9 A. M. the Pike, having got abreast of the Wolfe, the leading vessel of the enemy, hoisted her ensign, and fired a few guns to try the range of her shot. Finding that the latter fell short, she wore and hauled to the wind on the other tack, the sternmost of the small schooners being then six miles distant. The enemy wore in succession, also, and got upon the same tack as the American squadron, but ascertaining that the leading vessels of the latter would weather upon him, he soon tacked, and hauled off to the northward. As soon as the rear of the American line was far enough ahead to fetch his wake, signal was made to the squadron to tack once more, and to crowd sail in chase. The wind now gradually fell, and about sunset it was calm, the schooners using their sweeps to close. As night approached, the signal of recall was made, in order to collect the squadron, there being an apprehension that some of the small vessels might be cut off.

In the night the wind came from the westward, and it blew in squalls. All the vessels were at quarters, carrying sail to gain the wind of the enemy, with a view to engage him in the morning. Not long after midnight, a rushing sound was heard; and several of the vessels felt more or less of a squall; but the strength of the gust passed astern. Soon after, it was ascertained that the Hamilton, Lieutenant Winter, and Scourge, Mr. Osgood, had disappeared. The Pike now spoke the Governor Tompkins, which informed the commodore that the missing schooners had capsized in the squall, and that the whole of their officers and men, with the exception of sixteen of the latter, had been drowned. It is supposed, as all the crews were at quarters, and the guns were loose, that when the gust struck the vessels, their heavy pieces, which worked on slides, with all the shot on deck, went to leeward, and helped to carry the two schooners over. This accident showed how unsuited these vessels were to the service on which they were employed, those lost having been two of the very best in the squadron, mounting between them 19 guns.

The American squadron now hove-to, and soon after daylight the enemy set studding-sails and stood down upon it, apparently with an intention to engage. When a little more than a league distant, however, he brought by the wind, and the signal was made from the Pike to ware and to bring-to on the same tack. After waiting some time for the English ships to come down, Commodore Chauncey edged away for the land, hoping, by getting the breeze which, at that season, usually came off the southern shore, in the afternoon, to obtain the weather-gage. It fell calm, however, and the schooners were ordered to sweep up towards the enemy, and to bring him to action. While the latter were attempting to execute this order, the wind came out light at the eastward, when the Pike took the Oneida in tow, and stood down towards the enemy. The van of the schooners had got within two miles of the English squadron, when the breeze suddenly shifted to the westward, giving the latter the advantage of the wind. Sir James Yeo now bore up, in the expectation of cutting off the American small vessels, before the ships could cover them; but the former, by freely using their sweeps, soon got into their stations again, when the enemy hauled by the wind and hove-to.

It now became squally, and the people having been at quarters nearly two days and nights, and the enemy, who was evidently indisposed to engage, unless on his own terms, pos

sessing a great advantage in such weather, as the late accident sufficiently proved, Commodore Chauncey ran in, and anchored at the mouth of the Niagara. It blew heavy in squalls throughout the night, but the enemy being in sight to the northward, at daylight, the squadron weighed and stood out after him. Throughout the whole of this day, and of the succeeding night, under a succession of squalls, light airs, and calms, and constant changes in the direction of the winds, the American vessels were endeavouring to close with the enemy, without success. At daylight, however, on the morning of the 10th, Commodore Chauncey, having taken the precaution to get under the north shore, found himself to windward, with the enemy bearing S. W. The Pike now took the Asp, and the Madison the Fair American in tow, and the whole squadron kept away, with every prospect of forcing the English to engage. About noon, and before the squadrons were within gun-shot of each other, the wind shifted to W. S. W., giving the enemy the weather-gage. Throughout the day, there was a series of unsuccessful manœuvres to close and to gain the wind, but, about 5 P. M., the enemy was becalmed under the south shore, and the American squadron got a breeze from N. N. W., nearing him fast. At 6, being then distant about four miles, the line of battle was formed, though the wind had become very light. The vessels continued to close until 7, when a fresh breeze came out at S. W., placing the enemy once more to windward. After some manœuvring, the two squadrons were standing to the northward, with their larboard tacks aboard, under easy canvass, the enemy astern and to windward. It being now pretty certain that with vessels of qualities so unequal, he could not get the wind of the English, while the latter were disposed to avoid it, Commodore Chauncey adopted an order of battle that was singularly well adapted to draw them down, and which was admirable for its advantages and ingenuity. The American squadron formed in two lines, one to windward of the other. The weather line consisted altogether of the smallest of the schooners, having in it, in the order in which they are named, from the van to the rear, the Julia, Growler, Pert, Asp, Ontario, and Fair American. The line to leeward contained, in the same order, the Pike, Oneida, Madison, Governor Tompkins, and Conquest. It was hoped that Sir James Yeo would close with the weather line in the course of the night, and, with a view to bring him down, the Julia, Growler, Pert, and Asp were directed, after

engaging as long as was prudent, to edge away, and to pass through the intervals left between the leading vessels of the line to leeward, forming again under their protection, while the Ontario and Fair American were directed to run into the leeward line, and form astern of the Conquest.

At half-past 10 P. M. the enemy tacked and stood after the American squadron, keeping to windward of the weather line. At 11, the Fair American, the sternmost of the schooners in this line, began to fire; and the enemy continuing to draw ahead, in about fifteen minutes the action became general between him and the weather line. At half-past 11 all the schooners engaged bore up, according to orders, with the exception of the two in the van, which tacked in the hope of gaining the wind of the English ships, instead of waring, or bearing up. This unfortunate departure from the order of battle, entirely changed the state of things; Sir James Yeo, instead of following the schooners down, as had been expected, keeping his wind with a view to cut off the two that had separated. Commodore Chauncey now filled, and kept away two points, in the hope of drawing the enemy from the vessels to windward, but the English exchanged a few shots with the Pike in passing, and continued in pursuit of the two schooners. The American squadron immediately tacked, and endeavoured to close, with the double view of covering their consorts, and of engaging. As the chase was to windward, it was impossible to protect the vessels that had separated, the English ships easily getting them under their guns, when the former struck, of course.

The vessels captured were the Growler, Lieutenant Deacon; and the Julia, Mr. Trant. They sustained a small loss before they surrendered, having, in some measure, repaired the fault they had committed, by the handsome manner in which they held on to the last. It was the opinion of Commodore Chauncey, that these schooners were lost through excess of zeal in their commanders, who thought that a general action was about to take place, and that by gaining the wind, they might be of more service, than if stationed to leeward. The result showed the necessity of complete concert in naval evolutions, and the virtue of implicit obedience.

Each of the vessels taken by the enemy, carried two guns, and had a crew of about 40 souls. Some damage was done to the sails and rigging of the enemy, by the fire of the schooners; but the American squadron, the Julia and Growler excepted, received no injury worth mentioning. The Growler

had a man killed, lost her bowsprit, and was a good deal damaged before she struck.

The Pike, after carrying sail hard for some time, finding that she was separating from the rest of the squadron, and that there was no hope of saving the two schooners, rejoined the other vessels, and formed the line again. At daylight, the enemy was seen a long way to windward, it blowing fresh. The small vessels beginning to labour excessively, it became necessary to send two of the dullest of them into the Niagara for security.

The gale continuing, the commodore now determined to run for the Genesee, with the rest of the vessels; but the wind increasing, and the Madison and Oneida not having a day's provisions on board, he stood for the Harbour, where he did not arrive until the 13th, the wind failing before he got in.

CHAPTER XLIII.

Without waiting for his new vessel, Commodore Chauncey took in provisions for five weeks, and sailed on another cruise the very day of his arrival. On the 16th, the squadron was off the Niagara, and the same day the enemy was made, being eight sail in all. Some manœuvring to obtain the wind followed, but it coming on to blow, the vessels ran into the mouth of the Genesee, and anchored. This was another of the evil consequences of having vessels like the small schooners in the squadron, a sea little heavier than common causing them to labour to a degree that rendered it unsafe to keep the lake. The wind, however, freshened so much as to compel the whole squadron to weigh and bear up, forcing them down the lake under easy canvass. The enemy, it would seem, was also driven to leeward, for he was seen at anchor under the False Ducks, as those islands came in sight. The Fair American and Asp having been sent into the Niagara on duty, the vessels present in the American squadron, on this occasion, were the Pike, Madison, Oneida, Tompkins, Conquest, Ontario, Pert, and Lady of the Lake; the latter having no armament fit for a general engagement. It was now expected that the enemy

would be willing to engage, and the vessels were cleared for action. The wind again shifted, however, bringing the English squadron to windward; but by carrying sail hard, the American vessels were weathering on the enemy when the latter ran behind the islands, and was believed to have stood into Kingston. The gale increasing, and the schooners being actually in danger of foundering, Commodore Chauncey bore up for the Harbour, where he arrived on the 19th of the month.

The new vessel had been launched on the 18th, and she was immediately rigged and named the Sylph. Her armament was peculiar, for, in that comparative wilderness, the materials that could be had were frequently taken, in the place of those that were desired. Four long thirty-twos were mounted on circles between her masts, and six sixes were placed in broadside. As this vessel was expected to be weatherly, it was hoped these heavy guns might cut away some of the enemy's spars, and bring on a general action. It is due to the extraordinary capacity of the builder, to say that this schooner was put into the water in twenty-one working days after her keel had been laid.

A promotion had been made previously, and the new commissions were now found at the Harbour. Lieutenant Commandant Woolsey was transferred to the Sylph, with his new rank; Lieutenant Thomas Brown, the officer who had so much distinguished himself at the landing before Fort George, succeeding him in the Oneida.

On the 28th of August, Commodore Chauncey sailed again, with the Pike, Madison, Sylph, Oneida, Tompkins, Conquest, Ontario, Pert, and Lady of the Lake. The enemy was not seen until the 7th of September, when the squadron lying at anchor in, and off, the Niagara, his ships were made out at daylight, close in and to leeward. The signal to weigh was instantly shown, and the Pike, Madison, and Sylph, each taking a schooner in tow, sail was made in chase. The enemy bore up to the northward, and for six days the American squadron followed the English, endeavouring to bring it to action, without success. On the 11th of September, the enemy was becalmed off the Genesee, when the American vessels got a breeze and ran within gun-shot, before the English squadron took the wind. A running fight, that lasted more than three hours, was the result; but the enemy escaped in consequence of his better sailing, it being out of the power of

the American commander to close with more than two of his vessels, the Sylph being totally unfitted for that species of combat. As the Pike succeeded in getting several broadsides at the enemy, he did not escape without being a good deal cut up, having, according to his own report, an officer and ten men killed and wounded. The Pike was hulled a few times, and other trifling injuries were received, though no person was hurt. Previously to this affair, Commodore Chauncey had been joined by the Fair American and Asp. On the 12th, Sir James Yeo ran into Amherst Bay, where the Americans were unable to follow him, on account of their ignorance of the shoals. It was supposed that the English Commodore declined engaging on this occasion, in consequence of the smoothness of the water, it being his policy to bring his enemy to action in blowing weather, when the American schooners would be nearly useless.

Commodore Chauncey remained off the Ducks until the 17th, when the English squadron succeeded in getting into Kingston, after which he went into port for despatches and supplies. The next day, however, he came out again, and on the 19th, the enemy was seen in the vicinity of the Ducks. No notice was now taken of him, but the squadron stood up the lake, in the hope that the English would follow, and also with a view of bringing down a brigade of troops, a division of the army being about to concentrate at Sackett's Harbour, preparatory to descending the St. Lawrence with a view to attack Kingston or Montreal.

In a day or two, the squadron got off the Niagara, and anchored. On the 26th of September, information was received that Sir James Yeo was at York, with all his squadron. The Lady of the Lake was sent across to ascertain the fact, on the morning of the 27th, and returning the same evening with a confirmation of the report, the squadron instantly got under way. Owing to the wind, the darkness of the night, and the bad sailing of so many of the vessels, the squadron was not got into line, until 8 A. M., on the morning of the 28th, when the Pike, Madison, and Sylph, each took a schooner in tow, as usual, and sail was made for the north shore.

The English squadron was soon discovered under canvass, in York Bay, and the American vessels immediately edged away for it. Fortunately, the Americans had the weather-gage, the wind being at the eastward, blowing a good breeze. As soon as the enemy perceived the American ships approach-

ing, he tacked and stretched out into the lake, in order to get room to manœuvre; Commodore Chauncey forming his line, and steering directly for his centre. When the American squadron was about a league distant, the English ships made all sail, on a wind, to the southward. The former now wore in succession, to get on the same tack with the enemy; and as soon as this object was effected, it began to edge away again in order to close.

The enemy had now no alternative between putting up his helm, and running off before the wind, thus satisfactorily demonstrating which party sought, and which avoided a general action, or in allowing the Americans to commence the engagement. Notwithstanding the wariness with which Sir James Yeo had hitherto manœuvred to prevent a decisive combat, he had always maintained the pretension of seeking a conflict, probably with a view to encourage the colonies; and a retreat, at this moment, would have been too unequivocally a flight to admit of palliation. The American squadron was a good deal extended, in consequence of the great difference in the sailing of its vessels, the Pike being considerably ahead of most of her consorts. As the signal was flying for close action, the Governor Tompkins had passed several of the larger vessels, and was next astern of the commodore, while the Madison, which had one of the heaviest of the schooners in tow, was prevented from getting as near as was desirable. The Oneida, too, now showed her worst qualities, no exertions of her gallant commander, Lieutenant Commandant Brown, being able to urge her into the conflict. In this state of things, Sir James Yeo, perceiving that his two sternmost vessels were in danger, and that there was some little chance of cutting off the rear of the American line, determined to tack, and to hazard an engagement.

At ten minutes past meridian, accordingly, the English ships began to tack in succession, while the Pike made a yaw to leeward, edging away rapidly, to get nearer to the enemy's centre. As soon as the two or three leading vessels of the enemy, among which were the Wolfe and Royal George, got round, they opened on the Pike, which ship received their fire for several minutes without returning it. When near enough, she opened in her turn. The Pike, on this occasion, was not only beautifully handled, but her fire was probably as severe as ever came out of the broadside of a ship of her force. For twenty minutes she lay opposed to all the heaviest vessels of the ene-

my, receiving little or no support from any of her own squadron, with the exception of the Asp, the schooner she had in tow, and the Governor Tompkins. The latter vessel, commanded for the occasion by Lieutenant W. C. B. Finch,* of the Madison, was handled with a gallantry that reflected high credit on that young officer, steadily keeping the station into which she had been so spiritedly carried, and maintaining a warm fire until crippled by the enemy, and unavoidably left astern. When the smoke blew away, during a pause in this sharp combat, it was found that the Wolfe had lost her main and mizzen topmasts and her main-yard, besides receiving other injuries. Cut up so seriously, she put away dead before the wind, crowding all the canvass she could carry on her forward spars. At this moment, the Royal George luffed up in noble style, across her stern, to cover the English commodore, who ran off to leeward, passing through his own line, in order to effect his retreat.

When the English squadron bore up, the American vessels followed, maintaining a heavy fire with as many of their circle and chase guns as could reach the enemy. It was now found that the armament of the Sylph was not suited to service, the guns between her masts being so crowded as not to allow of their being used with freedom, or rapidity, more especially when in chase. This circumstance, notwithstanding her size and sailing, rendered her of little more use than one of the smaller schooners.

After pursuing the enemy about two hours, during which time the squadron had run nearly up to the head of the lake, where the former had a post at Burlington Bay, and finding that the English ships outsailed most of his vessels, Commodore Chauncey made the signal to haul off with a view to stand in for the Niagara. As the enemy was effectually beaten, and there is scarcely a doubt, would have been destroyed, had he been pressed, this order has been much criticised, as uncalled for, and unfortunate. The motives which influenced the American commander, however, were marked by that discretion and thoughtfulness, which are among the highest attributes of an officer, and which distinguished his whole career, while entrusted with the arduous and responsible service over which he presided during the war.

The wind was increasing, and it shortly after came on to

* Late Captain W. C. Bolton.

blow an easterly gale, and an action, under such circumstances, would probably have caused both squadrons to be thrown ashore, there being nothing but a roadstead, under Burlington heights, which the wind that then blew swept. As the enemy was known to have a considerable land force at this point, all who were driven ashore, would necessarily have fallen into his hands; and had he succeeded in getting off one or two of the smaller vessels, he would effectually have obtained the command of the lake. By going into the Niagara, on the other hand, the American squadron was in a position to intercept the retreat of the enemy, who was in a *cul de sac;* and after waiting for more moderate weather, he might be attacked even at anchor, should it be deemed expedient, under much more favourable circumstances. In addition to these reasons, which were weighty, and worthy of a commander of reflection and judgment, the Pike had received a shot or two beneath her water line, which required that her pumps should be kept going, a toil, that united to the labour of an action, would have finally exhausted the strength of the ship's company. The enemy had batteries to command the anchorage, too; and no doubt he would have established more, had the Americans gone in.

In the action of the 28th of September, the Pike suffered a good deal, both in her hull and aloft, bearing the weight of the enemy's fire for most of the time. Her main-top-gallant-mast was shot away early in the engagement, and her bowsprit, foremast, and mainmast were all wounded. Her rigging and sails were much cut up, and she had been repeatedly hulled; two or three times below the water line, as already stated. Five of her men, only, were killed and wounded by shot. While bearing up in chase, however, the starboard bow gun bursted, by which accident twenty-two men were either slain, or seriously injured. The topgallant forecastle was torn up by this explosion, rendering its circle gun useless during the remainder of the day. Four of the other guns also cracked in the muzzles, producing great distrust about using them. The Madison received some slight injuries, and the Oneida had her main-topmast badly wounded. But no person was hurt in either of these vessels. The Governor Tompkins lost her foremast. On the part of the enemy, the Wolfe and Royal George suffered most; and it is believed that the former vessel sustained a very heavy loss in men. It is also understood, that one, if not two, of the enemy's smallest vessels struck; but the

Pike declining to take possession, in the eagerness to close with the Wolfe, they eventually escaped.

On the 2d, the wind coming round light to the westward, and the last transport having been sent down the lake with troops, the squadron weighed, and stretched out to look for the enemy. At 10 A. M. he was seen standing down, under studding sails. The instant the American vessels were made, however, the enemy came by the wind and carried sail to keep off. During the remainder of this day, the English ships gained on the American, and at daylight on the 3d they were seen at anchor, close in under an island between Twelve and Twenty Mile Creeks. It blew quite heavily in gusts throughout the day, both squadrons turning to windward, the enemy being nearly up with the head of the lake at sunset. The night proved dark and squally, with a good deal of rain, and every precaution was taken to prevent the enemy from getting past, as he was now caught, as it might be, in a net.

The next morning the weather was thick, and nothing could be seen of the English squadron. It falling calm at noon, the Lady of the Lake was ordered to the westward, to sweep up to ascertain the position of the enemy, or whether he had not anchored again in Burlington Bay. At 9 P. M. that schooner returned, and reported that the English squadron was not to be seen, only two gun-boats being visible. As a discreet and experienced officer had been sent on this service, Commodore Chauncey immediately inferred that the enemy had got past him, during the darkness of the preceding night, and that he had gone down the lake, either to cut off the American transports, or to get into Kingston. Sail was immediately made to run off the Ducks, with a view to intercept Sir James Yeo, or any prizes he might have taken. It is now known that the officers of the Lady of the Lake were deceived, the British fleet actually lying at anchor so close under the heights that their hulls and spars were confounded with objects on the shore; the gentleman sent to ascertain the fact being too eager to report the supposed escape of the enemy, to go near enough in to make certain of the truth.

That night and the succeeding day the American squadron made a great run, the wind blowing heavily from the N. W. At 3 P. M., on the 5th, seven sail were seen ahead, near the False Ducks, and no doubts were entertained that they were the British squadron. All sail was carried to close, but at 4 the chases were made out to be schooners and sloops. Signals

were now shown for the Sylph and Lady of the Lake to cast off their tows, and to chase to the N. E. This induced the strangers to separate, when the Pike cast off the Governor Tompkins, and past ahead also. The strangers now set fire to one of their vessels, the other six crowding sail to escape. At sunset, when opposite the Real Ducks, the British vessels the Confiance, Hamilton, and Mary, struck to the Pike. The Sylph soon after joined, bringing down with her another prize, the Drummond cutter, and early next morning the same schooner brought out of the Ducks the Lady Gore. The Enterprise, the seventh vessel, escaped.

The prizes were gun-vessels, carrying from one to three guns each, and were employed as transports; a part of one of the German regiments in the British service being on board at the time. The whole number of prisoners made amounted to 264, including officers. Among the latter were a lieutenant and two master's mates of the British Royal Navy, and four masters of the provincial marine. Ten officers of the army were also taken. The Confiance and Hamilton, two of the prizes, were the schooners Growler and Julia, taken on the night of the 8th of August, which, the enemy had rightly judged, would prove an incumbrance rather than an accession to their squadron, and had declined receiving them in it. This circumstance, of itself, sufficiently proves the equivocal advantage enjoyed by the possession of these craft, which formed so conspicuous a part of Commodore Chauncey's force on paper, the enemy being unwilling to injure the manœuvring of his vessels by using them.

Early in November, Commodore Chauncey was lying at the outlet of the St. Lawrence, below the east end of Long Island, when Sir James Yeo came out with his ships, and anchored within two leagues of him, the squadrons being separated by a chain of small islands. There was but one passage by which this chain could be passed, and the Americans sent boats to sound it, intending to lighten and go through, when the enemy lifted his anchors and returned to port. On the 11th, the army having gone down the river, the American squadron went into the Harbour.

Two days later, Commodore Chauncey, who had now an almost undisturbed possession of the lake, went to the Genesee, where, on the 16th of the month, he took on board 1100 men, belonging to the army of General Harrison. A severe gale came on, by which the vessels were separated, some being

driven as far west as the head of the lake. The transports, into which most of the small schooners were now converted, having been finally despatched, the commodore went off Kingston again, to occupy the enemy, and to cover the passage of the troops. All the transports had arrived on the 21st but the Julia, which did not get in until a few days later. The Fair American had gone ashore near the Niagara, during the gale, but was got off, and reached the Harbour on the 27th. By this time, the navigation of the lake was virtually closed, and it being too late to attempt any naval operations, while the duty of transporting the troops and stores had been successfully performed, preparations were made to lay the vessels up for the winter.

CHAPTER XLIV.

In the course of the winter of 1812–13, Captain O. H. Perry, then a young master and commander at the head of the flotilla of gun-boats, at Newport, Rhode Island, finding no immediate prospect of getting to sea in a sloop of war, volunteered for the lake service. Captain Perry brought on with him a number of officers, and a few men, and Commodore Chauncey gladly availed himself of the presence of an officer of his rank, known spirit, and zeal, to send him on the upper lakes, in command, where he arrived in the course of the winter. From this time, until the navigation opened, Captain Perry was actively employed, under all the embarrassments of his frontier position, in organising and creating a force, with which he might contend with the enemy for the mastery of those important waters. Two large brigs, to mount 20 guns each, were laid down at Presque Isle, and a few gun-vessels, or schooners, were also completed. The spring passed in procuring guns, shot, and other supplies; and, as circumstances allowed, a draft of men would arrive from below, to aid in equipping the different vessels. As soon as the squadron of Commodore Chauncey appeared off the mouth of Niagara, Captain Perry, with some of his officers, went to join it, and the former was efficiently employed in superintending the disembarkation of the troops, as

has been already related. The fall of Fort George produced that of Fort Erie, when the whole of the Niagara frontier came under the control of the American army.

Captain Perry now repaired to his own command, and with infinite labour, he succeeded in getting the vessels that had so long been detained in the Niagara, by the enemy's batteries, out of the river. This important service was effected by the 12th of June, and preparations were immediately commenced for appearing on the lake. These vessels consisted of the brig Caledonia, (a prize,) and the schooners Catherine, Ohio, and Amelia; with the sloop Contractor. The Catherine was named the Somers, the Amelia the Tigress, and the Contractor the Trippe. At this time, the enemy had a cruising force under the orders of Captain Finnis, which consisted of the Queen Charlotte, a ship of between two and three hundred tons, and mounting 17 guns; the Lady Prevost, a fine warlike schooner, of less than two hundred tons, that mounted 13 guns; the brig Hunter, a vessel a little smaller, of 10 guns, and three or four lighter cruisers. He was also building, at Malden, a ship of about the tonnage of the Charlotte, that was to mount 19 guns, and which was subsequently called the Detroit.

It was near the middle of June before Captain Perry was ready to sail from the outlet of Lake Erie, for Presque Isle. There being no intention to engage the enemy, and little dread of meeting him in so short a run, as she came in sight of her port each vessel made the best of her way. The enemy had chosen this moment to look into Presque Isle, and both squadrons were in view from the shore, at the same time, though, fortunately for the Americans, the English did not get a sight of them, until they were too near the land to be intercepted. As the last vessel got in, the enemy hove in sight, in the offing.

The two brigs laid down in the winter, under the directions of Commodore Chauncey, had been launched towards the close of May, and were now in a state of forwardness. They were called the Lawrence and the Niagara. The schooners also were in the water, and Captain Perry, having all his vessels in one port, employed himself in getting them ready for service, as fast as possible. Still various stores were wanting. There was a great deficiency of men, particularly of seamen, and Captain Perry, and Mr. D. Turner, were, as yet, the only commissioned sea-officers on the lake. The latter, moreover was quite young in years, as well as in rank.

Presque Isle, or, as the place is now called, Erie, was a

eorge produced
a frontier came

mand, and with
els that had so
emy's batteries,
effected by the
ely commenced
isted of the brig
erine, Ohio, and
erine was named
Contractor the
ing force under
l of the Queen
ndred tons, and
arlike schooner,
guns; the brig
nd three or four
Ialden, a ship of
mount 19 guns,

Perry was ready
que Isle. There
d little dread of
e in sight of her
The enemy had
and both squad-
ne time, though,
l not get a sight
o be intercepted.
ght, in the offing.
er the directions
towards the close
ess. They were
e schooners also
all his vessels in
eady for service,
wanting. There
of seamen, and
as yet, the only
latter, moreover

lled, Erie, was a

BATTLE OF LAKE ERIE. Page 382.

RARE
BOOK

good and spacious harbour; but it had a bar on which there was less than seven feet of water. This bar, which had hitherto answered the purposes of a fortification, now offered a serious obstruction to getting the brigs on the lake. It lay about half a mile outside, and offered great advantages to the enemy for attacking the Americans while employed in passing it. So sensible was Captain Perry of this disadvantage, that he adopted the utmost secresy in order to conceal his intentions, for it was known that the enemy had spies closely watching his movements.

Captain Barclay had lately superseded Captain Finnis in the command of the English force, and for near a week he had been blockading the American vessels, evidently with an intention to prevent their getting out, it being known that this bar could be crossed only in smooth water. On Friday, the 2d of August, he suddenly disappeared in the northern board.

The next day but one was Sunday, and the officers were ashore seeking the customary relaxation. Without any appearances of unusual preparation, Captain Perry privately gave the order to repair on board the respective vessels and to drop down to the bar. This command was immediately obeyed; and at about 2 P. M., the Lawrence had been towed to the point where the deepest water was to be found. Her guns were whipped out, loaded and shotted as they were, and landed on the beach; two large scows, prepared for the purpose, were hauled alongside, and the work of lifting the brig proceeded as fast as possible. Pieces of massive timber had been run through the forward and after ports, and when the scows were sunk to the water's edge, the ends of the timbers were blocked up, supported by these floating foundations. The plugs were now put in the scows, and the water was pumped out of them. By this process, the brig was lifted quite two feet, though, when she was got on the bar, it was found that she still drew too much water. It became necessary, in consequence, to come-up every thing, to sink the scows anew, and to block up the timbers afresh. This duty occupied the night.

The schooners had crossed the bar, and were moored outside, and preparations were hurriedly made to receive an attack. About 8 A. M., the enemy re-appeared. At this time, the Lawrence was just passing the bar. A distant, short, and harmless cannonade ensued, though it had the effect to keep the enemy from running in. As soon as the Lawrence was

in deep water, her guns were hoisted in, manned as fast as mounted, and the brig's broadside was sprung to bear on the English squadron. Fortunately, the Niagara crossed on the first trial; and before night, all the vessels were as ready for service, as circumstances would then allow. The enemy remained with his topsails to the mast half an hour, sullenly reconnoitring; he then filled, and went up the lake under a press of canvass.

This occurred on the 4th of August, and on the 5th, Captain Perry sailed in quest of the enemy, having received on board a number of soldiers and volunteers. He ran off Long Point, and sweeping the Canada shore for some distance, returned to Erie on the 8th. Taking in some supplies, he was about to proceed up the lake again, when intelligence arrived that a party sent from below, under Lieutenant Elliott, was at Cattaraugus, on its way to join the squadron. A vessel was immediately sent for this acceptable reinforcement. Shortly after its arrival, the commissions that had been made out some time previously, were received from below. By these changes, Mr. Elliott became a master and commander, and Messrs. Holdup, Packett, Yarnall, Edwards, and Conklin, were raised to the rank of lieutenants. Most of these gentlemen, however, had been acting for some months.

The American squadron now consisted of the Lawrence 20, Captain Perry; Niagara 20, Captain Elliott; Caledonia 3, Mr. M'Grath, a purser; Ariel 4, Lieutenant Packett; Trippe 1, Lieutenant Smith; Tigress 1, Lieutenant Conklin; Somers 2, Mr. Alney; Scorpion 2, Mr. Champlin; Ohio 1, Mr. Dobbins; and Porcupine 1, Mr. Senatt. On the 18th of August, this force sailed from Erie, and off Sandusky, a few days later, it chased, and was near capturing one of the enemy's schooners.

The squadron cruised for several days, near the entrance of the strait, when Captain Perry was taken ill with the fever peculiar to these waters, and shortly after the vessels went into Put-in Bay, a harbour, among some islands that lay at no great distance.

Here a few changes occurred, Mr. Smith going to the Niagara, and Mr. Holdup to the Trippe; Mr. M'Grath went also to the Niagara, and Mr. Turner took command of the Caledonia. The Ohio was sent down the lake on duty.

While in port, on this occasion, Captain Perry contemplated an attack on the enemy's vessels, by means of boats; and

orders were issued, accordingly, to drill the people with muffled oars.

The squadron was still lying at Put-in Bay on the morning of the 10th of September, when, at daylight, the enemy's ships were discovered at the N. W. from the mast-head of the Lawrence. A signal was immediately made for all the vessels to get under way. The wind was light at S. W., and there was no mode of obtaining the weather-gage of the enemy, a very important measure with the peculiar armament of the largest of the American vessels, but by beating round some small islands that lay in the way. It being thought there was not sufficient time for this, though the boats were got ahead to tow, a signal was about to be made for the vessels to ware, and to pass to leeward of the islands, with an intention of giving the enemy this great advantage, when the wind shifted to S. E. By this change the American squadron was enabled to pass in the desired direction, and to gain the wind. When he perceived the American vessels clearing the land, or about 10 A. M., the enemy hove-to, in a line, with his ships' heads to the southward and westward. At this time the two squadrons were about three leagues asunder, the breeze being still at S. E., and sufficient to work with. After standing down, until about a league from the English, where a better view was got of the manner in which the enemy had formed his line, the leading vessels of his own squadron being within hail, Captain Perry communicated a new order of attack. It had been expected that the Queen Charlotte, the second of the English vessels, in regard to force, would be at the head of their line, and the Niagara had been destined to lead in, and to lie against her, Captain Perry having reserved for himself a commander's privilege of engaging the principal vessel of the opposing squadron; but, it now appearing that the anticipated arrangement had not been made, the plan was promptly altered. Captain Barclay had formed his line with the Chippeway, Mr. Campbell, armed with one gun on a pivot, in the van; the Detroit, his own vessel, next; and the Hunter, Lieutenant Bignall; Queen Charlotte, Captain Finnis; Lady Prevost, Lieutenant Commandant Buchan; and Little Belt astern, in the order named. To oppose this line, the Ariel, of four long twelves, was stationed in the van, and the Scorpion, of one long and one short gun on circles, next her. The Lawrence, Captain Perry, came next; the two schooners just mentioned keeping on her weather bow, having no quarters. The Cale-

donia, Lieutenant Turner, was the next astern, and the Niagara, Captain Elliot, was placed next to the Caledonia. These vessels were all up at the time, but the other light craft were more or less distant, each endeavouring to get into her berth. The order of battle for the remaining vessels, directed the Tigress to fall in astern of the Niagara, the Somers next, and then the Porcupine and Trippe, in the order named.

By this time the wind had got to be very light, but the leading vessels were all in their stations, and the remainder were endeavouring to get in as fast as possible. The English vessels presented a very gallant array, and their appearance was beautiful and imposing. Their line was compact, with the heads of the vessels still to the southward and westward; their ensigns were just opening to the air; their vessels were freshly painted, and their canvass was new and perfect. The American line was more straggling. The order of battle required them to form within half a cable's length of each other, but the schooners astern could not close with the vessels ahead, which sailed faster, and had more light canvass, until some considerable time had elapsed.

A few minutes before twelve, the Detroit threw a twenty-four-pound shot at the Lawrence, then on her weather quarter, distant between one and two miles. Captain Perry now passed an order by trumpet, through the vessels astern, for the line to close to the prescribed order; and soon after, the Scorpion was hailed, and directed to begin with her long gun. At this moment, the American vessels in line were edging down upon the English, those in front being necessarily nearer to the enemy than those more astern, with the exception of the Ariel and Scorpion, which two schooners had been ordered to keep well to windward of the Lawrence. As the Detroit had an armament of long guns, Captain Barclay manifested his judgment in commencing the action in this manner; and in a short time, the firing between that ship, the Lawrence, and the two schooners at the head of the American line, got to be very animated. The Lawrence now showed a signal for the squadron to close, each vessel in her station, as previously designated. A few minutes later the vessels astern began to fire, and the action became general but distant. The Lawrence, however, appeared to be the principal aim of the enemy, and before the firing had lasted any material time, the Detroit, Hunter, and Queen Charlotte, were directing most of their efforts against her. The American brig endeavoured to close,

and did succeed in getting within reach of canister, though not without suffering materially, as she fanned down upon the enemy. At this time, the support of the two schooners ahead, which were well commanded and fought, was of the greatest moment to her; for the vessels astern, though in the line, could be of little use n diverting the fire, on account of their positions and the distance. After the firing had lasted some time, the Niagara hailed the Caledonia, and directed the latter to make room for the former to pass ahead. Mr. Turner put his helm up in the most dashing manner, and continued to near the enemy, until he was closer to his line, perhaps, than the commanding vessel; keeping up as warm a fire as his small armament would allow. The Niagara now became the vessel next astern of the Lawrence.

The cannonade had the usual effect of deadening the wind, and for two hours there was very little air. During all this time, the weight of the enemy's fire was directed against the Lawrence; the Queen Charlotte having filled, passed the Hunter, and closed with the Detroit, where she kept up a destructive cannonading on this devoted vessel. These united attacks dismantled the American brig, besides producing great slaughter on board her. At the end of two hours and a half, agreeably to the report of Captain Perry, the enemy having filled, and the wind increasing, the two squadrons drew slowly ahead, the Lawrence necessarily falling astern and partially out of the combat. At this moment the Niagara passed to the southward and westward, a short distance to windward of the Lawrence, steering for the head of the enemy's line, and the Caledonia followed to leeward.

The vessels astern had not been idle, but, by dint of sweeping and sailing, they had all got within reach of their guns, and had been gradually closing, though not in the prescribed order. The rear of the line would seem to have inclined down towards the enemy, bringing the Trippe, Lieutenant Holdup, so near the Caledonia, that the latter sent a boat to her for a supply of cartridges.

Captain Perry, finding himself in a vessel that had been rendered nearly useless by the injuries she had received, and which was dropping out of the combat, got into his boat, and pulled after the Niagara, on board of which vessel he arrived at about half-past 2. Soon after, the colours of the Lawrence were hauled down, that vessel being literally a wreck.

After a short consultation between Captains Perry and

Elliott, the latter volunteered to take the boat of the former, and to proceed and bring the small vessels astern, which were already briskly engaged, into still closer action. This proposal being accepted, Captain Elliott pulled down the line, passing within hail of all the small vessels astern, directing them to close within half pistol-shot of the enemy, and to throw in grape and canister, as soon as they could get the desired positions. He then repaired on board the Somers, and took charge of that schooner in person.

When the enemy saw the colours of the Lawrence come down, he confidently believed that he had gained the day. His men appeared over the bulwarks of the different vessels and gave three cheers. For a few minutes, indeed, there appears to have been, as if by common consent, nearly a general cessation in the firing, during which both parties were preparing for a desperate and final effort. The wind had freshened, and the position of the Niagara, which brig was now abeam of the leading English vessel, was commanding; while the gun-vessels astern, in consequence of the increasing breeze, were enabled to close very fast.

At 45 minutes past 2, or when time had been given to the gun-vessels to receive the order mentioned, Captain Perry showed the signal from the Niagara, for close action, and immediately bore up, under his foresail, topsails, and topgallantsail. As the American vessels hoisted their answering flags, this order was received with three cheers, and it was obeyed with alacrity and spirit. The enemy had attempted to ware round, to get fresh broadsides to bear, in doing which his line got into confusion, and the two ships for a short time, were foul of each other, while the Lady Prevost had so far shifted her berth, as to be both to the westward and to the leeward of the Detroit. At this critical moment, the Niagara came steadily down, within half pistol-shot of the enemy, standing between the Chippeway and Lady Prevost, on one side, and the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter, on the other. In passing, she poured in her broadsides, starboard and larboard, ranged ahead of the ships, luffed athwart their bows, and continued delivering a close and deadly fire. The shrieks from the Detroit, proclaimed that the tide of battle had turned. At the same moment, the gun-vessels and Caledonia were throwing in close discharges of grape and canister astern. A conflict so fearfully close, and so deadly, was necessarily short In fifteen or twenty minutes after the Niagara bore up, a hail

was passed among the small vessels, to say that the enemy had struck, and an officer of the Queen Charlotte appeared on the taffrail of that ship, waving a white handkerchief, bent to a boarding-pike.

As soon as the smoke cleared away, the two squadrons were found partly intermingled. The Niagara lay to leeward of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Hunter; and the Caledonia, with one or two of the gun-vessels, was between the latter and the Lady Prevost. On board the Niagara, the signal for close action was still abroad, while the small vessels were sternly wearing their answering flags. The Little Belt and Chippeway were endeavouring to escape to leeward, but they were shortly after brought-to by the Scorpion and Trippe; while the Lawrence was lying astern and to windward, with the American colours again flying. The battle had commenced about noon, and it terminated at 3, with the exception of a few shots fired at the two vessels that attempted to escape, which were not overtaken until an hour later.

In this decisive action, so far as their people were concerned, the two squadrons suffered in nearly an equal degree, the manner in which the Lawrence was cut up, being almost without an example in naval warfare. It is understood that when Captain Perry left her, she had but one gun on her starboard side, or that on which she was engaged, which could be used, and that gallant officer is said to have aided in firing it in person the last time it was discharged. Of her crew, 22 were killed, and 61 were wounded, most of the latter severely. When Captain Perry left her, taking with him his own brother and six of his people, there remained on board but few sound men. The Niagara had 2 killed, and 25 wounded, or about one-fourth of all at quarters. This was the official report; but, according to her surgeon's account, her loss was 5 killed, and near 30 wounded. The other vessels suffered relatively less. The Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, though carried into the hottest of the action, and entirely without quarters, had 3 men wounded; the Trippe, Lieutenant Holdup, which, for some time, was quite as closely engaged, and was equally without quarters, had 2 men wounded; the Somers, Mr. Almy, the same; the Ariel, Lieutenant Packett, had 1 man killed, and 3 wounded; the Scorpion, Mr. Champlin, had 2 killed, one of whom was a midshipman; the Tigress, Lieutenant Conklin, and Porcupine, Mr. Senatt, had no one hurt. The total loss of the squadron was 27 killed, and 96 wound-

ed, or altogether 123 men; of whom 12 were quarter-deck officers. More than a hundred men were unfit for duty, among the different vessels, previously to the action, cholera morbus and dysentery prevailing in the squadron. Captain Perry himself was labouring under debility, from a recent attack of the lake fever, and could hardly be said to be in a proper condition for service, when he met the enemy; a circumstance that greatly enhances the estimate of his personal exertions on this memorable occasion. Among the Americans slain, were Lieutenant Brooks, the commanding marine officer, and Messrs. Laub and Clark, midshipmen; and among the wounded, Messrs. Yarnall and Forrest, the first and second lieutenants of the Lawrence, Mr. Taylor, her master, Mr. Hambleton, her purser, and Messrs. Swartwout and Claxton, two of her midshipmen. Mr. Edwards, second lieutenant of the Niagara, and Mr. Cummings, one of her midshipmen, were also wounded.

For two hours the weight of the enemy's fire had been thrown into the Lawrence; and the water being perfectly smooth, his long guns had committed great havoc, before the carronades of the American vessels could be made available. For much of this period, it is believed that the efforts of the enemy were little diverted, except by the fire of the two leading schooners, a gun of one of which (the Ariel) had early bursted, the two long guns of the large brigs, and the two long guns of the Caledonia. Although the enemy undoubtedly suffered by this fire, it was not directed at a single object, as was the case with that of the English, who appeared to think that by destroying the American commanding vessel they would conquer. It is true that carronades were used on both sides, at an earlier stage of the action than that mentioned, but there is good reason for thinking that they did but little execution for the first hour. When they did tell, the Lawrence, the vessel nearest to the enemy, if the Caledonia be excepted, necessarily became their object, and, by this time, the efficiency of her own battery was much lessened. As a consequence of these peculiar circumstances, her starboad bulwarks were near ly beaten in; and even her larboard were greatly injured, many of the enemy's heavy shot passing through both sides; while every gun was finally disabled in the batteries fought. Although much has been justly said of the manner in which the Bon Homme Richard and the Essex were injured, neither of those ships suffered, relatively, in a degree proportioned to the Lawrence. Distinguished as were the two former vessels,

for the indomitable resolution with which they withstood the destructive fire directed against them, it did not surpass that manifested on board the latter; and it ought to be mentioned, that throughout the whole of this trying day, her people, who had been so short a time acting together, manifested a steadiness and a discipline worthy of veterans.

Although the Niagara suffered in a much less degree, 27 men killed and wounded, in a ship's company that mustered little more than 100 souls at quarters, under ordinary circumstances, would be thought a large proportion. Neither the Niagara nor any of the smaller vessels were injured in an unusual manner in their hulls, spars, and sails, the enemy having expended so much of his efforts against the Lawrence, and being so soon silenced when that brig and the gun-vessels got their raking positions, at the close of the conflict.

The injuries sustained by the English were more divided, but were necessarily great. According to the official report of Captain Barclay, his vessels lost 41 killed, and 94 wounded, making a total of 135, including twelve officers, the precise number lost by the Americans. No report has been published, in which the loss of the respective vessels was given; but the Detroit had her first lieutenant killed, and her commander, Captain Barclay, with her purser, wounded. Captain Finnis, of the Queen Charlotte, was also slain, and her first lieutenant was wounded. The commanding officer and first lieutenant of the Lady Prevost were among the wounded, as were the commanding officers of the Hunter and Chippeway. All the vessels were a good deal injured in their sails and hulls; the Queen Charlotte suffering most in proportion. Both the Detroit and Queen Charlotte rolled the masts out of them, at anchor at Put-in Bay, in a gale of wind, two days after the action.

It is not easy to make a just comparison between the forces of the hostile squadrons on this occasion. In certain situations the Americans would have been materially superior, while in others the enemy might possess the advantage in perhaps an equal degree. In the circumstances under which the action was actually fought, the peculiar advantages and disadvantages were nearly equalized, the lightness of the wind peventing either of the two largest of the American vessels from profiting by its peculiar mode of efficiency, until quite near the close of the engagement, and particularly favouring the armament of the Detroit; while the smoothness of the water ren-

dered the light vessels of the Americans very destructive as soon as they could be got within a proper range. The Detroit has been represented on good authority, to have been both a heavier and stronger ship, than either of the American brigs, and the Queen Charlotte proved to be a much finer vessel than had been expected; while the Lady Prevost was found to be a large, warlike schooner. It was, perhaps, unfortunate for the enemy, that the armaments of the two last were not available under the circumstances which rendered the Detroit so efficient, as it destroyed the unity of his efforts. In short, the battle, for near half its duration, appears to have been fought, so far as efficiency was concerned, by the long guns of the two squadrons. This was particularly favourable to the Detroit and to the American gun-vessels; while the latter fought under the advantages of smooth water, and the disadvantages of having no quarters. The sides of the Detroit, which were unusually stout, were filled with shot that did not penetrate.

In the number of men at quarters, there could have been no great disparity in the two squadrons. Mr. Yarnall, the first lieutenant of the Lawrence, testified before a court of inquiry, in 1815, that the brig to which he belonged had but "131 men and boys, of every description" on board her, and that of these but 103 were fit for duty in the action. The Niagara was nearly in the same state. A part of the crews of all the vessels belonged to the militia. Indeed, without a large proportion of volunteers from the army, the battle could not have been fought. The British were no better off, having a considerable proportion of soldiers on board their vessels, though men of that description were probably as efficient in smooth water, and under the actual circumstances, as ordinary sailors.

Captain Perry, in his report of the action, eulogised the conduct of his second in command, Captain Elliott; that of Mr. Turner, who commanded the Caledonia; and that of the officers of his own vessel. He also commended the officers of the Niagara, Mr. Packett of the Ariel, and Mr. Champlin of the Scorpion. It is now believed that the omission of the names of the commanders of the gun-vessels astern, was accidental. It would seem that these vessels, in general, were conducted with great gallantry. Towards the close of the action, indeed, the Caledonia, and some of the gun-vessels, would appear to have been handled with a boldness, considering their total want of quarters, bordering on temerity. They are known to have been within hail of the enemy, at the moment he struck, and to have been hailed by him. The grape and canister

thrown by the Niagara and the schooners, during the last ten minutes of the battle, and which missed the enemy, rattled through the spars of the friendly vessels, as they lay opposite to each other, raking the English ahead and astern.

Captain Perry was criticised, at the time, for the manner in which he had brought his squadron into action, it being thought he should have waited until his line was more compactly formed, and his small vessels could have closed. It has been said, that "an officer seldom went into action worse, or got out of it better." Truth is too often made the sacrifice of antithesis. The mode of attack appears to have been deemed by the enemy judicious, an opinion that speaks in its favour. The lightness of the wind, in edging down, was the only circumstance that was particularly adverse to the American vessels, but its total failure could not have been foreseen. The shortness of the distances on the lake rendered escape so easy, when an officer was disposed to avoid a battle, that no commander, who desired an action, would have been pardonable for permitting a delay on such a plea. The line of battle was highly judicious, the manner in which the Lawrence was supported by the Ariel and Scorpion being simple and ingenious. By steering for the head of the enemy's line, the latter was prevented from gaining the wind by tacking, and when Captain Elliott imitated this manœuvre in the Niagara, the American squadron had a very commanding position, of which Captain Perry promptly availed himself. In a word, the American commander appears to have laid his plan with skill and judgment, and, in all in which it was frustrated, it would seem to have been the effect of accident. There has never been but one opinion of the manner in which he redeemed his error, even admitting that a fault was made at the outset; the united movements of the Niagara and of the small vessels, at the close of the action, having been as judicious as they were gallant and decisive. The personal deportment of Captain Perry, throughout the day, was worthy of all praise. He did not quit his own vessel when she became useless, to retire from the battle, but to gain it; an end that was fully obtained, and an effort which resulted in a triumph.

The British vessels appear to have been gallantly fought, and were surrendered only when the battle was hopelessly lost. The fall of their different commanders was materially against them, though it is not probable the day could have been recovered after the Niagara gained the head of their line and the

gun-vessels had closed. If the enemy made an error, it was in not tacking when he attempted to ware, but it is quite probable that the condition of his vessels did not admit of the former manœuvre. There was an instant when the enemy believed himself the conqueror, and a few minutes even, when the Americans doubted; but the latter never despaired; a moment sufficed to change their feelings, teaching the successful the fickleness of fortune, and admonishing the depressed of the virtue of perseverance.

For his conduct in this battle, Captain Perry received a gold medal from Congress. Captain Elliott also received a gold medal. Rewards were bestowed on the officers and men generally, and the nation has long considered this action one of its proudest achievements on the water.*

On the 23d of October, the squadron transported the army of General Harrison to Buffalo; and on the 25th, Captain Perry resigned the command of the upper lakes to Captain Elliott, repairing himself to the sea-board. November 29th, this gallant and successful officer received the commission of a captain, which was dated on the day of the victory, and soon after he was appointed to the command of the Java 44, a new frigate, then fitting for sea at Baltimore.

CHAPTER XLV.

In February, 1814, three vessels were laid down at the Harbour, a frigate of 50 guns, and two large brigs, pierced for 22 guns each. As the English were known to be building extensively, the timber was also got out for a second frigate. Early in March many deserters came in, who agreed in stating that the largest of the enemy's new ships, which had been laid down the previous autumn, was caulked and decked, and that she was pierced for 60 guns. A third ship was also said to be in preparation. In consequence of this intelligence, the size of the first American frigate was materially increased. March 26th, the important information was obtained that the enemy had actually laid down a two-decked vessel of unusual dimensions. Thus did those inland waters, on which, until quite

* See Appendix, Note C.

lately, nothing had ever floated larger than a sloop of war, bid fair to witness the evolutions of fleets!

On the 7th of April one of the new brigs was launched. She was called the Jefferson. Still the guns which had left New York two months previously, had not even reached Albany. The other brig was l- :ched on the 10th, and was called the Jones. Not a man or gun, however, had yet arrived. April the 11th, the enemy was ascertained to be in the stream, with all his vessels of the previous year; and on the 14th, he put his two frigates into the water. The Lady of the Lake was sent out to watch the motions of the English, as soon as the state of the ice permitted.

April 25th, while rowing guard, Lieutenant Dudley detected three boats in the offing, and immediately fired into them. The strangers did not return the fire, but pulled swiftly away. Obtaining a reinforcement, Mr. Dudley gave chase, but could not again fall in with the suspicious party. The next day there was a close search, and at the spot where the strangers received the fire of the guard-boat, six barrels of gunpowder were found in the lake, slung in such a manner, that one man might carry two at a time, across his shoulders. They had fuse-holes, and were, no doubt, intended to blow up the frigate.

On the 2d of May, the American frigate was launched. She was called the Superior. Another of less size, was immediately laid down on her blocks. The guns began to arrive at the Harbour about the beginning of May, though the heaviest were still working their way through the imperfect navigation of the Mohawk and Wood Creek, towards Oswego. On the 4th, the Lady of the Lake, Lieutenant Gregory, saw six sail of the enemy coming out of Kingston, about dusk, steering towards Amherst Bay; and on the 5th, the latter appeared off Oswego, with seven sail. The greatest exertions were now made to get the Pike, Madison, Jefferson, Sylph, and Oneida, ready to follow him; these being all the vessels that had their armaments, the small schooners being pretty generally abandoned as cruisers, and converted into transports. But a report was received from Captain Woolsey, then on duty at Oswego, that one of the new frigates was certainly in the enemy's squadron; and Mr. Gregory brought in information that he had seen the other off the Ducks the same day: when Commodore Chauncey abandoned the intention to go out, the great superiority of the English putting a battle out of the question.

The active cruising force under Sir James Yeo, consisted of the Prince Regent 58, Captain O'Conner, the flag-ship, armed with heavy long guns, sixty-eight and thirty-two-pound carronades, and containing near 500 men; the Princess Charlotte 42, Captain Mulcaster, having guns nearly or quite as heavy, and between 300 and 400 men; the Montreal, (late Wolfe,) Captain Downie; the Niagara, (late Royal George,) Captain Popham; the Charwell, (late Moira,) Lieutenant Dobbs; Magnet, (late Sidney Smith;) the Star, (late Melville,) Captain Clover; and the Netley, (late Beresford,) Lieutenant Owen. It was evident that nothing less than unusually heavy frigates could lie against the largest of these vessels.

Captain Woolsey had been sent to Oswego, to transport the heavy guns, cables, &c., of the two new frigates, most of which had reached the falls, twelve miles above that town, where they were kept for the sake of security, until the schooners could be loaded, and despatched singly. The Growler was in the river with that object, when Sir James Yeo appeared in the offing. He was about to make a descent, with a body of troops, on the 5th, but the weather induced him to defer the enterprise. On this occasion, there was some firing, and the enemy abandoned an empty boat or two. The succeeding day, however, every thing being favourable, the original design was resumed.

At the moment when Sir James Yeo appeared, a battalion of the light artillery, consisting of 290 effectives, under Lieutenant Colonel Mitchell, was at Fort Oswego, and but a few militia had been called in, the adjacent country being little more than a wilderness. It would trespass on another branch of the subject, minutely to relate the affair that followed. Lieutenant General Drummond landed, and carried the place after a sharp resistance; the Americans having too small a force to repel him.

The enemy remained two days at Oswego, when they raised the Growler, and carried her off; this making the third time that vessel had been taken during the last year. But few stores were found in the village, the orders of Commodore Chauncey having required that they should be kept at the falls, until vessels were ready to receive them.

Sir James Yeo now returned to Kingston, landed the troops, and on the 19th, he came out and chased the Lady of the Lake into the Harbour, off which place he appeared with four ships and three brigs, blockading the port, for the first and only time during the war. At this moment, many of the stores, and

some of the lighter guns, were coming in by land, though the heavy guns and cables still remained in the Oswego river.

About the middle of May, reinforcements of officers and men began to arrive from the seaboard. The Macedonian had been laid up in the Thames, and Mr. Rodgers, her first lieutenant, came in with her crew, between the 11th and the 21st. Captain Elliott rejoined the station on the 12th, and Captain Trenchard on the 15th. The Erie, a new sloop of war, then blockaded at Baltimore, had also been laid up, and her commander, Captain Ridgely, with his people, arrrived some time before, and were put on board the Jefferson.

Notwithstanding all the exertions that had been made in building, the ships were useless without guns and cables, and most of those intended for the two frigates, had yet to be transported to the Harbour by water, their weight and the state of the roads rendering other means too costly and difficult. Captain Woolsey, who was still entrusted with this duty, caused reports to be circulated that the heavy articles were to be sent back to the Oneida lake; and when time had been allowed for the enemy to receive this false information, he ran the guns over the falls, and at sunset, on the 28th of May, he reached Oswego with 19 boats loaded with 21 long thirty-two-pounders, 10 twenty-four pounders, 3 forty-two-pound carronades, and 10 cables. The look-outs having reported the coast clear, the brigade of boats rowed out of the river, at dusk, and after passing a dark and rainy night at the oars, reached the mouth of Big Salmon River, at sunrise on the 29th, one boat having unaccountably disappeared.

Captain Woolsey was accompanied by a detachment of 130 riflemen, under Major Appling, and at the Big Salmon he also met a party of Oneida Indians, which had been directed to follow on the shore. The brigade now proceeded, entered the Big Sandy Creek, and ascended about two miles to its place of destination; the blockade rendering it necessary to convey the supplies by land the remainder of the distance.

At this time, the English squadron lay at anchor, a few miles from the Harbour, and the missing boat had gone ahead, in the professed hope of making the whole distance by water. Seeing the English ships, either by mistake or treachery it pulled directly for them, under a belief, real or pretended, that they were Americans. It is thought, however, that the people in the boat were deceived.

From the prisoners, Sir James Yeo learned the situation of

the remainder of the brigade. He had gun-boats on the station, and Captain Popham of the Montreal, was put into one, and Captain Spilsbury into another having three cutters and a gig in company. After cruising without success, separately, the two parties joined, and having ascertained that the brigade had entered Sandy Creek, they followed on the 30th, with the expectation of capturing it. Major Appling, being apprised of the approach of the enemy, placed his riflemen, supported by the Indians, in ambush, about half a mile below the place where Captain Woolsey was discharging the stores. The enemy had a party of marines on board, under two lieutenants of that corps. These, in conjunction with a body of seamen, were landed, and the gun-boats approached, throwing grape and canister into the bushes, with a view to feel their way. Major Appling permitted the enemy to get quite near, when he threw in a close discharge of the rifle. The resistance was trifling, and in ten minutes the whole of the English demanded quarter. The enemy had a midshipman and 14 seamen and marines killed, and 2 lieutenants of marines, with 26 common men wounded. In addition to the wounded, there was a sufficient number of prisoners made to raise his total loss to 186. All the boats were taken, the three gun-vessels carrying 68, 24, 18 and 12 pound carronades. Among the prisoners were Captains Popham and Spilsbury, 4 sea-lieutenants, and 2 midshipmen. Although there was a considerable force a short distance above, without the range of the rifle, the command of Major Appling, which effected this handsome exploit, was scarcely equal to the enemy in numbers, and yet he had but a single man wounded. This little success was the effect of a surprise and an ambush.

Most of the Superior's guns having now arrived, the enemy raised the blockade on the 6th of June. Two days later the last of the guns actually reached Sackett's Harbour. The frigate which had been laid down on the blocks of the Superior, was launched on the 11th of June, having been put into the water in 34 working days, from the time her keel was laid. She was called the Mohawk. Still the squadron was 500 men short of its complements, though the crew of the Congress 38, which was undergoing extensive repairs, at Portsmouth, N. H., had been ordered to this service. About the middle of the month, the latter began to arrive. The enemy also continued to reinforce both his army and his marine, 200 boats at a time having been observed passing up the St. Lawrence.

About the middle of the month, Commodore Chauncey sent Acting Lieutenant Gregory, with three gigs, into the St. Lawrence, where the enemy had a line of gun-boats, to cover the passage of his supplies and reinforcements, with directions to surprise some of his boats loaded with stores, and, if possible, to destroy them. For this purpose Mr. Gregory lay in ambush on one of the islands, but was discovered by the look-outs of the enemy, who immediately despatched a gun-boat in chase. Instead of retiring before this force, Mr. Gregory determined to become the assailant, and he dashed at the gun-boat, carrying her without the loss of a man. This vessel had an eighteen-pound carronade, and a crew of 18 men. While proceeding up the river with his prize, Mr. Gregory was chased by a much larger boat, mounting 2 guns, and pulling a great number of oars, which compelled him to scuttle and abandon her. On this occasion Mr. Gregory was accompanied by Messrs. Vaughan and Dixon, two gallant mariners of the lake, and he brought in nearly as many prisoners as he had men.

Ten days later, Mr. Gregory was sent with two gigs, accompanied as before by Messrs. Vaughan and Dixon, to Nicholas Island, near Presque Isle, where the enemy had a cruiser, intended to mount 14 guns, nearly ready to launch, and to endeavour to destroy her. This duty, after running much risk, and suffering greatly from hunger, was effectually performed by the party, which was absent near a week. The day after his return from this expedition, Mr. Gregory received the commission of a lieutenant, which had been conferred on him for the handsome manner in which he had captured the gun-boat.

On the afternoon of the 31st of July, Commodore Chauncey, who had been very ill, was carried on board the Superior, and the American squadron sailed. Its force consisted of the Superior 62, Lieutenant Elton, Commodore Chauncey; Mohawk 42, Captain Jones; Pike 28, Captain Crane; Madison 24, Captain Trenchard; Jefferson 22, Captain Ridgely; Jones 22, Captain Woolsey; Sylph 14, Captain Elliott; Oneida 14, Lieutenant Commandant Brown, and the Lady of the Lake, look-out vessel. There is no question that this force, which, with the exception of the Oneida, was composed of efficient vessels, was superior to that of the English, who were striving to regain the ascendency, by constructing, as fast as possible, the two-decker already mentioned.

Commodore Chauncey, whose health rapidly improved in

the pure air of the lake, appeared off the Niagara, now by the vicissitudes of war again in the possession of the English, on the 5th of August. As the American vessels approached, they intercepted one of the English brigs, which was convoying troops from York to Niagara, and she was chased ashore about two leagues to the westward of Fort George.

Commodore Chauncey left the Jefferson, Sylph, and Oneida to watch two brigs of the enemy, who were then lying in the Niagara, and went off Kingston, where he arrived on the 9th. One of the English ships was in the offing, and was chased into port by the American squadron. The next day, the Jones, Captain Woolsey, was sent to cruise between Oswego and the Harbour; and the Conquest, Lieutenant Reid, one of the best of the schooners, which had been kept armed for any light service that might offer, was employed on the same duty, the enemy having intercepted some flour that was passing, by means of boats.

From this time, until the month of October, Commodore Chauncey continued a close blockade of Sir James Yeo, in Kingston, having undisputed command of the entire lake. With a view to tempt the English to come out, he kept only four vessels in the offing, and as the enemy had an equal number, it was thought the provocation might induce him to risk a battle. Some guns were also sent ashore, with a view to bring the vessels as near as possible to an equality. The American ships were the Superior 58,* Mohawk 42, Pike 28, and Madison 24; the British, the Prince Regent 58, Princess Charlotte 42, Wolfe 25, and Niagara 24. There was also a large schooner at Kingston, and several gun-boats and smaller vessels. It is probable that there was a trifling superiority on the part of the Americans, notwithstanding; for in a conflict between vessels of so much force, the smaller craft could be of no great moment; but it was such a superiority as the enemy had long been accustomed to disregard; and the result showed that the American marine commanded his respect to a degree which rendered the minutest calculations of force necessary.

On the 20th of August, the blockading ships were driven off by a gale; and on regaining their station on the 25th, the enemy could not be seen in port. Lieutenant Gregory, with Mr. Hart, a midshipman, was immediately sent in, in a gig, to reconnoitre. While on this duty, Mr. Gregory landed to set

* Four guns having been landed

fire to a raft of picket-timber that he accidentally passed. This deviation from the direct route, brought the gig so near in-shore, that two barges of the enemy, carrying 30 men, were enabled to head it, as it doubled a point. A chase, and a sharp fire of musketry ensued, Mr. Gregory persevering in his attempt to escape, until Mr. Hart was killed, and five men out of eight were wounded, when this enterprising officer was obliged to surrender.

On the 11th of September, the wind came from the northward, when Commodore Chauncey stood in towards Kingston, and brought-to, just without the drop of the shot from the batteries; and the ships hoisted their ensigns, as a challenge for the enemy to come out. The English sprung their broadsides to bear, set their colours, but did not accept the defiance. It was now seen that the two-decker was launched, and she was ascertained to be very large. After remaining close in, for a considerable time, the American ships filled and gained an offing.

The next day it came on to blow, and the squadron was compelled to make an offing. The gale lasted until the 15th, when the Lady of the Lake joined, to say that General Izard had reached the Harbour. The ships now went in, for the first time, since the 2d of August, having kept the lake 45 days; much of the time under canvass. On the 16th, the look-out vessel was sent to order in the different brigs.

The division of General Izard was landed at the mouth of the Genesee, on the 22d. As soon as this duty was performed, Commodore Chauncey went off Kingston again, where he appeared on the 28th. Two of the enemy's ships were coming out under a press of sail, but were driven back. The 29th, the wind being fair, the squadron looked into Kingston again, and the Lady was sent close in, when it was found that the large ship, which had been called the St. Lawrence, was completely rigged, but had no sails bent. As this vessel was pierced for 112 guns, and was intended for metal in proportion, she was more than equal to meeting the whole American force. On the 5th of October, the Sylph looked in again, and found her sails bent and topgallant-yards crossed, when Commodore Chauncey ran over to the Harbour, where he anchored on the 7th, and prepared to receive an attack.

Sir James Yeo sailed in the St. Lawrence, with four other ships, two brigs, and a schooner, on the 15th of October, and he continued in command of the lake for the remainder of the

season. He is said to have had more than 1100 men in his flag-ship; and it was understood that the enemy had become so wary, that a captain was stationed on each deck. Other duty probably occupied him, for no attempt was made on the Harbour, nor did the enemy even blockade it; the necessities of the Niagara frontier calling his attention in that quarter. At the end of the month of November, the navigation closed.

CHAPTER XLVI.

In the autumn of 1814, the enemy contemplated an invasion of the northern and least populous counties of New York, with a large force, following the route laid down for General Burgoyne, in his unfortunate expedition of 1777. It was most probably intended to occupy a portion of the northern frontier, with the expectation of turning the circumstance to account in the pending negotiations, the English commissioners soon after advancing a claim to drive the Americans back from their ancient boundaries, with a view to leave Great Britain the entire possession of the lakes. In such an expedition, the command of Champlain became of great importance, as it flanked the march of the invading army for more than a hundred miles, and offered so many facilities for forwarding supplies, as well as for annoyance and defence. Until this season, neither nation had a force of any moment on that water, but the Americans had built a ship and a schooner, during the winter and spring; and when it was found that the enemy was preparing for a serious effort, the keel of a brig was laid. Many galleys, or gun-boats, were also constructed.

The American squadron lay in Otter Creek, at the commencement of the season; and near the middle of May, as the vessels then launched were about to quit port, the enemy appeared off the mouth of the creek, with a force consisting of the Linnet brig, and eight or ten galleys, under the orders of Captain Pring, with a view to fill the channel. For this purpose two sloops loaded with stones were in company. A small work had been thrown up at the mouth of the creek some time previously, by Captain Thornton of the artillery,

and Lieutenant Cassin was despatched with a party of seamen, to aid that officer in defending the pass. After a cannonading of some duration, the enemy retired without effecting his object, and the vessels got out. In this affair, no one was hurt on the side of the Americans, although shells were thrown from one of the galleys.

On the other hand, the English were not idle. In addition to the small vessels they had possessed the previous year, they had built the brig just mentioned, or the Linnet, and as soon as the last American vessel was in frame, they laid the keel of a ship. By constructing the latter, a great advantage was secured, care being taken, as a matter of course, to make her of a size sufficient to be certain of possessing the greatest force. The American brig, which was called the Eagle, was launched about the middle of August; and the English ship, which was named the Confiance, on the 25th of the same month. As the English army was already collecting on the frontier, the utmost exertions were made by both sides, and each appeared on the lake as he got ready. Captain M'Donough, who still commanded the American force, was enabled to get out a few days before his adversary; and cruising being almost out of the question on this long and narrow body of water, he advanced as far as Plattsburg, the point selected for the defence, and anchored, the 3d of September, on the flank of the troops which occupied the entrenchments at that place.

About this time, Sir George Prevost, the English commander-in-chief, advanced against Plattsburg, then held by Brigadier General Macomb at the head of only 1500 effectives, with a force that probably amounted to 12,000 men. A good deal of skirmishing ensued; and from the 7th to the 11th, the enemy was employed in bringing up his battering train, stores, and reinforcements. Captain Downie, late of the Montreal, on Lake Ontario, had been sent by Sir James Yeo, to command on this lake.

On the 6th, Captain M'Donough ordered the galleys to the head of the bay, to annoy the English army, and a cannonading occurred which lasted two hours. The wind coming on to blow a gale that menaced the galleys with shipwreck, Mr. Duncan, a midshipman of the Saratoga, was sent in a gig to order them to retire. It is supposed that the appearance of the boat induced the enemy to think that Captain M'Donough himself had joined his galleys; for he concentrated a fire on the galley Mr. Duncan was in, and that young officer received a

severe wound, by which he lost the use of his arm. Afterwards one of the galleys drifted in, under the guns of the enemy, and she also sustained some loss, but was eventually brought off.

Captain M'Donough had chosen an anchorage a little to the south of the outlet of the Saranac. His vessels lay in a line parallel to the coast, extending north and south, and distant from the western shore near two miles. The last vessel at the southward was so near the shoal, as to prevent the English from passing that end of the line, while all the ships lay so far out towards Cumberland Head, as to bring the enemy within reach of carronades, should he enter the bay on that side. The Eagle, Captain Henley, lay at the northern extremity of the American line, and what might, during the battle, have been called its head, the wind being at the northward and eastward; the Saratoga, Captain M'Donough's own vessel, was second; the Ticonderoga, Lieutenant Commandant Cassin, third; and the Preble, Lieutenant Charles Budd, last. The Preble lay a little farther south than the pitch of Cumberland Head. The first of these vessels just mentioned was a brig of 20 guns, and 150 men, all told; the second a ship of 26 guns, and 212 men; the third a schooner of 17 guns and 110 men; the last a sloop, or cutter, of 7 guns and 30 men. The metal of all these vessels, as well as those of the enemy, was unusually heavy, there being no swell in the lake to render it dangerous. The Saratoga mounted 8 long twenty-fours, 6 forty-two, and 12 thirty-two-pound carronades; the Eagle, 8 long eighteens, and 12 thirty-two-pound carronades; the Ticonderoga, 4 long eighteens, 8 long twelves, and 4 thirty-two-pound carronades, and one eighteen-pound columbiad; the Preble, 7 long nines. In addition to these four vessels, the Americans had 10 galleys, or gun-boats, six large and four small. Each of the former mounted a long twenty-four, and an eighteen pound columbiad; each of the latter one long twelve. The galleys, on an average, had about 35 men each. The total force of the Americans present consisted, consequently, of 14 vessels, mounting 86 guns, and containing about 850 men, including officers and a small detachment of soldiers, who did duty as marines, none of the corps having been sent on Lake Champlain. To complete his order of battle, Captain M'Donough directed two of the galleys to keep in-shore of the Eagle, and a little to windward of her, to sustain the head of the line; one or two more to lie opposite to the interval between the

Eagle and Saratoga; a few opposite to the interval between the Saratoga and Ticonderoga; and two or three opposite the interval between the Ticonderoga and Preble.

The Americans were, consequently, formed in two lines, distant from each other about 40 yards; the large vessels at anchor, and the galleys under their sweeps.

The force of the enemy was materially greater than that of the Americans. His largest vessel, the Confiance, commanded by Captain Downie in person, had the gun-deck of a heavy frigate, mounting on it an armament similar to that of the Constitution or United States, or 30 long twenty-fours. She had no spar-deck, but there was a spacious top-gallant forecastle, and a poop that came no farther forward than the mizzen-mast. On the first were a long twenty-four on a circle, and 4 heavy carronades; and on the last 2 heavy carronades, making an armament of 37 guns in all. Her complement of men is supposed to have been considerably more than 300. The next vessel of the enemy was the Linnet, Captain Pring, a brig of 16 long twelves, with a crew of from 80 to 100 men. There were two sloops, the Chubb, Lieutenant M'Ghee, and the Finch, Lieutenant Hicks, the former carrying 10 eighteen-pound carronades, and 1 long six, and the latter 6 eighteen-pound carronades, 1 eighteen-pound columbiad, and 4 long sixes. Each of these sloops had about 40 men. To these four vessels were added a force in galleys, or gun-boats, which Sir George Prevost, in his published accounts, states at twelve in number, and Captain M'Donough at thirteen. These vessels were similarly constructed to the American galleys, eight mounting two, and the remainder but one gun each. Thus the whole force of Captain Downie consisted of sixteen or seventeen vessels, as the case may have been, mounting in all, 95 or 96 guns, and carrying about 1000 men.

On the 3d of September, the British gun-boats sailed from Isle aux Noix, under the orders of Captain Pring, to cover the left flank of their army. On the 4th that officer took possession of Isle au Motte, where he constructed a battery, and landed some supplies for the troops. On the 8th, the four larger vessels arrived under Captain Downie, but remained at anchor until the 11th, waiting to receive some necessaries. At daylight, on the morning just mentioned, the whole force weighed, and moved forward in a body.

The guard-boat of the Americans pulled in shortly after the sun had risen, and announced the approach of the enemy. As

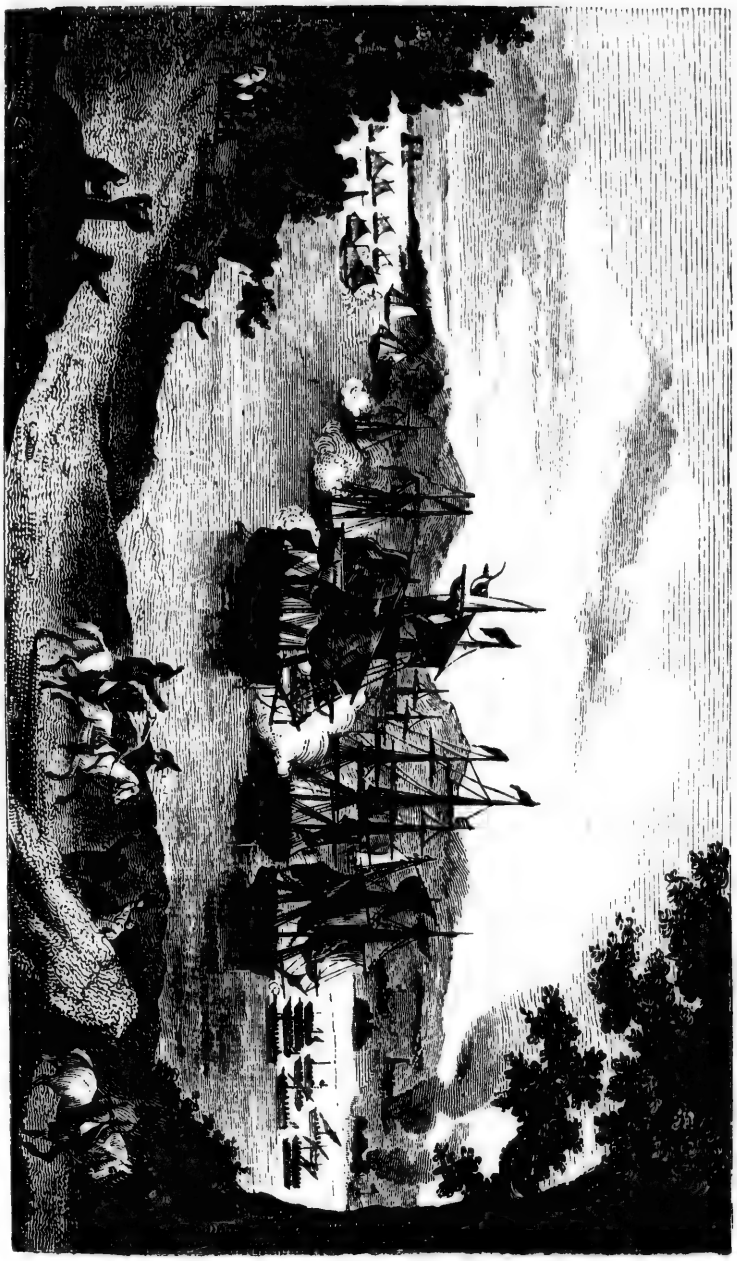
the wind was fair, a good working breeze at the northward and eastward, Captain M'Donough ordered the vessels cleared, and preparations made to fight at anchor. Eight bells were striking in the American squadron, as the upper sails of the English vessels were seen passing along the land, in the main lake, on their way to double Cumberland Head. The enemy had the wind rather on his larboard quarter. The Finch led, succeeded by the Confiance, Linnet, and Chubb; while the gun-boats, all of which, as well as those of the Americans, had two latine sails, followed without much order, keeping just clear of the shore.

The first vessel that came round the Head was a sloop, which is said to have carried a company of amateurs, and which took no part in the engagement. She kept well to leeward, stood down towards Crab Island, and was soon unobserved. The Finch came next, and soon after the other large vessels of the enemy opened from behind the land, and hauled up to the wind in a line abreast, lying-to until their galleys could join. The latter passed to leeward, and formed in the same manner as their consorts. The two squadrons were now in plain view of each other, distant about a league. As soon as the gun-boats were in their stations, and the different commanders had received their orders, the English filled, with their starboard tacks aboard, and headed in towards the American vessels, in a line abreast, the Chubb to windward, and the Finch to leeward, most of the gun-boats, however, being to leeward of the latter. The movements of the Finch had been a little singular ever since she led round the Head, for she is said not to have hove-to, but to have run off, half-way to Crab Island with the wind abeam, then to have tacked and got into her station, after the other vessels had filled. This movement was probably intended to reconnoitre, or to menace the rear of the Americans. The enemy was now standing in, close-hauled, the Chubb looking well to windward of the Eagle, the vessel that lay at the head of the American line, the Linnet laying her course for the bows of the same brig, the Confiance intending to fetch far enough ahead of the Saratoga to lay that ship athwart hawse, and the Finch, with the gun-boats, standing for the Ticonderoga and Preble.

As a matter of course, the Americans were anchored with springs. But not content with this customary arrangement, Captain M'Donough had laid a kedge broad off on each bow of the Saratoga, and brought their hawsers in, upon the two

t the northward
e vessels cleared,
Eight bells were
pper sails of the
and, in the main
ad. The enemy
The Finch led,
b; while the gun-
mericans, had two
ping just clear of

ead was a sloop,
of amateurs, and
kept well to lee-
nd was soon un-
after the other
ind the land, and
ving-to until their
ward, and formed
e two squadrons
t about a league.
ions, and the dif-
lers, the English
headed in towards
Chubb to wind-
e gun-boats, how-
movements of the
he led round the
ut to have run off,
am, then to have
other vessels had
led to reconnoitre,
e enemy was now
well to windward
of the American
bows of the same
ough ahead of the
d the Finch, with
and Preble.
ere anchored with
nary arrangement,
off on each bow
s in, upon the two



quarters, letting them hang in bights, under water. This timely precaution gained the victory.

As the enemy filled, the American vessels sprung their broadsides to bear, and a few minutes were passed in the solemn and silent expectation, that, in a disciplined ship, precedes a battle. Suddenly the Eagle discharged, in quick succession, her four long eighteens. In clearing the decks of the Saratoga, some hen-coops were thrown overboard, and the poultry had been permitted to run at large. Startled by the reports of the guns, a young cock flew upon a gun-slide, clapped his wings and crowed. At this animating sound, the men spontaneously gave three cheers. This little occurrence relieved the usual breathing time between preparation and the combat, and it had a powerful influence on the known tendencies of the seamen. Still Captain M'Donough did not give the order to commence, although the enemy's galleys now opened; for it was apparent that the fire of the Eagle, which vessel continued to engage, was useless. As soon, however, as it was seen that her shot told, Captain M'Donough, himself, sighted a long twenty-four, and the gun was fired. This shot is said to have struck the Confiance near the outer hawse-hole, and to have passed the length of her deck, killing and wounding several men, and carrying away the wheel. It was a signal for all the American long guns to open, and it was soon seen that the English commanding ship, in particular, was suffering heavily. Still the enemy advanced, and in the most gallant manner, confident if he could get the desired position, that the great weight of the Confiance would at once decide the fate of the day. But he had miscalculated his own powers of endurance. The anchors of the Confiance were hanging by the stoppers, in readiness to be let go, and the larboard bower was soon cut away, as well as a spare anchor in the larboard fore-chains. In short, after bearing the fire of the American vessels as long as possible, and the wind beginning to baffle, Captain Downie found himself reduced to the necessity of anchoring while still at the distance of about a quarter of a mile from the American line. The helm was put a-port, the ship shot into the wind, and a kedge was let go, while the vessel took a sheer, and brought up with her starboard bower. In doing the latter, however, the kedge was fouled and became of no use. In coming-to, the halyards were let run, and the ship hauled up her courses. At this time the Linnet and Chubb were still standing in, farther to windward; and the former, as her guns

bore, fired a broadside at the Saratoga. The Linnet soon after anchored, somewhat nearer than the Confiance, getting a very favourable position forward of the Eagle's beam. The Chubb kept under way, intending, if possible, to rake the American line. The Finch got abreast of the Ticonderoga, under her sweeps, supported by the gun-boats.

The English vessels came to in very handsome style, nor did the Confiance fire a single gun until secured; although the American line was now engaged with all its force. As soon as Captain Downie had performed this duty, in a seaman-like manner, his ship appeared a sheet of fire, discharging all her guns at nearly the same instant, pointed principally at the Saratoga. The effect of this broadside was terrible in the little ship that received it. After the crash had subsided, Captain M'Donough saw that near half his crew was on the deck, for many had been knocked down who sustained no real injuries. It is supposed, however, that about 40 men, or near one-fifth of her complement, were killed and wounded on board the Saratoga, by this single discharge. The hatches had been fastened down, as usual, but the bodies so cumbered the deck, that it was found necessary to remove the fastenings and to pass them below. The effect continued but a moment, when the ship resumed her fire as gallantly as ever. Among the slain, was Mr. Peter Gamble, the first lieutenant. By this early loss, but one officer of that rank, Acting Lieutenant Lavallette, was left in the Saratoga. Shortly after, Captain Downie, the English commanding officer, fell also.

On the part of the principal vessels, the battle now became a steady, animated, but as guns were injured, a gradually decreasing cannonade. Still the character of the battle was relieved by several little incidents that merit notice. The Chubb, while manœuvring near the head of the American line, received a broadside from the Eagle that crippled her, and she drifted down between the opposing vessels, until near the Saratoga, which ship fired a shot into her, and she immediately struck. Mr. Platt, one of the Saratoga's midshipmen, was sent with a boat to take possession. This young officer threw the prize a line, and towed her down astern of the Saratoga, and in-shore, anchoring her near the mouth of the Saranac. This little success occurred within a quarter of an hour after the enemy had anchored, and was considered a favourable omen, though all well knew that on the Confiance alone depended the fate of the day. The Chubb had suffered ma-

terially, nearly half of her people having been killed and wounded.

About an hour later, the Finch was also driven out of her berth, by the Ticonderoga; and being crippled, she drifted down upon Crab Island Shoal, where, receiving a shot or two from the gun mounted in the battery, she struck, and was taken possession of by the invalids belonging to the hospital. At this end of the line, the British galleys early made several desperate efforts to close; and soon after the Finch had drifted away, they forced the Preble out of the American line, that vessel cutting her cable, and shifting her anchorage to a station considerably in-shore, where she was of no more service throughout the day. The rear of the American line was certainly its weakest point; and having compelled the little Preble to retreat, the enemy's galleys were emboldened to renew their efforts against the vessel ahead of her, which was the Ticonderoga. This schooner was better able to resist them, and she was very nobly fought. Her spirited commander, Lieutenant Commandant Cassin, walked the taffrail, where he could watch the movements of the enemy's galleys, amidst showers of canister and grape, directing discharges of bags of musket-balls, and other light missiles, effectually keeping the British at bay. Several times the English galleys, of which many were very gallantly fought, closed quite near, with an intent to board; but the great steadiness on board the Ticonderoga beat them back, and completely covered the rear of the line for the remainder of the day. So desperate were some of the assaults, notwithstanding, that the galleys have been described as several times getting nearly within a boat-hook's length of the schooner, and their people as rising from the sweeps in readiness to spring.

While these reverses and successes were occurring in the rear of the two lines, the Americans were suffering heavily at the other extremity. The Linnet had got a very commanding position, and she was admirably fought; while the Eagle, which received all her fire, and part of that of the Confiance, having lost her springs, found herself so situated, as not to be able to bring her guns fairly to bear on either of the enemy's vessels. Captain Henley had run his topsail-yards, with the sails stopped, to the mast-heads, previously to engaging, and he now cut his cable, sheeted home his topsails, cast the brig, and running down, anchored by the stern, between the Saratoga and Ticonderoga, necessarily a little in-shore of both.

Here he opened afresh, and with better effect, on the Confiance and galleys, using his larboard guns. But this movement left the Saratoga exposed to nearly the whole fire of the Linnet, which brig now sprung her broadside in a manner to rake the American ship on her bows.

Shortly after this important change had occurred at the head of the lines, the fire of the two ships began materially to lessen, as gun after gun became disabled; the Saratoga, in particular, having had all her long pieces rendered useless by shot, while most of the carronades were dismounted, either in the same manner, or in consequence of a disposition in the men to overcharge them. At length but a single carronade remained in the starboard batteries, and on firing it, the navel-bolt broke, the gun flew off the carriage, and it actually fell down the main hatch. By this accident, the American commanding vessel was left in the middle of the battle, without a single available gun. Nothing remained, but to make an immediate attempt to wind the ship.

The stream anchor suspended astern, was let go accordingly. The men then clapped on the hawser that led to the starboard quarter, and brought the ship's stern up over the kedge; but here she hung, there not being sufficient wind, or current, to force her bows round. A line had been bent to a bight in the stream cable, with a view to help wind the ship, and she now rode by the kedge and this line, with her stern under the raking broadside of the Linnet, which brig kept up a steady and well-directed fire. The larboard batteries having been manned and got ready, Captain M'Donough ordered all the men from the guns, where they were uselessly suffering, telling them to go forward. By rowsing on the line, the ship was at length got so far round, that the aftermost gun would bear on the Confiance, when it was instantly manned, and began to play. The next gun was used in the same manner, but it was soon apparent that the ship could be got no farther round, for she was now nearly end-on to the wind. At this critical moment Mr. Brum, the master, bethought him of the hawser that had led to the larboard quarter. It was got forward under the bows, and passed aft to the starboard quarter, when the ship's stern was immediately sprung to the westward, so as to bring all her larboard guns to bear on the English ship, with fatal effect.

As soon as the preparations were made to wind the Saratoga, the Confiance attempted to perform the same evolution.

Her springs were hauled on, but they merely forced the ship ahead, and having borne the fresh broadside of the Americans, until she had scarcely a gun with which to return the fire, and failing in all her efforts to get round, about two hours and a quarter after the commencement of the action, her commanding officer lowered his flag. By hauling again upon the starboard hawser, the Saratoga's broadside was immediately sprung to bear on the Linnet, which brig struck about fifteen minutes after her consort. The enemy's galleys had been driven back, nearly or quite half a mile, and they lay irregularly scattered, and setting to leeward, keeping up a desultory firing. As soon as they found that the large vessels had submitted, they ceased the combat, and lowered their colours. At this proud moment, it is believed, on authority entitled to the highest respect, there was not a single English ensign, out of sixteen or seventeen, that had so lately been flying, left abroad in the bay!

In this long and bloody conflict, the Saratoga had 28 men killed, and 29 wounded, or more than a fourth of all on board her; the Eagle 13 killed, and 20 wounded, which was sustaining a loss in nearly an equal proportion; the Ticonderoga 6 killed, and 6 wounded; the Preble 2 killed; while on board the 10 galleys, only 3 were killed, and 3 wounded. The Saratoga was hulled fifty-five times, principally by twenty-four-pound shot; and the Eagle, thirty-nine times.

According to the report of Captain Pring, of the Linnet, dated on the 12th of September, the Confiance lost 41 killed, and 40 wounded. It was admitted, however, that no good opportunity had then existed to ascertain the casualties. At a later day, the English themselves enumerated her wounded at 83. This would make the total loss of that ship 124; but even this number is supposed to be materially short of the truth. The Linnet is reported to have had 10 killed, and 14 wounded. This loss is also believed to be considerably below the fact. The Chubb had 6 killed, and 10 wounded. The Finch was reported by the enemy, to have had but 2 men wounded. No American official report of the casualties in the English vessels has been published; but by an estimate made on the best data that could be found, the Linnet was thought to have lost 50 men, and the two smaller vessels taken, about 30 between them. No account whatever has been published of the casualties on board the English galleys, though the slaughter in them is believed to have been very heavy.

As soon as the Linnet struck, a lieutenant was sent to take

possession of the Confiance. Bad as was the situation of the Saratoga, that of this prize was much worse. She had been hulled 105 times; had probably near, if not quite, half her people killed and wounded; and this formidable floating battery was reduced to helpless impotency.

As the boarding officer was passing along the deck of the prize, he accidentally ran against a lock-string, and fired one of the Confiance's starboard guns. Up to this moment, the English galleys had been slowly drifting to leeward, with their colours down, apparently waiting to be taken possession of; but at the discharge of this gun, which may have been understood as a signal, one or two of them began to move slowly off, and soon after the others followed, pulling but a very few sweeps. It is not known that one of them hoisted her ensign. Captain M'Donough made a signal for the American galleys to follow, but it was discovered that their men were wanted at the pumps of some of the larger vessels, to keep them from sinking, the water being found over the berth-deck of the Linnet; and the signal was revoked. As there was not a mast that would bear any canvass among all the larger vessels, the English galleys escaped, though they went off slowly and irregularly, as if distrusting their own liberty.

Captain M'Donough applauded the conduct of all the officers of the Saratoga. Mr. Gamble died at his post, fighting bravely; Mr. Lavallette, the only lieutenant left, displayed the cool discretion that marks the character of this highly respectable and firm officer; and Mr. Brum, the master, who was entrusted with the important duty of winding the ship, never lost his self-possession for an instant. Captain Henley praised the conduct of his officers, as did Lieutenant Commandant Cassin. The galleys behaved very unequally; but the Borer, Mr. Conover;* Netley, Mr. Breese;† those under the orders of Mr. Robins and Mr. Stellwagen, masters, and one other, were considered to have been very gallantly handled.

There was a common feeling of admiration at the manner in which the Ticonderoga, Lieutenant Commandant Cassin, defended the rear of the line, and at the noble conduct of all on board her.

The Saratoga was twice on fire by hot shot thrown from the Confiance, her spanker having been nearly consumed. No battery from the American shore, with the exception of the

* Since Capt. Conover. † Since Capt. Breese.

gun or two fired at the Finch from Crab Island, took any part in the naval encounter; nor could any, without endangering the American vessels equally with the enemy. Indeed the distance renders it questionable whether shot would have reached with effect, as Captain M'Donough had anchored far off the land, in order to compel the enemy to come within range of his short guns.

The Americans found a furnace on board the Confiance, with eight or ten heated shot in it, though the fact is not stated with any view to attribute it to the enemy as a fault. It was an advantage that he possessed, most probably, in consequence of the presence of a party of artillerists.

Captain M'Donough, who was already very favourably known to the service for his personal intrepidity, obtained a vast accession of reputation by the results of this day. His dispositions for receiving the attacks, were highly judicious and seaman-like. By the manner in which he anchored his vessels, with the shoal so near the rear of his line as to cover that extremity, and the land of Cumberland Head so near his broadside as necessarily to bring the enemy within reach of his short guns, he made all his force completely available. The English were not near enough, perhaps, to give to carronades their full effect; but this disadvantage was unavoidable, the assailing party having, of course, a choice in the distance. All that could be obtained, under the circumstances, appears to have been secured, and the result proved the wisdom of the actual arrangement. The personal deportment of Captain M'Donough in this engagement, like that of Captain Perry in the battle of Lake Erie, was the subject of general admiration in his little squadron. His coolness was undisturbed throughout all the trying scenes on board his own ship, and although lying against a vessel of double the force, and nearly double the tonnage of the Saratoga, he met and resisted her attack with a constancy that seemed to set defeat at defiance. The winding of the Saratoga, under such circumstances, exposed as she was to the raking broadsides of the Confiance and Linnet, especially the latter, was a bold, seaman-like, and masterly measure, that required unusual decision and fortitude to imagine and execute. Most men would have believed that, without a single gun on the side engaged, a fourth of their people cut down, and their ship a wreck, enough injury had been received to justify submission; but Captain M'Donough found

the means to secure a victory in the desperate condition of his own vessel.

The deportment of Lieutenant Commandant Cassin* was also the subject of general applause in the American squadron.

Although many of the American officers were wounded, only two that belonged to the quarterdeck were killed. These were Mr. Gamble, the first lieutenant of the Saratoga, and Mr. Stansbury, the first lieutenant of the Ticonderoga.† Mr. Smith,‡ a very valuable officer, and the first lieutenant of the Eagle, received a severe wound, but returned to his quarters during the action. On the part of the enemy, besides Captain Downie, several officers were killed, and three or four were wounded.

Captain M'Donough, besides the usual medal from Congress, and various compliments and gifts from different states and

* Since Commodore Cassin.

† The manner in which Mr. Gamble met his death, has been mentioned. Mr. Stansbury suddenly disappeared from the bulwarks forward, while superintending some duty with the springs. Two days after the action, his body rose to the surface of the water, near the vessel to which he had belonged, and it was found that it had been cut in two by a round shot. Both these gentlemen showed great coolness and spirit, until they fell. Many officers were knocked down in the engagement, without having blood drawn. At one moment, there was a cry in the Saratoga that Captain M'Donough, or as he was usually called, the commodore, was killed. He was thrown on his face, on the quarter deck, nearly if not quite senseless, and it was two or three minutes before he came to his recollection. He pointed a favourite gun most of the action, and while standing in the middle of the deck bending his body to sight it, a shot had cut in two the spanker-boom, letting the spar fall on his back, a blow that might easily have proved fatal. A few minutes after this accident, the cry that the commodore was killed was heard again. This time, Captain M'Donough was lying on the off-side of the deck, between two of the guns, covered with blood, and again nearly senseless. A shot had driven the head of the captain of his favourite gun in upon him, and knocked him into the scuppers. Mr. Brum the master, a venerable old seaman, while winding the ship, had a large splinter driven so near his body, as actually to strip off his clothes. For a minute he was thought to be dead, but, on gaining his feet, he made an apron of his pocket handkerchief, and coolly went to work again with the springs! A few months later this veteran died, as is thought of the injury. Mr. Lavallette had a shot-box, on which he was standing, knocked from under his feet, and he too, was once knocked down by the head of a seaman. He also received a severe splinter wound, though not reported. In short, very few escaped altogether; and in this desperate fight, it appears to have been agreed on both sides, to call no man wounded who could keep out of the hospital. Many who were not included among the wounded, feel the effects of their hurts to this day. It is said, that scarcely an individual escaped on board of either the Confiance or Saratoga, without some injury.

‡ Since Commodore Smith.

towns, was promoted for his services. Captain Henley also received a medal. The legislature of Vermont presented the former with a small estate on Cumberland Head, which overlooked the scene of his triumph. The officers and crews met with the customary acknowledgments, and the country generally placed the victory by the side of that of Lake Erie. In the navy, which is better qualified to enter into just estimates of force, and all the other circumstances that enhance the merits of nautical exploits, the battle of Plattsburg Bay is justly ranked among the very highest of its claims to glory.

The consequences of this victory were immediate and important. During the action, Sir George Prevost had skirmished sharply in front of the American works, and was busy in making demonstrations for a more serious attack. As soon, however, as the fate of the British squadron was ascertained, he made a precipitate and unmilitary retreat, abandoning much of his heavy artillery, stores, and supplies, and from that moment to the end of the war, the northern frontier was cleared of the enemy.

CHAPTER XLVII.

After the success of Captain Perry on Lake Erie, the English made no serious effort to recover the ascendency on the upper waters. During the winter of 1813–14, they are believed to have contemplated an attempt against a portion of the American vessels, which were lying in Put-in Bay, but the enterprise was abandoned. When Commodore Sinclair hoisted his pennant, as commander on this station, an expedition sailed against Michilimackinac, which was repulsed. He made some captures of vessels belonging to the Northwest Company, blew up a block-house in the Nautauwassauga, and compelled the enemy to destroy a schooner, called the Nancy, commanded by Lieutenant Worsley.

While these movements were in the course of occurrence on Lakes Superior and Huron, several of the small vessels were kept at the foot of Lake Erie, to co-operate with the army then besieged in the fort of the same name. On the night of the

12th of August, the Somers, Ohio, and Porcupine, all of which were under Lieutenant Conklin, were anchored just at the outlet of the lake, to cover the left flank of the American works. The enemy brought up a party of seamen from below, with a view to cut them off, and about midnight he made an attack, under Captain Dobbs, in six or eight boats, most of which were large batteaux. The Ohio and Somers were surprised, the last being captured without any resistance, but the Porcupine taking the alarm, easily effected her escape. The enemy drifted down the rapids with their two prizes, and secured them below.

In this sudden and handsome affair, the Americans had 1 man killed and 10 wounded. The enemy lost about the same number, by the resistance on board the Ohio, among whom was Lieutenant Radcliffe, of the Netley, slain. The Porcupine had no part in the action. This surprise was the result of excess of confidence, it being thought that the enemy had no force on Lake Erie with which to make such an attack. The manner in which the men and boats were brought up from Lake Ontario, for this purpose, and the neatness with which the enterprise was executed, reflected great credit on the enemy.

Nor was this the only successful attempt of the same nature, made by the English on the upper lakes, during this season. Lieutenant Worsley, the officer who commanded the schooner destroyed by Commodore Sinclair, had escaped with all his men, and obtaining a party of soldiers from Michilimackinac, and a strong body of Indians, he planned a surprise upon the Tigress and Scorpion, two schooners that had been left in Lake Huron after the repulse on the post just mentioned. The Tigress mounted a twenty-four, had a crew of 28 men, officers included, and was commanded by Mr. Champlin. She was lying at St. Joseph's, on the night of the 3d of September, when Mr. Worsley made his attack in five large boats, one of which mounted a six, and another a three-pounder, accompanied by nineteen canoes, containing more than 200 men. The night was so dark that the enemy got very near before they were discovered, but Mr. Champlin* and his officers made a very gallant resistance. The schoooner was not captured until all her officers had been shot down. The guns of the enemy were transferred to the Tigress, and while she still con-

* Since Commander Champlin.

tinued in her berth, the evening of the next day, the Scorpion, Lieutenant Turner, which had been cruising, came in and anchored about five miles from her. Neither vessel had signals, and there was no attempt to communicate that night. The next morning, at daylight, the Tigress was seen standing down towards the Scorpion, with American colours flying, and there not being the slightest apparent motive to suspect her change of character, she was permittted to come alongside, when she fired all her guns, ran the Scorpion aboard, and carried her without difficulty. This surprise was wholly attributed to the want of signals, and Mr. Turner was honourably acquitted for the loss of his vessels. In carrying the Tigress, the enemy had a lieutenant and 2 men killed, and 7 men wounded. On board the Tigress 3 men were killed, and all the officers and 3 seamen were wounded. The Scorpion, being surprised, made but a trifling resistance.

These little captures, which were very creditable to the enterprise of the enemy, terminated the war on the upper lakes, the vessels being shortly after laid up. During the winter of 1814–15 both belligerents were building, the enemy having laid down a second two-decker at Kingston, while the Americans prepared to build two at the Harbour. Mr. Eckford engaged to put into the water two ships, to carry 102 guns each, within sixty days from the time he commenced, the timber then standing in the forest. The order was given, and the work commenced in January. The news that a treaty of peace had been signed, was received when the work on one of these vessels, called the New Orleans, had been commenced but twenty-nine days. She was then nearly planked in, and it was thought would have been in the water in twenty-seven days more. The second vessel was but little behind her, and there is no doubt that Commodore Chauncey would have taken the lake, as soon as the navigation opened, with a force consisting of 2 sail of the line, 2 frigates, 2 corvettes, 4 brigs, and as many small craft as the service could possibly have required. As the enemy had received the frames of one or two frigates from England, and had already begun to set them up, it is probable that a frigate would have been added to this force, by building her of the timber found too small for the heavier ships.

The peace put a stop to the strife in ship-building, and terminated the war on the lakes. In this inland contest, while the enemy had been active, bold, and full of resources, impar-

tial judges must award the palm to the Americans. On the upper lakes and on Champlain, the English had sought general actions, and decisive victories placed the republic in nearly undisputed command of those waters. The important results that had been expected, fully rewarded this success. On Lake Ontario, the English pursued a different policy, cautiously avoiding any conflict that might prove final, unless under circumstances that would ensure victory.

On Lake Champlain the enemy captured in the course of the war, the Eagle and Growler, by means of their army. These two vessels were subsequently retaken, under the names of the Chubb and the Finch, and the whole English force was defeated. On Lake Erie, the success of the enemy was limited to the surprise of the four schooners mentioned in this chapter; while they lost equally by surprise, the Detroit and Caledonia, their whole squadron in action, and a schooner on Lake Huron blown up. On Lake Ontario, the success of the enemy was limited to the capture of the Julia and Growler, in the affair of the 10th of August, and the re-capture of the latter vessel at Oswego. On no other occasion, with the exception of the gig of Mr. Gregory, and one boat carrying a gun and two cables, did any man, or thing, belonging to the navy fall into his hands. He made one exceedingly impotent attack on the Harbour, (previously to the arrival of Commodore Yeo,) was beaten in a subsequent attempt on the same place, succeeded in taking Oswego, and committed some ravages at Sodus, and at the mouth of the Genesee. For a few days he also co-operated with his army. On the part of the Americans, a spirited attack was made on Kingston in 1812; York was twice captured in 1813, as was Fort George once; a brig was brought off from York, and a vessel of 20 guns burned at the same place; another of 14 guns at Presque Isle; a third was driven ashore, and blown up, to the westward of Niagara; six gun-vessels and three gun-boats, and many smaller craft were captured; and, at different times, two captains, many other officers, and several hundred seamen and marines were taken. Kingston was often long and closely blockaded, and, with short and few exceptions, the Americans had the command of the lake. The greater age of the English frontier, as a settled country, gave the enemy material advantages, of which he fully availed himself.

No officer of the American navy ever filled a station of the responsibility and importance of that which Commodore Chaun-

cey occupied; and it may be justly questioned if any officer could have acquitted himself better, of the high trust that had been reposed in him. He commanded the profound respect of the vigilant, bold, and skilful commander to whom he was opposed, and to the last, retained the entire confidence of his own government.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

When Commodore Bainbridge gave up the command of the Constitution 44, in 1813, that ship was found to be so decayed as to require extensive repairs. Her crew was principally sent upon the lakes, a new one entered, and the command of her was given to Captain Charles Stewart. The ship, however, was not able to get to sea until the winter of 1814, when she made a cruise to the southward, passing down the coast, and running through the West Indies, on her way home, where she fell in with La Pique 36, which ship made her escape by going through the Mona passage in the night. Previously to her return the Constitution captured the Pictou 14, a man-of-war schooner of the enemy. Reaching the American coast, she was chased into Marblehead by two English frigates, the Junon and Tenedos. Shortly after she went to Boston. In this cruise, the Constitution made a few prizes, in addition to the schooner.

On the 17th of December, the Constitution again left Boston, and ran off Bermuda; thence to the vicinity of Madeira, and into the Bay of Biscay. After this, she cruised some time in sight of the Rock of Lisbon, making two prizes, one of which was destroyed, and the other sent in. While in the vicinity of Lisbon, she made a large ship and gave chase, but before her courses were raised, one of the prizes just mentioned, was fallen in with, and while securing it, the strange sail disappeared. This vessel is understood to have been the Elizabeth 74, which, on her arrival at Lisbon, hearing that the Constitution was off the coast, immediately came out in pursuit of her; but Captain Stewart had stood to the southward and westward, in quest of an enemy said to be in that direction.

On the morning of the 20th of February, the wind blowing a light Levanter, finding nothing where he was, Captain Stewart ordered the helm put up, and the ship ran off southwest, varying her position, in that direction, fifty or sixty miles. At 1 P. M., a stranger was seen on the larboard bow, when the ship hauled up two or three points, and made sail in chase. In about twenty minutes the stranger was made out to be a ship; and half an hour later, a second vessel was seen farther to leeward, which at two was also ascertained to be a ship. The Constitution kept standing on, all three vessels on bowlines, until four, when the nearest of the strangers made a signal to the ship to leeward, and shortly after he kept away and ran down towards his consort, then about three leagues under his lee. The Constitution immediately squared away, and set her studding-sails, alow and aloft. No doubt was now entertained of the strangers being enemies; the nearest ship having the appearance of a small frigate, and the vessel to leeward that of a large sloop of war. The first was carrying studding-sails on both sides, while the last was running off under short canvass, to allow her consort to close. Captain Stewart believed it was their intention to keep away, on their best mode of sailing, until night, in the hope of escaping; and he crowded every thing that would draw, with a view to get the nearest vessel under his guns. About half-past four, the spar proving defective, the main royal-mast was carried away, and the chase gained. A few guns were now fired, but finding that the shot fell short, the attempt to cripple the stranger was abandoned.

Perceiving, at half-past five, that it was impossible to prevent the enemy from effecting a junction, the Constitution, then a little more than a league distant from the farthest ship, cleared for action. Ten minutes later, the two chases passed within hail of each other, came by the wind with their heads to the northward, hauled up their courses, and were evidently clearing to engage. In a few minutes both ships suddenly made sail, close by the wind, in order to weather upon the American frigate, but perceiving that the latter was closing too fast, they again hauled up their courses, and formed on the wind, the smallest ship ahead.

At 6 P. M., the Constitution had the enemy completely under her guns, and she showed her ensign. The strangers answered this defiance, by setting English colours, and five minutes later, the American ship ranged up abeam of the stern-

most vessel, at the distance of a cable's length, passing ahead with her sails lifting, until the three ships formed nearly an equilateral triangle, the Constitution to windward. In this masterly position the action commenced, the three vessels keeping up a hot and unceasing fire for about a quarter of an hour, when that of the enemy sensibly slackened. The sea being covered with an immense cloud of smoke, and it being now moonlight, Captain Stewart ordered the cannonading to cease. In three minutes the smoke had blown away, when the leading ship of the enemy was seen under the lee-beam of the Constitution, while the sternmost was luffing, as if she intended to tack and cross her wake. Giving a broadside to the ship abreast of her, the American frigate threw her main and mizzen-topsails with topgallant-sails set, flat aback, shook all forward, let fly her jib-sheet, and backed swiftly astern, compelling the enemy to fill again to avoid being raked. The leading ship now attempted to tack, to cross the Constitution's fore-foot, when the latter filled, boarded her fore-tack, shot ahead, forced her antagonist to ware under a raking broadside, and to run off to leeward to escape from the weight of her fire.

The Constitution perceiving that the largest ship was waring also, wore on her keel, and crossing her stern, raked her with effect, though the enemy came by the wind immediately, and delivered his larboard broadside; but as the Constitution ranged up close on his weather quarter, he struck. Mr. Hoffman, the second lieutenant of the Constitution, was immediately sent to take possession; the prize proving to be the British ship Cyane 24, Captain Falcon.

In the mean time, the ship that had run to leeward had been forced out of the combat by the crippled condition of her running rigging, and to avoid the weight of the Constitution's fire. She was ignorant of the fate of the Cyane, but at the end of about an hour, having repaired damages, she hauled up, and met the Constitution coming down in quest of her. It was near nine before the two ships crossed each other on opposite tacks, the Constitution to windward, and exchanged broadsides. The English ship finding her antagonist too heavy, immediately bore up, in doing which she got a raking discharge, when the Constitution boarded fore-tack and made sail, keeping up a most effective chasing fire, from her two bow guns, nearly every shot of which told. The two ships were so near each other, that the ripping of the enemy's planks was

heard on board the American frigate. The former was unable to support this long, and at 10 P. M. he came by the wind, fired a gun to leeward, and lowered his ensign. Mr. W. B. Shubrick, the third lieutenant, was sent on board to take possession, when it was found that the prize was the Levant 18, the Honourable Captain Douglas.

During this cruise, the Constitution mounted 52 guns; and she had a complement of about 470 men, all told; a few of whom were absent in a prize. The Cyane was a frigate-built ship, that properly rated 24 guns, though she appeared as only a 20 in Steele's list, mounting 22 thirty-two-pound carronades on her gun-deck, and 10 eighteen-pound carronades, with two chase guns, on her quarterdeck and forecastle; making 34 in all. The Levant was a new ship, rating 18, and mounting 18 thirty-two-pound carronades, a shifting eighteen on her topgallant forecastle, and two chase guns; or 21 in all. There were found in the Cyane, 168 prisoners, of whom 26 were wounded. The precise number slain on board her is not known; Captain Stewart, probably judging from an examination of the muster-book, computing it at 12, while the accounts given by the English publications differ, some putting the killed at only 4 and others at 6. It was probably between the two estimates. Her regular crew was about 185, all told; and there is no reason to believe that it was not nearly, if not absolutely full. Captain Stewart supposes it to have been 180 in the action, which was probably about the truth. The Levant's regular complement is said to have been 130, all told; but it appears by a statement published in Barbadoes, where some of her officers shortly after went, that there were a good many supernumeraries in the two vessels, who were going to the Western Islands, to bring away a ship that was building there. Captain Stewart supposes the Levant to have had 156 men in the action, of whom he believed 23 to have been killed, and 16 wounded. The first estimate may have been too high, though the truth can probably never be known. It is believed that no English official account of this action has ever been published, but the Barbadoes statement makes the joint loss of the two ships, 10 killed, and 28 wounded; other English accounts raise it as high as 41 in all. It may have been a little less than the estimate of Captain Stewart, (although his account of the wounded must have been accurate,) but was probably considerably more than that of the English statements. The Constitution had 3 killed, and 12 wounded, or she sustained a total loss of 15

men. By 1 A. M., of the 21st, she was ready for another action. Although it was more than three hours and a half, from the time this combat commenced, before the Levant struck, the actual fighting did not occupy three-quarters of an hour. For a night action, the execution on both sides was unusual, the enemy firing much better than common. The Constitution was hulled oftener in this engagement, than in both her previous battles, though she suffered less in her crew, than in the combat with the Java. She had not an officer hurt.

The manner in which Captain Stewart handled his ship, on this occasion, excited much admiration among nautical men, it being an unusual thing for a single vessel to engage two enemies, and escape being raked. So far from this occurring to the Constitution, however, she actually raked both her opponents, and the manner in which she backed and filled in the smoke, forcing her two antagonists down to leeward, when they were endeavouring to cross her stern or fore-foot, is among the most brilliant manœuvring in naval annals.

It is due to a gallant enemy to say, that Captain Douglas commanded the respect of the Americans, by his intrepid perseverance in standing by his consort. Although the attempt might not have succeeded, the time necessarily lost in securing the Cyane, gave him an opportunity to endeavour to escape, that he nobly refused to improve.

Captain Stewart proceeded with his two prizes to Port Praya, where he arrived on the 10th of March. Here a vessel was engaged as a cartel, and more than a hundred of the prisoners were landed with a view to help fit her for sea. Saturday, March 11th, 1815, a little after meridian, while the cutter was absent to bring the cartel under the stern of the frigate, the sea was covered with a heavy fog, near the water, and there was a good deal of haze above, but in the latter, the sails of a large ship were visible. She was on a wind, looking in-shore, and evidently stretching towards the roads. The first lieutenant, Mr. Shubrick, reported the circumstance to Captain Stewart. This officer believing that the strange sail would prove to be an English frigate or an Indiaman, directed the lieutenant to return on deck, call all hands, and get ready to go out and attack her. As soon as this order was given, the officer took a new look at the stranger, when he discovered the canvass of two other ships rising above the bank of fog, in the same direction. These vessels were evidently heavy

men-of-war, and Captain Stewart was immediately apprised of the fresh discovery. That prompt and decided officer did not hesitate an instant concerning the course he ought to take. Well knowing that the English would disregard the neutrality of any port that had not sufficient force to resist them, or which did not belong to a nation they were obliged to respect, he immediately made a signal for the prizes to follow, and ordered the Constitution's cable to be cut. In 10 minutes after this order was issued, and in 14 after the first ship had been seen, the American frigate was standing out of the roads, under her three topsails.

The cool and officer-like manner in which sail was made and the ship cast, on this occasion, has been much extolled, not an instant having been lost by hurry or confusion. The prizes followed with promptitude. The northeast trades were blowing, and the three vessels passed out to sea about gun-shot to windward of the hostile squadron, just clearing East Point. As the Constitution cleared the land, she crossed topgallant-yards, boarded her tacks, and set all the light sails that would draw. The English prisoners on shore, took possession of a battery, and fired at her as she went out. As soon as the American ships had gained the weather beam of the enemy, the latter tacked, and the six vessels stood off to the southward and eastward, carrying every thing that would draw, and going about ten knots.

The fog still lay so thick upon the water as to conceal the hulls of the strangers, but they were supposed to be two line-of-battle ships, and a large frigate, the vessel most astern and to leeward, being the commodore. The frigate weathered on all the American ships, gaining on the Levant and Cyane, but falling astern of the Constitution; while the two larger vessels, on the latter's lee quarter, held way with her. As soon as clear of the land, the Constitution cut adrift two of her boats, the enemy pressing her too hard to allow of their being hoisted in. The Cyane was gradually dropping astern and to leeward, rendering it certain, if she stood on, that the most weatherly of the enemy's vessels would soon be alongside of her; and at 10 minutes past one, Captain Stewart made a signal for her to tack. This order was obeyed by Mr. Hoffman, the prize-master; and it was now expected that one of the enemy's ships would go about, and follow him; a hope that was disappointed. The Cyane finding that she was not pursued, stood on until she was lost in the fog, when Mr. Hoffman tacked

again, anticipating that the enemy might chase him to leeward. This prudent officer improved his advantage, by keeping to windward long enough to allow the enemy to get ahead, should they pursue him, when he squared away for America, arriving safely at New York on the 10th of April following.

The three ships of the enemy continued to chase the Constitution and Levant. As the vessels left the land the fog lessened, though it still lay so dense on the immediate surface of the ocean, as to leave Captain Stewart in doubt as to the force of his pursuers. The English officers on board the Constitution affirmed that the vessel that was getting into her wake was the Acasta 40, Captain Kerr, a twenty-four-pounder ship, and it was thought that the three were a squadron that was cruising for the President, Peacock, and Hornet, consisting of the Leander 50, Sir George Collier, Newcastle 50, Lord George Stuart, and the Acasta; the ships that they subsequently proved to be. The Newcastle was the vessel on the lee-quarter of the Constitution, and by half-past two the fog had got so low, that her officers were seen standing on the hammock-cloths, though the line of her ports was not visible. She now began to fire by divisions, and some opinion could be formed of her armament, by the flashes of her guns, through the fog. Her shot struck the water within a hundred yards of the American ship, but did not rise again. By 3 P. M., the Levant had fallen so far astern, that she was in the very danger from which the Cyane had so lately been extricated, and Captain Stewart made her signal to tack also. Mr. Ballard immediately complied, and 7 minutes later the three English ships tacked, by signal, and chased the prize, leaving the Constitution standing on in a different direction, and going at the rate of eleven knots.

Mr. Ballard finding the enemy bent on following the Levant, with the Acasta already to windward of his wake, ran back into Port Praya, and anchored, at 4 o'clock, within 150 yards of the shore, under a strong battery. The enemy's ships had commenced firing, as soon as it was seen that the Levant would gain the anchorage, and all three now opened on the prize. After bearing the fire for a considerable time, the colours of the Levant were hauled down. No one was hurt in the prize, Mr. Ballard causing his men to lie on the deck, as soon as the ship was anchored. The English prisoners in the battery, also fired at the Levant.

Sir George Collier was much criticised for the course he pursued on this occasion. It was certainly a mistake to call

off more than one ship to chase the Levant, though the position of the Leander in the fog, so far to leeward and astern, did not give the senior officer the best opportunities for observing the course of events. There was certainly every prospect of the Acasta's bringing the Constitution to action in the course of the night, though the other vessels might have been left so far astern, as still to render the result doubtful.

Whatever may be thought of the management of the enemy, there can be but one opinion as to that of Captain Stewart. The promptitude with which he decided on his course, the judgment with which he ordered the prizes to vary their courses, and the steadiness with which the Constitution was commanded, aided in elevating a professional reputation that was already very high.

This terminated the exploits of the gallant Constitution, or Old Ironsides, as she was affectionately called in the navy; Captain Stewart, after landing his prisoners at Maranham, and learning at Porto Rico, that peace had been made, carried her into New York, about the middle of May. In the course of two years and nine months, this ship had been in three actions, had been twice critically chased, and had captured five vessels of war, two of which were frigates, and a third frigate-built. In all her service, as well before Tripoli, as in this war, her good fortune was remarkable. She never was dismasted, never got ashore, or scarcely ever suffered any of the usual accidents of the sea. Though so often in battle, no very serious slaughter ever took place on board her. One of her commanders was wounded, and four of her lieutenants had been killed; two on her own decks, and two in the Intrepid; but, on the whole, her entire career had been that of what is usually called a "lucky ship." Her fortune, however, may perhaps be explained in the simple fact, that she had always been well commanded. In her two last cruises she had probably possessed as fine a crew as ever manned a frigate. They were principally New England men, and it has been said of them, that they were almost qualified to fight the ship without her officers.

CHAPTER XLIX.

When Commodore Rodgers left the President, in the summer of 1814, to take command of the Guerriere, Commodore Decatur was transferred to the former ship; the United States and Macedonian, then blockaded in the Thames, having been laid up, and the Hornet, Captain Biddle, left to protect them. This service was particularly irksome to an officer of the spirit of the last-named gentleman; and persevering in his applications to be released from it, he finally received an order to join Commodore Decatur at New York, where the President had been some time detained to make part of the defence of the port, while the enemy was committing his depredations on the coast, during the mild weather. No sooner did Captain Biddle receive this welcome command, than he took the first favourable occasion to pass out, leaving the blockading squadron to the eastward, and ran down to New York. This was in the month of November, 1814, and Commodore Decatur had now a force consisting of the President 44, his own ship, Peacock 18, Captain Warrington, Hornet 18, Captain Biddle, and Tom Bowline store-vessel. His destination was the East Indies, where it was thought great havoc might be made with the valuable trade of the English.

Owing to different causes, but principally to the wish of the government to keep a force at New York to resist the depredations of the enemy, Commodore Decatur did not get to sea until the middle of January, 1815. The President dropped down to Sandy Hook alone, leaving the other vessels lying at Staten Island, and on the night of the 14th, she made an attempt to cross the bar. In consequence of the darkness, the pilots missed the channel and the ship struck; beating heavily on the sands, for an hour and a half. About 10 o'clock the tide had risen to its height, and she was forced into deep water Although the vessel had received considerable injury, it was impossible to return, and a strong blockading force being in the offing, it became necessary to carry sail to get off the coast before morning. It had blown a gale the previous day, and Commodore Decatur, rightly judging that the enemy had been driven to leeward, decided to run along the land to the north-

ward and eastward, as the best means of avoiding a greatly superior force. This determination was judicious, and, had not the detention occurred on the bar, it would have been completely successful. After running off in a northerly direction for about 5 hours, the course of the ship was altered to S. E. by E. Two hours later, a strange sail was discovered ahead, within gun-shot, and two others being soon after seen, the President hauled up and passed to the northward of them all. At daylight, four ships were seen in chase, one on each quarter and two astern. The nearest vessel was believed to be the Majestic rasée, which fired a broadside or two, in the hope of crippling the American frigate as she passed, but without effect. It is now known, that the enemy had been driven down to the southward by the gale, and that he was just returning to his station, when this unlucky encounter occurred.

The chase continued throughout the forenoon, the wind becoming lighter and baffling. The rasée was dropped materially, but the next nearest ship, the Endymion, 40, a twenty-four-pounder frigate, had closed, and as the President was very deep, being filled with stores for a long cruise, Commodore Decatur commenced lightening her. Unfortunately the commander, all the lieutenants, and the master were strangers, in one sense, to the ship; most of them never having been at sea in her at all, and neither in any responsible situation. The duty of lightening a ship in chase, is one of the most delicate operations in seamanship, and it ought never to be attempted except by those perfectly acquainted with her lines, trim, and stowage. Half-a-dozen more water-casks emptied at one end of the vessel than at the other may injure her sailing; and the utmost care is to be observed lest the indiscretion of inferiors in the hold, defeat the calculations of the commander on deck. On the other hand, Commodore Decatur decided to undertake this delicate operation under the most favourable circumstances that a want of familiarity with his ship would allow, as the wind was getting to be light, and was nearly aft.

It is not certain, however, that the sailing of the President was injured by the process of lightening, for she is supposed to have suffered materially while on the bar, and the enemy obtained a material advantage by a change in the wind. While it was still light with the American ship, the British, about 3 P. M., were bringing down with them a fresh breeze. Soon after, the Endymion, the nearest vessel, having got within reach of shot, opened with her bow guns, the President return-

ing the fire with her stern-chasers. The object of each, was to cripple the spars of the other. It is said, that on this occasion, the shot of the American ship were observed to be thrown with a momentum so unusually small, as to have since excited a distrust of the quality of her powder. It is even added, that many of these shot were distinctly seen, when clear of the smoke, until they struck.

By 5 P. M., the Endymion had got so far on the starboard, or lee quarter of the President, that no gun of the latter would bear on her without altering the course. The fire of the English ship now became exceedingly annoying, for she was materially within point-blank range, and every shot cut away something aloft. Still it was borne, in the hope that she would range up alongside, and give the President an opportunity of laying her aboard. Finding, however, that the enemy warily kept his position by yawing, in the hope of gradually crippling the American ship, Commodore Decatur decided on a course that singularly partook of the daring chivalry of his character.

It was now evident that the sailing of the President was much impaired by some cause or other; either by injuries received on the bar, or by the manner in which she had been lightened, and escape by flight had become nearly hopeless. Commodore Decatur, therefore, decided to make an effort to exchange ships, by carrying the Endymion, hand to hand, and to go off in the prize, abandoning his own vessel to the enemy. With this object in view, he determined to keep away, lay the enemy aboard if possible, and put every thing on the success of the experiment. The plan was communicated to the people, who received it cheerfully, and just at dusk, the helm of the President was put up, bringing the wind over the taffrail, the ship heading south. But she was so closely watched, that the Endymion kept away at the same moment, and the two ships soon came abeam of each other, when both delivered their broadsides. All the President's attempts to close, were defeated, for the vessels were about a quarter of a mile apart, and as she hauled nearer to the enemy, the latter sheered away from her. Without a superiority in sailing, it was impossible for Commodore Decatur to get any nearer, and he was now reduced to the necessity of attempting to get rid of the Endymion by dismantling her. The two frigates, consequently continued running off dead before the wind, keeping up a heavy cannonade for two hours and a half, when the enemy's vessel was so far injured that she fell astern, most of

her sails having been cut from the yards. The President, at this moment, was under her royal studding-sails, and there is no doubt, by choosing her position, she might easily have compelled her adversary to strike; but, by this time, though the night was dark, the vessels astern were in sight, and she was obliged to resume her original course to avoid them. In doing this, the President hauled up under the broadside of her late antagonist, without receiving any fire to injure her.

It was now half-past eight, and the President continued to run off south, repairing damages, but it was found impossible to prevent the other vessels of the enemy from closing. At 11 P. M., the Pomona 38 got on the weather bow of the American ship, and poured in a broadside; and as the Tenedos, of the same force, was fast closing on the quarter, and the Majestic was within gun-shot astern, further resistance was useless. Commodore Decatur had ordered his people below, when he saw the two last frigates closing, but finding that his signal of submission was not at first understood, the Pomona continuing to fire, an order had been given for them to return to their guns, just as the enemy ceased. The Majestic coming up before the removal of Commodore Decatur, that gentleman delivered his sword to her captain, who was the senior English officer present.

In this long and close cannonade, agreeably to the official reports, the President lost 24 men killed, and 56 wounded. She was a good deal injured in her hull, and most of her important spars were badly damaged. By one of those chances which decide the fortunes of men, among the slain were the first, fourth, and fifth lieutenants.

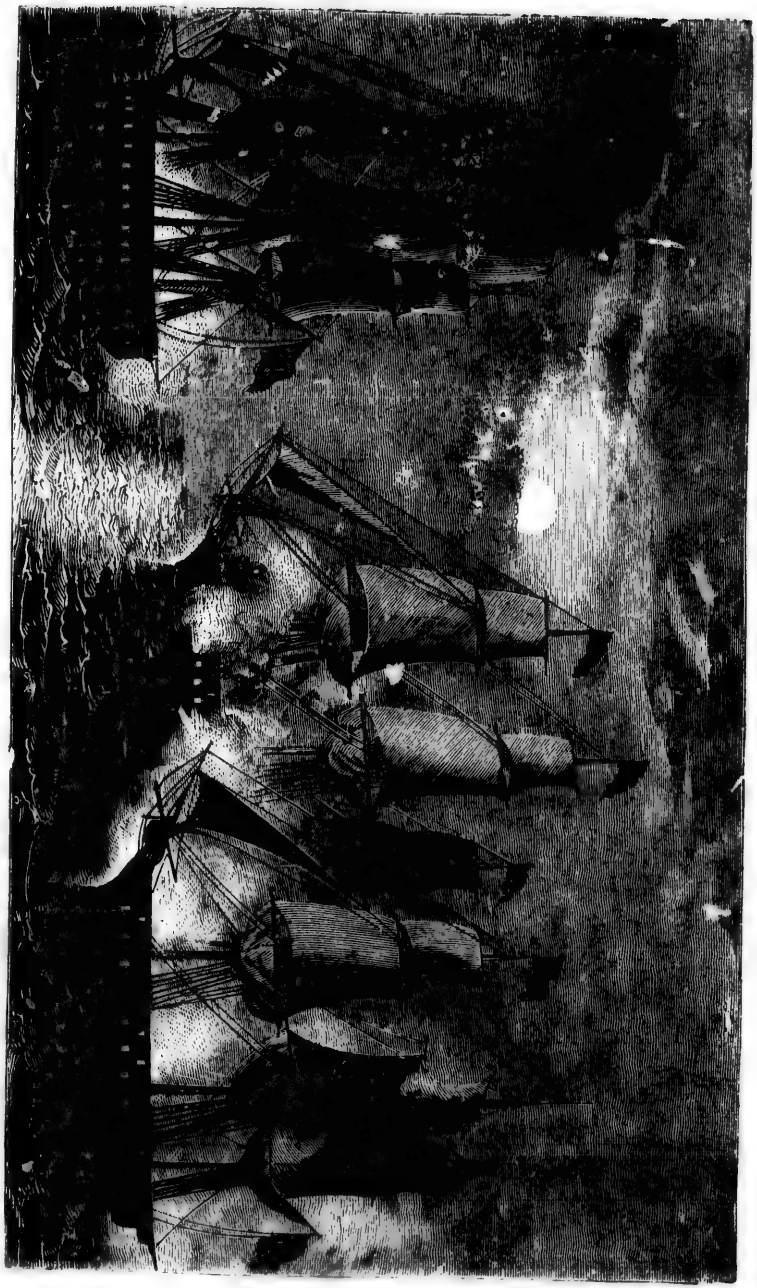
The Endymion had 11 killed, and 14 wounded, according to the published reports. As it is known that an order was given to aim at the rigging and spars of this ship, with a view to cripple her, it is probable this statement was accurate. It is believed, however, on respectable authority, that a great many shot hulled the Endymion, which did not penetrate; a fact which, coupled with other observations made during the day, has induced the distrust of the quality of the President's powder. Owing to one, or to both, the circumstances named, the English ship lost but about a third as many men as the American, though a considerable number of the President's people were killed and wounded by the unresisted fire of the Pomona, having been ordered back to the guns before the latter ceased.

The President was carried to Bermuda, and both she and

The President, at
ails, and there is
easily have com-
time, though the
ght, and she was
d them. In doing
dside of her late
e her.
lent continued to
s found impossi-
my from closing.
ather bow of the
d as the Tenedos,
quarter, and the
er resistance was
his people below,
t finding that his
ood, the Pomona
or them to return
e Majestic coming
r, that gentleman
the senior English

bly to the official
and 56 wounded.
most of her im-
of those chances
he slain were the

ounded, according
that an order was
ship, with a view
as accurate. It is
that a great many
penetrate; a fact
e during the day,
President's powder.
named, the Eng-
as the American,
lent's people were
the Pomona, hav-
latter ceased.
and both she and



CONSTITUTION, GYANE AND LEVANT. Page 85.

the Endymion were dismasted in a gale, before reaching port. The latter also threw overboard her upper-deck guns. Commodore Decatur was shortly after paroled, and he and all his surviving officers and men, were subsequently acquitted, with honour, for the loss of the ship.

The commanders of the Peacock, Hornet, and Tom Bowline brig, ignorant of the capture of the President, followed her to sea, about the 22d, taking advantage of a strong northwester, to pass the bar by daylight. The enemy was seen lying-to at the southward and eastward, but was disregarded. A few days out the Hornet parted company in chase of a neutral, when all three vessels made the best of their way to the island of Tristan d'Acunha, the place of rendezvous appointed by Commodore Decatur. The Peacock and Tom Bowline arrived about the middle of March, but bad weather coming on, they were driven off the land. On the morning of the 23d of the same month, the Hornet came in, with the wind fresh at S. S. W., and was about to anchor, having let go her topsail-sheets to clew up, when the men aloft discovered a sail to windward. The stranger was standing to the westward, and was soon shut in by the land. Captain Biddle immediately sheeted home his topsails again, and made a stretch to windward and towards the chase, which was shortly after seen running down before the wind. There being little doubt as to the character of the stranger, the Hornet hove-to, waiting for him to come down, and when he had got near enough to render it prudent, the main-topsail was filled, and the ship was kept yawing, occasionally waring, both to allow him to close and to prevent his giving a raking fire.

At 1 40 P. M., the stranger having got within musket-shot, came by the wind, set English colours and fired a gun. On this challenge, the Hornet luffed up, showed her ensign, and returned a broadside. For 15 minutes both vessels kept up a sharp cannonade, that of the American ship, in particular, being very animated and destructive, the enemy gradually drifting nearer, when the latter, finding it impossible to stand the Hornet's fire, put his helm up and ran down directly on the starboard broadside of the latter, to lay her aboard. The enemy's bowsprit came in between the main and mizzen rigging of the Hornet, affording a perfectly good opportunity to attempt effecting his purpose, but, though his first lieutenant made a gallant effort to lead on his men, the latter could not be induced to follow. Captain Biddle had called away boarders

to repel boarders, and his people now manifested a strong wish to go into the English vessel, but perceiving his great advantage at the guns, that intrepid officer, who had been so free to adopt this expedient, when it was his duty to lead in his own person, judiciously refused his permission.

The vessels lay in this position but a minute or two, the American raking, when the sea lifted the Hornet ahead, carrying away her mizzen rigging, davits, and spanker-boom, the enemy swinging round and hanging on the larboard quarter. At this moment, Captain Biddle sent the master forward to set the foresail, with a view to part the vessels, when an officer on board the English ship called out that she surrendered. The positions prevented any other firing than that of small-arms; this was ordered to cease, and Captain Biddle sprang upon the taffrail to inquire if the enemy submitted. While putting this question, he was within thirty feet of the forecastle of the English vessel, and two marines on board discharged their muskets at him. The ball of one just missed the chin and passing through the skin of the neck, inflicted a severe, but fortunately not a dangerous wound. This incident drew a discharge of muskets from the Hornet, which killed the two marines; the American ship forged ahead at that instant, and the enemy lost his bowsprit and foremast as the vessels separated.

The Hornet now wore round, bringing a fresh broadside to bear, and was about to throw in a raking fire, when twenty men appeared at the side and on the forecastle of the enemy, raising their hands for quarter, and eagerly calling out that they had struck. The excitement on board the American ship, however, was so great, in consequence of the manner in which their gallant captain had received his wound, that it was with the utmost difficulty Captain Biddle and his officers could prevent the people from pouring in another broadside.

The prize was H. B. Majesty's brig the Penguin 18, mounting 19 carriage guns; viz., 16 thirty-two-pound carronades, two chase guns, and a shifting carronade on the topgallant forecastle. She was a vessel of the Hornet's class, size, and metal, and is represented as having had a spare port forward, by means of which she could fight ten guns in broadside.* Her

* On an accurate computation of the real (not nominal) metal of the two vessels, the Hornet would appear to have thrown, at a broadside, about nine pounds more shot than the Penguin; the latter not using her spare port. As respects the crews, the American ship had some ten or fifteen the most men at quarters. In tonnage the vessels were very nearly equal.

complement of men was 132, of whom 12 had been put on board her for the express purpose of engaging a very heavy American privateer called the Young Wasp, a fact that is known by a letter found in her, from the Admiral at the Cape of Good Hope, to which station the Penguin belonged. Captain Biddle stated the loss of his prize at 14 killed and 28 wounded. As respects the latter, there could be no mistake, though it was the opinion of the officer in charge of the English vessel, that more men had been slain. Some time previously to this capture, the enemy had ceased to publish the official accounts of his nautical defeats, but a letter purporting to be the one written on this occasion, has found its way before the world, in which the English loss is stated at only 10 killed and 28 wounded. The Penguin was completely riddled with the Hornet's shot, lost her foremast and bowsprit, and her mainmast was too much injured to be secured. Among her slain was her commander, Captain Dickenson, and the boatswain; and among the wounded a lieutenant, two midshipmen, and the purser.

The Hornet had but 1 man killed, and 10 wounded. Among the latter, in addition to Captain Biddle, was the first lieutenant, Mr. Conner,* a young officer of high promise, whose life was considered in great danger for some time. Not a round shot touched the Hornet's hull, nor did her spars receive any material injury, though she was a good deal cut up in her rigging and sails.

The combat between the Hornet and the Penguin was one of the most creditable to the character of the American marine that occurred in the course of the war. The vessels were very fairly matched, and when it is remembered that an English flag-officer had sent the Penguin on especial service against a ship believed to be materially heavier than the vessel she actually encountered, it is fair to presume she was thought to be, in every respect, an efficient cruiser. Yet, with the advantage of the wind, this ship was taken in 22 minutes, including the time lost while she hung on the Hornet's quarter, and while the latter was waring. The neatness and despatch with which the American sloop did her work, the coolness with which she met the attempt to board, and the accuracy of her fire and handling, are all proofs of her having been a disciplined man-of-war, and of the high condition of that service in which she

* Since Commodore Conner.

was one of the favourites. It is by such exploits that the character of a marine is most effectually proved.

A few hours after the action, a strange and suspiciously looking sail heaving in sight, a cable was taken from the Penguin, and the Hornet towed her some distance off the land. After thoroughly examining the prize, and getting out of her all the stores and provisions that were wanted, before daylight, on the morning of the 25th, Captain Biddle scuttled her. The Hornet then stood in towards the island to look for the strange sail, which was found to be the Peacock, having the Tom Bowline in company. An arrangement was now made, by which the latter was converted into a cartel, and was sent into St. Salvador with the prisoners.

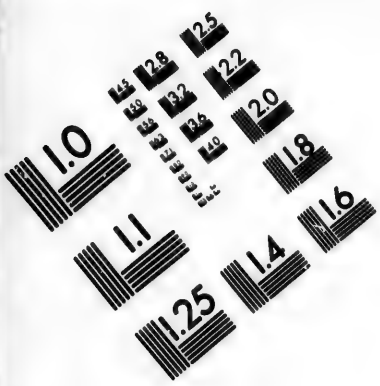
As soon as he was released from this encumbrance, and from the great drain on his supplies, Captain Biddle was ready to continue his cruise. This spirited officer did not consider the capture of a vessel of the same class as his own, a reason of itself for returning to port; but, it having been ascertained, by means of the Macedonian, a brig which sailed with the President, that the latter ship was probably captured, Captain Warrington determined to proceed on the original cruise, with the remaining vessels. They sailed, accordingly, on the 13th of April, having remained at the island the time directed in the instructions of Commodore Decatur.

While making the best of their way towards the Indian seas, on the morning of the 27th of April, the two ships then being in lat. 38° 30′ S., long. 33° E., the Peacock made the signal of a stranger to the southward and eastward. Both the sloops of war made sail in chase. Though the wind was light, before evening it was found that the stranger was materially nearer. It now fell calm, and the chase was in sight in the morning. The wind coming out at N. W., the ships ran down before it, with studding-sails on both sides, the stranger hauling up, apparently, to look at them. The Peacock was the fastest vessel, and being two leagues ahead at half past 2, P. M., she was observed to manifest some caution about approaching the stranger, when the Hornet took in her starboard light sails, and hauled up for her consort. It was now thought, on board the latter ship, that the stranger was a large Indiaman, and that the Peacock was merely waiting for the Hornet to come up, in order to attack her. But an hour later Captain Warrington made a signal that the vessel in sight was a line-of-battle ship, and an enemy. The Hornet immediately hauled close upon

the wind, the stranger then on her lee quarter, distant not quite two leagues, the Peacock passing ahead and soon getting clear of him.

It was now seen that the English ship sailed very fast, and was unusually weatherly. The Hornet being more particularly in danger, about 9 P. M., Captain Biddle felt it necessary to begin to lighten, his vessel being crowded with stores taken from the Penguin. Twelve tons of kentledge, a quantity of shot, some heavy spars, and the sheet-anchor and cable, were thrown overboard. By 2 A. M., the enemy had drawn forward of the lee-beam, when the Hornet tacked to the westward, the enemy immediately following. At daylight on the 29th, the English ship was on the lee quarter of the American, and within gun-shot. At 7 o'clock she had English colours set with a rear-admiral's flag flying, and commenced firing. The shot passing over the Hornet, the launch was cut up and gotten rid of, the other anchors and cables, more shot, as many heavy articles as could be come at, and six of the guns were also thrown overboard. By 9 o'clock, the enemy had dropped so far astern that he ceased firing, the concussion produced by his guns having deadened the wind.

By 11 A. M., however, it was found that the enemy was again closing, when the Hornet threw overboard all the remaining guns but one, the boats, most of her shot, all the spare spars, and as many other articles off deck and from below, as could be got at. She also cut up her topgallant forecastle, and threw the pieces into the ocean. At meridian, the enemy had got within a mile, and he began again to fire, his shot flying far beyond the ship. Fortunately but three struck her. One passed through her jib, another plunged on her deck, glancing and lodging forward, and a third also hulled her. Still Captain Biddle held on, determined not to give up his ship while there was a ray of hope, for it was seen that the enemy was dropped while firing. About 2 P. M. the breeze freshened, and got more to the westward. Previously to this, the wind, by backing to the southeast, had greatly favoured the chase, but it now brought the Hornet more to windward, and she began to get brisk way on her. At sunset the stranger was more than a league astern, and the ship was running nine knots throughout the night, the wind blowing in squalls. The enemy was seen at intervals, carrying sail in chase, but at daylight he was nearly hull down astern. At half-past 9 A. M., he took in his studding-sails, reefed his top-



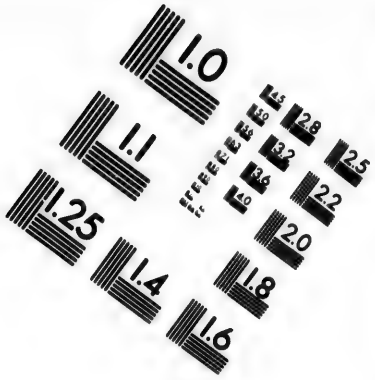
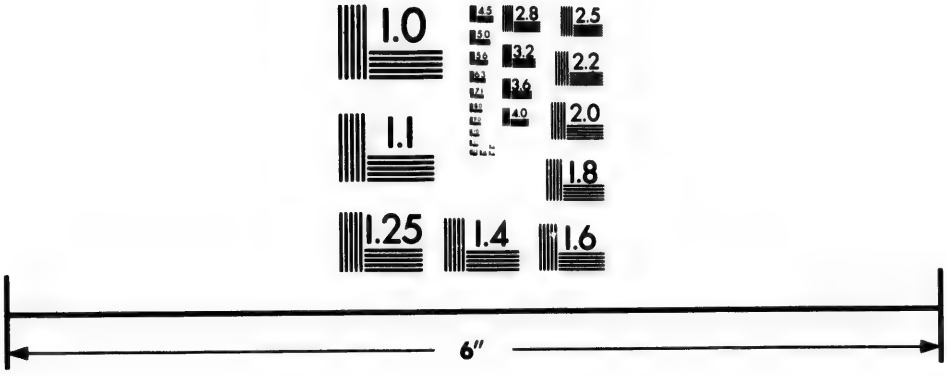
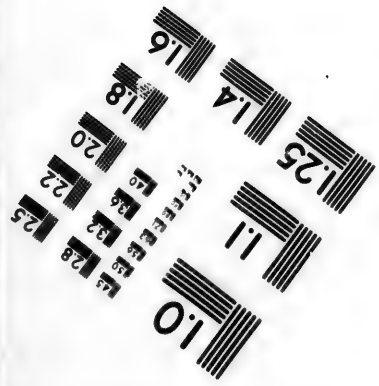
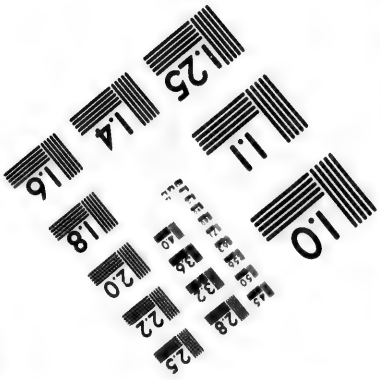


IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (MT-3)







Photographic Sciences Corporation

23 WEST MAIN STREET
WEBSTER, N.Y. 14580
(716) 872-4503

2.5
2.2
2.0
1.8
1.0

sails and hauled off to the eastward; and two hours later, his upper sails had dipped. The Hornet had now no anchor, cable, nor boat, and but one gun, and she made the best of her way to St. Salvador, for the relief of the wounded. Here Captain Biddle heard of the peace, when he sailed for New York, which port he reached on the 30th of July.

The vessel that chased the Hornet was the Cornwallis 74, bearing the flag of an officer proceeding to the East Indies.

The Peacock continued her cruise, and on the 30th of June, in the Straits of Sunda, she fell in with the East India Company's cruiser, Nautilus 14, Captain Boyce. In consequence of Captain Warrington's having no knowledge of the peace, broadsides were exchanged, when the Nautilus struck. This unfortunate mistake occurred a few days after the period set for the termination of hostilities, and having ascertained that a treaty of peace had been ratified in March, Captain Warrington gave up the Nautilus the next day. The latter vessel had 6 killed and 8 wounded, but no person was hurt on board the Peacock, which ship immediately returned home.

The combat between the Hornet and Penguin was the last regular action of the war, and the rencontre between the Peacock and Nautilus, the last instance of hostilities between the belligerents. When the Peacock got in, every cruiser that had been out against the English had returned to port.

The burning of the frigate Columbia, at Washington, and the blockade of the Java in the Chesapeake, had induced the government, in the autumn of 1814, to purchase or build two squadrons of small vessels, one of which was to be commanded by Captain Porter, and the other by Captain Perry. The former succeeded in buying five brigantines, or schooners, and he was about to sail with them, when the news of peace reached the country. The vessels, which formed one of these flying squadrons, were the Firefly, Spark, Torch, Spitfire, and Flambeau. The first destination of this force was the West Indies, and it was understood that it was to sail with orders to burn, sink, and destroy, without attempting, except in very extraordinary cases, to get any thing in.

Captain Perry was less successful in finding suitable vessels, and three stout brigs, called the Boxer, Saranac, and Chippewa, were laid down, though built with green timber. Another, called the Escape, was purchased and named the Prometheus; but it would seem that a fifth vessel had not been found when peace was proclaimed.

Thus terminated the war of 1812, so far as it was connected with the American marine. The navy came out of this struggle with a vast increase of reputation. The brilliant style in which the ships had been carried into action, the steadiness and rapidity with which they had been handled, and the fatal accuracy of their fire, on nearly every occasion, produced a new era in naval warfare. Most of the frigate actions had been as soon decided as circumstances would at all allow, and in no instance was it found necessary to keep up the fire of a sloop of war an hour, when singly engaged. Most of the combats of the latter, indeed, were decided in about half that time. The execution done in these short conflicts was often equal to that made by the largest vessels of Europe, in general actions; and in some of them, the slain and wounded comprised a very large proportion of the crews.

It is not easy to say in which nation this unlooked-for result created the most surprise; America or England. In the first it produced a confidence in itself that had been greatly wanted, but which, in the end, perhaps, degenerated to a feeling of self-esteem and security that was not without danger, or entirely without exaggeration. The last was induced to alter its mode of rating, adopting one by no means as free from the imputation of a want of consistency as that which it abandoned, and it altogether changed its estimate of the force of single ships, as well as of the armaments of frigates. The ablest and bravest captains of the English fleet were ready to admit that a new power was about to appear on the ocean, and that it was not improbable the battle for the mastery of the seas would have to be fought over again. In short, while some of the ignorant, presuming, and boastful were disposed to find excuses for the unexpected nautical reverses which Great Britain had met with in this short war, the sagacious and reflecting saw in them matter for serious apprehension and alarm. They knew that the former triumphs of their admirals had not so much grown out of an unusual ability to manœuvre fleets, as in the national aptitude to manage single ships; and they saw the proofs of the same aptitude, in the conduct of the Americans during this struggle, improved on by a skill in gunnery, that had never before been so uniformly manifested in naval warfare. In a word, it may be questioned if all the great victories of the last European conflicts caused more exultation among the uninstructed of that nation, than the defeats of this gave rise to misgivings and apprehensions among those who were able to appreciate causes and to antici-

pate consequences in a matter so purely professional as the construction, powers, and handling of ships. Many false modes of accounting for the novel character that had been given to naval battles was resorted to. Among other reasons, it was affirmed that the American vessels of war sailed with crews of picked seamen. It is not known that a single vessel left the country, the case of the Constitution on her two last cruises excepted, with a crew that could be deemed extraordinary. No American man-of-war ever sailed with a complement composed of nothing but able seamen; and some of the hardest fought battles that occurred during this war, were fought by ships' companies that were materially worse than common. The people of the vessels on Lake Champlain, in particular, were of a quality much inferior to those usually found in ships of war. Neither were the officers, in general, old or very experienced. The navy itself had existed but fourteen years, when the war commenced; and some of the commanders began their professional careers, several years after the first appointments had been made. Perhaps one half of the lieutenants, in the service at the peace of 1815, had gone on board ship, for the first time, within six years from the declaration of the war, and very many of them within three or four. So far from the midshipmen having been masters and mates of merchantmen, as was reported at the time, they were generally youths that first quitted the ease and comforts of the paternal home, when they appeared on the quarter-deck of a man-of-war.

That the tone and discipline of the service were high, is true; but it must be ascribed to moral, and not to physical causes; to that aptitude in the American character for the sea, which has been so constantly manifested from the day the first pinnace sailed along the coast on the trading voyages of the seventeenth century, down to the present moment.

CHAPTER L.

AGREEABLY to the policy of the Barbary powers, the Dey of Algiers no sooner found the republican cruisers excluded from the Mediterranean, by the English war, than he began to commit his depredations on the little American commerce that remained in or near that sea. During the late conflict, there was little leisure, and no great motive, to attend to this new enemy, but peace was no sooner made with England, than Congress, on the 2d of March, 1815, passed an Act authorizing hostilities against Algiers. This was at a moment when extensive preparations had been making to continue the more serious contest, and, as several thousand mariners were at once withdrawn from the lakes, the government was enabled to strike an early and important blow at its new enemy. Crews were thrown into the Guerriere, Macedonian and Congress frigates, the light squadrons mentioned in the last chapter furnished several efficient vessels for such service, and various sloops were already prepared to go to sea. A force consisting of the Guerriere 44, Capt. Lewis; the Constellation 38, Capt. Gordon; the Macedonian 38, Capt. Jones; the Ontario 18, Capt. Elliott; Epervier 18, Capt. Downes; Firefly 12, Lt. Com. Rodgers; Spark 12, Lt. Com. Gamble; Flambeau 12, Lt. Com. Nicolson; Torch 12, Lt. Com. Chauncey, and Spitfire 12, Lt. Com. Dallas, assembled in the port of New York in the course of the spring. May the 21st, this squadron sailed for the Mediterranean, under the orders of Commodore Decatur, whose pennant was flying in the Guerriere.

The Torch, Spitfire and Firefly separated in a gale, on the 26th of May, the Firefly being obliged to return in consequence of springing her masts. The Ontario also lost the squadron on the 31st. Commodore Decatur reached Tangiers on the 15th of June, and had some communications with the consul. From this gentleman he learned that the Algerine Admiral Hammida, had been off the port the previous day, in a frigate, and that he had sailed again on his way to Carthagena, in company with a heavy brig. The squadron entered the Straits immediately, called the Ontario, Spitfire and Torch out of Gibraltar by signal, in passing, and shaped its course

for Cape de Gatt. On the 17th of June, it fell in with the Algerine frigate Mashouda 46, Rais Hammida, when the Constellation, Capt. Gordon, the leading vessel, succeeded in bringing her to action. In a few minutes the Guerriere, Capt. Lewis, bearing the Commodore's pennant, passed between the two vessels, and poured in a broadside. Unfortunately one of the twenty-fours burst, at this discharge, blew up the spar deck, and killed and wounded from 30 to 45 men. The effect of her broadside, notwithstanding, was to drive the enemy from his guns, a few musketmen alone continuing the action on the part of the Algerines. The Epervier pressing the Mashouda on her quarter, the Macedonian coming up on her beam, and the small vessels closing also, there was no possibility of escape, and the enemy struck. The Algerine Admiral was among the slain.

Com. Decatur reported this affair as a running fight of 25 minutes, in which the enemy had 30 men killed, besides a great many wounded. The prisoners amounted to 406. No vessel sustained any loss but the Guerriere, on board of which ship 4 men were wounded by musket-balls, in addition to those who suffered by the explosion.

Two days later, or on the 19th of June, the squadron chased an enemy's brig of 22 guns, and 180 men, into shoal water, off Cape Palos. The Epervier, Spark, Torch and Spitfire were ordered in to destroy her, and they compelled her to strike after a short resistance. No less than 23 dead were found on board this vessel, and 80 prisoners were received from her, though many of her people escaped to the shore. It was thought that many of those who had left the prize, perished by the fire of the assailants, and it was known that one boat was sunk. No injury was sustained by the Americans, nor was either of the vessels injured. The brig was called the Estedio.

Commodore Decatur sent his prizes into Carthagena, and proceeded to Algiers with most of his vessels, where he arrived on the 28th. Here the Dey was offered the choice of war or peace, and he wisely accepted the latter. A treaty was concluded June 30th, or just 40 days after the American squadron left New York. This treaty is memorable from the circumstance that it was made on the terms of reciprocity acknowledged among civilised nations. By this treaty, tribute was for ever abolished, as between the United States and Algiers; there was a mutual delivery of prisoners; a restitution of property taken from American citizens was made; nor were

slaves to be made, in the event of any future war. In other respects, this arrangement was acceptable to the republic and humiliating to the regency.

There can be no doubt that the Dey was induced to sign this treaty thus promptly, on account of the critical condition of the remainder of his fleet; portions of which were expected hourly off the place. An attempt had been made to procure a suspension of hostilities, pending the negotiation; but to this proposition, the American commissioners, Com. Decatur and Mr. William Shaler, absolutely declined acceding. A sloop of war did actually heave in sight before the treaty was received, signed by the Dey; and had she appeared an hour sooner, she would have been captured. The Dey asked, as a personal favour, to have the frigate and brig restored, and to this the Commissioners consented, though they refused to allow an article to that effect to be inserted in the treaty.

After dictating terms to the Dey of Algiers, in the manner mentioned, Commodore Decatur transferred Captain Downes of the Epervier to his own ship, gave the command of the former to the Guerriere's first lieutenant, Mr. John Templar Shubrick, and ordered the latter home with the treaty. The Epervier left the squadron a few days after the prisoners were released, and passed the Straits about the 10th of July. It is said that she was seen early in August, and that a tremendous gale succeeded on the following day; but nothing certain is known of her fate. Although so many years have elapsed, no occurrence has transpired to throw any light on the nature of the disaster. Like the Saratoga, l'Insurgente, the Pickering, the Wasp, and gun-boat No. 7, this unfortunate vessel has disappeared, leaving behind her no traces of the manner in which she was lost.*

---

* There were several passengers on board the Epervier, some of whom had been prisoners in Algiers. Among others were Captain Lewis, late of the Guerriere, and Mr. Benedict J. Neale, late first lieutenant of the Constellation. These gentlemen had married sisters, a short time before the squadron left home, and having seen the war at an end, were returning to their brides, with the feelings of men who had the consciousness of having temporarily sacrificed the best affections to duty. Of course they were lost in the vessel.

Mr. John Templar Shubrick was a son of Col. Richard Shubrick of South Carolina, who had served with credit in the war of the revolution, and was allied by blood to the Draytons, Hamiltons, Haynes', and other patriotic and distinguished families of that State. Mr. Shubrick had been singularly fortunate in seeing service. He was on board the Con

Peace was no sooner signed with Algiers, than Commodore Decatur proceeded first to Tunis and then to Tripoli, with reclamations on those governments, for injuries done American commerce, during the late English war. In both instances redress was obtained in the promptest manner. Commodore Decatur says, in one of his official letters, in reference to these demands,—"During the progress of our negotiations with the States of Barbary, now brought to a conclusion, there has appeared a disposition, on the part of each of them, to grant as far as we were disposed to demand." No better illustration can be given of the change that had been effected by the services of the Navy, within twelve or fifteen years, than is to be found in this simple but memorable declaration. The facts fully warranted it; and from the summer of 1815, dates the fall of a system of piratical depredations that had rendered the high seas in that quarter of the world insecure for several centuries, and which existed a disgrace to European civilization.

As the prompt submission of the Dey of Algiers could not be foreseen, vessels were constantly quitting the United States for the Mediterranean, as they got ready, in order to reinforce the squadron, in anticipation of an attack upon the town. Among others, the Independence 74 sailed, under the orders of Commodore Bainbridge, who was to assume the chief command, on arriving out. This was the first two-decked ship that ever went to sea under the American flag. She arrived too late for active service; but collecting several ships, Com-

---

stitution in her actions with the Guerriere and Java. He was then transferred to the Hornet, and acted as her first lieutenant when she took the Peacock. He sailed in the President, Commodore Decatur, as her second lieutenant, but became first in the action, Mr. Babbit having been killed at the first broadside of the Endymion. He then went to the Guerriere, as first, and was near being destroyed by the bursting of the gun, in the action with the Algerine, a large piece of the metal actually hitting his hat. After all his escapes, Mr. Shubrick perished in the manner mentioned. He was an officer of not only high promise, but of high performance, his conduct on every occasion eliciting praise from his superiors. He had not long been married when he was lost, leaving an only son. Four brothers of this family have served in the navy with reputation. The second in years, is the present Com. Wm. Branford Shubrick; the third, Edward Rutledge Shubrick, died a captain; and Irvine Shubrick, the youngest, died a commander in the navy. The son of Mr. John Templar Shubrick resigned when a lieutenant in the navy.

On board the Epervier also perished Lieutenant Yarnall, who had been first in the Lawrence, in her bloody conflict on Lake Erie.

modore Bainbridge made a great impression on the different Barbary powers, by showing this fresh force off their ports, just after Commodere Decatur had left them. In this manner a squadron was soon assembled, that greatly exceeded in numbers and guns, any force that the republic had then sent to sea. It is believed that the following vessels appeared in the Mediterranean at, or quite near, the same time, viz:—

Independence	74	Com. Bainbridge.
Guerriere	44	Capt. Downes, Com. Decatur.
United States	44	Capt. Shaw.
Constellation	38	Capt. Gordon.
Congress	38	Capt. Morris.
Macedonian	38	Capt. Jones.
Ontario	18	Capt. Elliott.
Erie	18	Capt. Ridgely.
Epervier	18	Lt. Com. Shubrick.
Boxer	16	Lt. Com. Porter.
Saranac	16	Lt. Com. Elton.
Chippewa	16	Lt. Com. Reid.
Spark	12	Lt. Com. Gamble.
Enterprise	12	Lt. Com. Kearny.
Firefly	12	Lt. Com. Rodgers.
Spitfire	12	Lt. Com. Dallas.
Torch	12	Lt. Com. Chauncey.
Flambeau	12	Lt. Com. Nicolson.
Lynx	12	Lt. Com. Storer.

The Java 44, Captain Perry, appeared a little later. Commodore Decatur returned home with the Guerriere and one or two other vessels, as soon as the service was completed; and Commodore Bainbridge arrived at Newport in November, with thirteen vessels of the squadron, viz: one ship of the line, two frigates, seven brigs, and three schooners. This is the largest American force that ever crossed the Atlantic in company.

Commodore Shaw was left in command, in the Mediterranean, with the United States 44, Constellation 38, Ontario 18, and Erie 18. The Java 44, joined him shortly after.

Thus terminated the last Barbary war, the impression left by which promises to be lasting, and which may be said, indeed, to have changed the policy of Europe, as regards those States, which had so long existed as nuisances to all legal

navigation, and exceptions to the laws that regulated intercourse between civilized nations.

The misunderstanding in the Mediterranean being arranged, the country had no longer any pressing service for its marine Nevertheless, it now offered the singular spectacle of a country increasing its naval armaments, in a time of profound peace. The views of the government would seem to have enlarged with the late events, and the necessity of keeping afloat a force sufficient to protect a navigation that extended to the remotest corners of the earth, was now generally admitted. The foreign stations were no longer limited to the Mediterranean, but ships from this time forward were periodically sent to the Pacific and the coast of Brazil. Not long after, the East and West Indies, and the coast of Africa attracted notice; and for many years, squadrons have been employed in the Mediterranean, on the coast of Brazil, in the West Indies, and in the East Indies, the latter, however, regularly proceeding round the world, touching at all such points as the public interests have required.

[Here the work of Mr. Cooper ends. The remainder of the volume is abridged from the continuation of the complete edition in octavo.]

In 1816, it was determined to send a ship of war to the Pacific, to take formal possession of the country about the Columbia river, to collect information that might be useful to commercial operations, and to give protection to those which had already been undertaken there by our citizens. The frigate Congress, Captain Morris, was directed to be prepared for this service, in August, 1816. When nearly ready for sea, her destination was changed to the Gulf of Mexico, to protect our commerce against any improper interference by the cruisers of the revolutionary governments bordering on the Gulf, and on the Caribbean sea.

The Ontario sloop of war, Captain Biddle, having landed agents of the government at Rio de Janeiro, proceeded to the Pacific. After touching at the ports of Valparaiso and Lima, where Captain Biddle rendered essential services to American vessels and citizens, and exemplified in a striking manner the importance of a naval force in foreign ports, he proceeded to Columbia river, and, in August, 1818, took formal possession of the country in the name and in behalf of the United States.

CHAPTER LI.

THE series of revolutions which wrested from Spain her colonial possessions in Mexico and South America, caused serious interference with the commerce of the United States. This interference arose from two sources—the attempt on the part of Spain to establish "paper blockades," and the ravages of pirates, taking advantage of the state of the times. The loose principle of blockade was yielded to the firm protests of the United States, sustained by the display of an adequate naval force; but the matter of piracy involved evils not so easily managed. Vessels were plundered, then sent adrift, burnt, or taken possession of, as fancy or interest dictated; the officers, crews and passengers were always treated with indignity and violence, very frequently murdered in cold blood, and in some instances, their bodies after death were abused with disgusting barbarity, after cruelty had exhausted ingenuity in contrivances of insupportable torture. Indeed, the worst imaginable scenes connected with the idea of piracy, were realities in the career of these lawless bands. Merchant ships were armed to some extent, and in some instances successfully repelled the attacks of pirates. But this was insufficient. Government was called upon to afford protection, and promptly responded to the call. In the fall of 1821, the first accounts of piracies were received in the United States. The administration immediately took measures to capture and bring to punishment the offenders. The sloop of war Hornet, brigs Enterprise and Spark, and schooners Shark, Porpoise and Grampus, with three gun-boats, were ordered to sail directly on this service.

On the 16th of October, 1821, Lieutenant Kearney, commanding the Enterprise, while cruising off Cape Antonio, Cuba, discovered four piratical vessels in the act of plundering three American vessels which they had just captured. Five boats were sent in pursuit. The pirates being hard pressed, set fire to and burnt two schooners. The detachment, however, succeeded in capturing two schooners, and one sloop, together with some forty pirates. On the 29th

of October, the Hornet, Captain Robert Henley, captured a schooner named the Moscow, which he sent into Norfolk. On the 21st of December, Lieut. Kearney captured a schooner of about thirty-six tons, but the crew, consisting of twenty-five men, escaped. He also destroyed the rendezvous of the pirates at Cape Antonio. On the 7th of January, 1822, Lieutenant Ramage, commanding the schooner Porpoise, attacked and captured six piratical vessels on the north coast of Cuba. On the 6th of March, Lieut. Kearney, of the Enterprise, made another large capture off Cape Antonio. It consisted of three launches and four barges, with their crews, numbering about one hundred and sixty men. These were the principal captures effected by the first squadron sent out.

These successes of the cruisers gave but a slight check to the operations of the freebooters. More efficient measures were consequently adopted. Com. James Biddle was ordered to take command of the West India squadron, having as his flag-ship the frigate Macedonian. An addition of two hundred marines was also made to the force. The Macedonian proceeded to her station in the month of April, 1822. The squadron in these seas, during this year, consisted of the Macedonian 36; the frigate Congress 36; sloops of war John Adams 24, and Peacock 18; brig Spark 12; schooners Alligator, Grampus, Shark and Porpoise, each carrying twelve guns. The Enterprise was at home, refitting. On the 16th of August, 1822, Lieut. Gregory, commanding the Grampus, gave chase to a brigantine. The Grampus opened her fire in broadside, and in three minutes and a half the brig struck. When boarded she was found to be a complete wreck, with one man killed and six wounded. The Grampus sustained no injury. The prize proved to be the privateer Palmira, of Porto Rico, carrying one long brass eighteen, and eight 18lb. carronades, with a crew of eighty-eight men. The officers acknowledged that they had robbed the American schooner Coquette, complaint of which had been made to Lieut. Gregory. Though carrying the papers of a privateer, she was thus really doing the work of a pirate.

During the month of November, in this year, the Alligator, commanded by Lieut. Wm. H. Allen, when about fifteen leagues from Matanzas, came in sight of a piratical force, consisting of three well-armed vessels, carrying some three

hundred men. They had five prize vessels in their possession. The Alligator being unable to come up with them, an attack was made upon one of the vessels in boats; Lieut. Allen taking the lead. One of the pirates opened a heavy fire upon the boats, which continued for some time, as he was under way, and the boats had to pull hard to overtake him. Thus exposed they still pressed on; Allen's boat being considerably in advance of the others, and the gallant commander standing up, and encouraging his men in their exertions. While in this position he received a musket shot in the head, and, soon after, another in the breast, which, in a few hours, proved mortal. The pirates, however, did not wait to be boarded, but deserted their vessel, when they found themselves unable to drive off the boats. They escaped with their two other schooners, but the prizes were recaptured. In this action the loss of the Alligator was, besides Lieut. Allen, two men killed, and five wounded; two mortally. Shortly after this exploit, on the night of the 19th of November, the Alligator was wrecked on Carysford Reef. Her officers and crew were all saved. On the 28th and 30th of September, of this year, five piratical vessels were captured by Captain S. Cassin, commanding the Peacock.

The vessels of the squadron acted with all possible efficiency on this difficult service; still, notwithstanding the captures made, these ravages upon our commerce, and outrages upon our citizens, were rather on the increase. But few of the pirates kept the open sea, so as to fall in the way of the larger cruisers. This class of ships could, therefore, effect but little toward their extermination by regular sea-fights. The labor imposed upon the officers and seamen was consequently to be performed very much in open boats, under a tropical sun, and amid the intricacies and dangers of unknown coasts. It was apparent, then, that the force on this service, to be made efficient, must be both peculiar and numerous. With this idea, the government, in the commencement of the year 1823, fitted out an expedition which was more adequate in its construction and size to the emergency, than any preceding it. Com. David Porter was appointed to the command of this expedition. The squadron, when fully organized, comprised the Steam Galliot Sea Gull; eight small schooners, viz.: the Greyhound, Jackall, Fox, Wildcat, Beagle, Ferret, Weasel and Terrier: the

transport-ship Decoy; and five barges, viz.: the Mosquito, Gnat, Midge, Sandfly and Gallinipper. Besides these, the vessels already on the West India Station were the John Adams, Peacock, Hornet, Spark, Grampus and Shark. Com Porter took his squadron to sea on the 14th of February, 1823. Arrived off Porto Rico, he addressed a communication to the governor on the subject of the interruptions to our commerce on the coasts of Mexico and Colombia, by Porto Rico privateers, and also on the subject of the blockade of these coasts. His presence and communications here resulted in the raising of the blockade of the Main, which had nominally existed up to this time, and in effectually checking the system of licensed piracy, under the name of privateering, which had long been carried on from the ports of this island.

Com. Porter now divided his force into small detachments, and in this way thoroughly secured the coasts of all the islands to the north of Porto Rico, including San Domingo and Cuba. He then proceeded to Thompson's island, now Key West, where he established a naval depot, and reassembled his squadron. This point he made the centre of his operations, and the rendezvous of his vessels after their short cruises. These vessels were kept constantly occupied, either furnishing convoy to the merchantmen passing in and out of the gulf, or chasing the pirates who occasionally dared to venture out. Piracy as a system was effectually broken up. Under date of April 24th, Com. Porter remarks: "I believe I can now say with safety, that there is not a pirate afloat on this part of the coast of Cuba (the northern) larger than an open boat."

Information being received of a suspicious looking vessel on the coast of Cuba, Capt. Cassin was ordered in search, taking with him the schooners Fox and Jackall, and the barges Gallinipper and Mosquito. He went off Havana, and there offered convoy to a large fleet of merchantmen, while Lieut. Stribling, in the Gallinipper, was dispatched after the pirate. On the morning of the 8th of April, this officer discovered a schooner about three miles off, working in toward shore. Muskets were fired to bring her to. She returned a smart fire of round shot, grape and musketry, and still worked hard to escape. She was soon run on shore, and the crew, with the exception of one man, escaped. Two were found killed, and others must have been severely

wounded, as the captain afterward appeared at Matanzas, and acknowledged that all his crew, but three, were killed. During the same cruise Capt. Cassin entered a harbor noted for pirates, where he discovered a felucca standing out. She was chased; when her crew ran her ashore, and took to the land. The felucca was a new, well coppered boat, pulling sixteen sweeps, and evidently just starting on her first cruise. Capt. Cassin also broke up several different establishments where the pirates were harbored; and the latter burnt three of their own schooners on his approach. Lieut. Newell, commanding the Ferret, captured two piratical boats, which were deserted on his approach, in a bay not far from Matanzas.

In July, Lieut. Watson, in the Gallinipper, with Lieut. Inman, in the Mosquito, cruised round the island of Cuba, giving its shores a close examination. While in Siquapa bay, near the spot where the gallant Allen was killed, they engaged a large schooner and launch, well armed and filled with men. A very severe conflict resulted in the capture or destruction of the entire crews of the pirates, numbering between seventy and eighty, while the American force amounted to but twenty-six men and five officers, not one of whom was even wounded. In the same month, Lieut. Kearney, commanding the Greyhound, and Lieut. Newton, commanding the Beagle, landed with a force at Cape Cruz, and after a pretty sharp encounter, broke up an establishment of the pirates, burning several houses, and capturing some ordnance.

In the month of August, a malignant fever broke out, and spread greatly among the vessels at Thompson's Island. Com. Porter, on account of his own health and for the safety of his command, took his squadron to the northward; returning as soon as the desired benefit was obtained. During the following year, 1824, piracies were carried on to some extent—committed mainly in small boats, which were concealed in-shore, and made short and rapid excursions, as opportunities occurred. The absence of the squadron, during the latter part of the previous year, had tended somewhat to revive the spirit of these lawless adventurers. A continued grievance also existed in the fact, that the actual outrages of piracy were constantly committed by vessels, bearing commissions as privateers from the Spanish authorities of Porto Rico. Some few captures were made during

this year. Lieut. Com. Skinner, of the Porpoise, captured a schooner, the crew of which escaped to the shore. Lieut. Com. Paine, of the Terrier, recaptured a French ship from the pirates, and chased the latter, but they jumped from their boat and swam to the shore.

In the latter part of October, Lieut. Platt, in the Beagle, visited Foxardo, Porto Rico, in search of goods secreted there by the pirates. Instead of obtaining aid from the authorities of the town, he was treated with great indignity and even placed under arrest. On receiving the report of the officer thus insulted, Com. Porter repaired to Foxardo with the Beagle and Grampus, and the boats of the John Adams. Appearing with a force of two hundred men before the town, he demanded from the officials a proper apology. This, after a little delay and some show of resistance, was offered: when the Commodore withdrew, and reported his action to the government at home. His conduct not meeting the approval of his own government, led to his immediate recall from his command. The sentence of a court-martial, suspending him from the service for six months, so wounded his feelings that he resigned his commission, and accepted an appointment as commander-in-chief of the Mexican navy.

Captain Lewis Warrington was appointed to succeed Com. Porter in his command. The vessels employed in the West Indies during the year 1825, were the Constellation, John Adams, Hornet, Spark, Grampus, Shark, Fox, the Steam Galliot Sea Gull, the store-ship Decoy and the barges. The same system of marine police, which had been established by Com. Porter, was still maintained by his successor, the vessels being constantly occupied in watching the coasts, and affording convoy to merchantmen. In the month of March, a piratical sloop appearing in the neighborhood of the island of St. Thomas, Lieut. Sloat, commanding the Grampus, fitted out a trading sloop with two lieutenants and twenty-three men, and dispatched her in pursuit. The pirate, unsuspicious of the character of the sloop, came alongside, and at half musket shot commenced firing. Having thus drawn the other into the snare, the sloop now opened a warm and unexpected fire. The action continued about forty-five minutes, when the pirates as usual ran their vessel on shore, and took to the land. Two of them were killed, and ten were taken pri-

soners, after landing, by Spanish soldiers. In the month of March, the Sea Gull, with the barge Gallinipper, joined the boats of an English frigate, and two English armed schooners, in a cruise after pirates. On the 25th, they fell in with a schooner concealed in-shore, and after a sharp skirmish, in which eight of the pirates were killed and nineteen taken prisoners, they gained possession of the vessel.

The vigilance and activity of the cruisers ultimately succeeded in securing the freedom of the seas; so that the President was able to report to Congress, in his message of December, 1826, that piratical practices were entirely suppressed.

The next hostile occupation of any of the national vessels was in the expedition against the pirates of Quallah Battoo, undertaken by Com. John Downes in the frigate Potomac 44, in the year 1832. The cause of this expedition originated during the year 1831, in the capture of the American ship Friendship, which was lying in the harbor of Quallah Battoo, taking in a load of pepper. The capture was unprovoked by any acts on the part of the Americans, and was accomplished in a treacherous manner, and by the murder of the mate and two seamen of the ship. By the assistance of other American merchantmen, the captain ultimately recovered his vessel, but she was completely rifled of all valuables, and the object of the voyage was broken up. When the Friendship arrived home, her owners laid a statement of the facts before the government, and in view of the interests of commerce, it was deemed exceedingly important that a vessel of war should show itself in these seas, and obtain redress for this special and aggravated wrong. Commodore Downes was instructed to this effect.

The place, named Quallah Battoo, is situated on the western shore of the island of Sumatra. It lies entirely open to the sea. The navigation in the vicinity is exceedingly difficult and dangerous; reefs and shoals lining the shore. The town, including the neighboring pepper plantations, may have had a population of four thousand souls. It is almost perfectly concealed in a thick growth of timber and jungle. Several small forts, mounted with three or four guns each, constitute its defences. The Quallah Battooans form an independent community, owing no particular allegiance to any power. They are a treacherous race, acknowledging none of the laws that govern civilized nations,

and in fact cannot be considered, in the light of justice and morality, as any better than pirates. They are of a warlike disposition, and in respect to courage and military skill, are by no means to be despised.

On the 5th of February, 1832, the Potomac arrived on the coast of Sumatra. Commodore Downes disguised the frigate as a merchantman, and then stood in and anchored about three miles from the town. Being convinced that any mere verbal demand for satisfaction would be entirely useless, and only give time for the Malays to prepare better for their defence, he determined to make an attack as soon as possible, in hopes of taking them by surprise, and securing the persons of some of the Rajahs; holding whom as hostages, he might gain higher terms of satisfaction. Preparations to land the same night were therefore made. Two hundred and fifty seamen and marines were detailed for the duty, with proper division officers, and the whole placed under the command of Irvine Shubrick, the first lieutenant of the ship. Mr. Barry, who was the second mate of the Friendship at the time of the massacre, had come out as master's mate in the Potomac, in order that he might render service as a guide. At a sufficient time before daylight to be unobserved, the boats were hoisted out, and the men stowed away in them; when they quietly and swiftly pulled toward shore. They went in through a heavy surf, but were all safely landed, and in fifteen minutes were formed in their line of march. Lieut. Edson led the van with the marines. The first division of the seamen was commanded by Lieut. Pinkham, the second by Lieut. Hoff, and the third by Lieut. Ingersoll. A six-pounder followed under the charge of sailing-master Totten. The boats were directed to keep company just outside the surf.

When the day dawned, the march commenced along the beach. The Malays were anticipating an attack, for their scouts were seen. Lieut. Hoff was ordered to surround the first fort, which was the most northern one. He left the main body with his division, and soon came to the outworks, consisting of a strong stockade of timber. Within this there was still a citadel, armed with small cannon. As soon as the division approached, the Malays commenced the action by a sharp fire from all arms. They fought with great bravery and steadiness, and were found to be no mean adversaries. Lieut. Hoff succeeded in breaking through the

gateway of the stockade, but the Malays still stood the attack for two hours, within their citadel. Finding it impossible to dislodge them by a distant fire, preparations were made to take the citadel by storm. It was necessary to tear up some of the palisades and to form a bridge of them, over which the eager seamen rushed, carrying the work which had so long held them in check, by an assault, which the Malays could not withstand. They fled, leaving twelve dead, but carrying their wounded with them.

Lieut. Edson, with his marines, attacked the next fort situated in the rear of the town. The Malays behaved with the same spirit here. But they could not face the marines, as with steady discipline they stormed the fort, and forced their way into it. Mr. Barry was unable to find the other fort in the rear of the town, so thoroughly was it concealed in the trees; so that Lieut. Pinkham, who had been sent against it with the first division, led his men through the town, and rejoined Lieut. Shubrick. The latter had already commenced his attack, with the third division under Lieut. Ingersoll, aided by the six-pounder, upon the principal fort, situated at the southern point of the town, and quite near the beach. Here the fight was long and gallantly maintained on both sides. The six-pounder was brought up, and managed with admirable precision and skill by Mr. Totten. The gate of the outer defences was soon forced, and the men rushed in without reluctance, anxious to come to closer quarters with their foes. The stronghold, consisting of an elevated platform mounted with several cannon, still held out, and our men had to stand the fire from it without protection. The ladder to the platform had of course been removed, and in the attempt to climb up to it one of the seamen was killed and several were wounded. At this critical moment Lieutenants Hoff and Edson, having secured their victories, came up with detachments from their divisions, and took a position between the fort and the water, from which they poured in a very effective cross fire. The men in the boats were also near enough to make their fire felt in the contest. The battle now raged against the devoted Malays with exterminating severity. Although thus closely invested, and numbers falling under so well conducted a fire, they yet fought with desperation; and it was not till almost all were killed, that their position could be carried.

The town was now fired and much of it was reduced to ashes. The fort which Lieut. Pinkham's division was unable to find, now revealed its position by opening its fire. A detachment was ordered to capture it. The Malays as usual fought fiercely. But success had animated the Americans with even unwonted zeal and impetuosity, and after a short conflict they carried this work by assault.

The action had continued about two hours and a half, and with success on our part at every point attacked. This success was purchased at some cost, though it was comparatively small. Two men were killed; two officers and nine men were wounded. The loss of the enemy must have been very severe; for it was known that at least one hundred and fifty were killed. Among those killed was the Rajah who was principally concerned in the capture and plunder of the Friendship.

The next morning the Potomac stood in, and anchored within a mile of the town, bringing her broadside to bear upon it. The Malays thought, or pretended to think, that the Americans had no ships of war, or "ships with big guns," inasmuch as none had ever appeared off their coast. Commodore Downes thought it would be an impressive lesson for them to learn, from their own observation, the power of heavy guns. He consequently opened a fire with thirty-two pound shot upon the fort on the other side of the river, not attacked the day before. As the shot began to plough their way through the wooden structure, the Malays, abundantly convinced, fled from its slender protection. A white flag shortly came off to the ship, accompanied by several of the inhabitants, who expressed the greatest penitence for their misdeeds, sued most humbly for peace, and begged especially that no more "big guns" should be fired. Com. Downes, through an interpreter, addressed them respecting their conduct in the case of the Friendship, cautioned them as to their future treatment of Americans, and threatened them with the power of his country should they again manifest similar treachery and barbarity. The Potomac then proceeded by the way of China to her station in the Pacific.

CHAPTER LII.

CONGRESS, by a law of the 18th of May, 1836, authorized the equipment and employment of a portion of the national marine, for the purpose of exploring those seas in which the whale-fisheries, as well as other branches of commercial enterprise, were pursued. The appropriations of money were liberal, and the expenditures for the numerous items of outfit, necessary for so unusual a voyage, were made on the most lavish scale. But for various reasons, which need not here be set forth, the organization and departure of the expedition were delayed. On the 20th of March, 1838, Charles Wilkes, lieutenant in the navy, was directed to assume the command of it.

The instructions issued to him by the Navy Department indicated the following objects to be aimed at: "To explore and survey the Southern Ocean, having in view the important interest of our commerce embarked in the whale-fisheries, as well as to determine the existence of all doubtful islands and shoals; and to discover and accurately fix the position of those which lie in or near the track pursued by our merchant vessels in that quarter, and which may have hitherto escaped the observation of scientific navigators."

"Although the primary object of the expedition is the promotion of the great interests of commerce and navigation, yet all occasions will be taken, not incompatible with the great purpose of the undertaking, to extend the bounds of science, and to promote the acquisition of knowledge. For the more successful attainment of these objects, a corps of scientific gentlemen, for the departments of philology, zoölogy, conchology, geology, mineralogy, and botany, with artists and a horticulturist, will accompany the expedition, and are placed under your direction. The hydrography and geography of the various seas and countries you may visit in the route pointed out to you, will occupy your special attention; and all the researches connected with them, as well as with astronomy, terrestrial magnetism, and meteorology, are confided exclusively to the officers of the navy,

on whose zeal and talents the department confidently relies for such results as will enable future navigators to pass over the track traversed by your vessels, without fear and without danger."

The vessels composing the squadron were, the sloop of war Vincennes, Lieut. Wilkes, commanding the expedition; the sloop of war Peacock, William L. Hudson, Lieut. commanding; the brig of war Porpoise, Cadwalader Ringgold, Lieut. commanding; store-ship Relief, A. K. Long, Lieut. commanding; tenders Sea Gull and Flying Fish, commanded by Passed-midshipmen Reid and Knox. On the 8th of August, 1838, the vessels dropped down to Hampton Roads, and on the 19th of the same month they put to sea.

The squadron first sailed for Madeira, stopping there a week; then it took a southerly course, touched at the Cape de Verde Islands, and arrived at Rio on the 24th of November. In passing over portions of the ocean where shoals or reefs were supposed to exist, the vessels sailed in open order, from three to five miles apart; thus giving the opportunity of examining carefully a space of about twenty miles in breadth, and affording means of fully determining many obscure points in hydrography. On the 6th of January, they left Rio; stopped at the Rio Negro, 41° south latitude, for the purpose of ascertaining the resources of the country, and the inducements it offered for trade; doubled Cape Horn on the 16th of February, and shortly after entered Orange Harbor, which had been appointed as the place of rendezvous.

From this point was made the first attempt at Antarctic discovery. The Vincennes was left anchored in Orange Harbor; her officers employed in making surveys and recording observations. Lieut. Com. Wilkes went on board the Porpoise, and taking the Sea Gull with him, proceeded toward the South. He penetrated as far in that direction as the season would permit. Both vessels returned safely to Orange Harbor about the close of March.

The Peacock, accompanied by the Flying Fish, bore off in a south-westerly direction. They soon separated in a gale. They cruised, however, mainly in the same direction, their object being to attain if possible the *ne plus ultra* of Captain Cook, and to observe the changes which might have occurred in the appearance of the ice since his time. The Flying Fish did reach within sixty miles of the desired

point, and it seemed at one time that she would penetrate beyond; but the fickle weather, and the ever shifting islands of ice soon disappointed that hope. At times the ice fields closed around her, as if decreeing her destruction, but bold and skilful seamanship accomplished her deliverance. The Peacock was often exposed to like dangers, and her escapes were alike wonderful. In the latter part of May the Vincennes, Peacock, Porpoise, and Flying Fish were together in the harbor of Valparaiso. Here they waited in vain for the arrival of the Sea Gull. This valuable little schooner had sailed with her consort, the Flying Fish, from Orange Harbor. A severe gale came upon them the first night they were out, when they lost sight of each other. The latter vessel regained the Harbor, and rode out the gale safely. But no account has ever been received of her companion. Passed-midshipmen J. W. E. Reid, and F. A. Bacon, with a crew of fifteen men, were lost by this disaster.

The squadron next stopped at Callao. In accordance with instructions, they then stretched in a due westerly course across the Pacific. They examined various island groups lying in their course, verified some doubtful points in hydrography, added largely to their scientific accumulations, and arrived at Sidney, New South Wales, on the 28th of November.

Preparations were now made for another and more extensive cruise in the polar seas. It was determined that the members of the scientific corps should pursue their researches through the wide field open to them in New Holland and New Zealand, during the absence of the vessels. On the 26th of December, the expedition once more turned toward the extreme south. The Flying Fish parted from the squadron on the 2d, and the Peacock on the 3d of January.

The Vincennes and the Porpoise remained in company until the 12th. The day previous, they came in sight of the solid barrier of ice in latitude 64° 11′ S., longitude 164° 53′ E. The Peacock came up with the ice on the 15th, and the Flying Fish on the 21st, both more to the westward of the former vessels. No doubt now remains of the existence of land within the Antarctic circle. The testimony of both French and English exploring expeditions confirms the fact, which it is claimed the American expedition first established as a part of geographical knowledge. This fact is determined by repeated and continuous observations made

separately on board the Vincennes, the Peacock, and the Porpoise. And the discovery was made some days before the officers of the French expedition claim to have made the same. The American vessels coasted some sixty-five degrees of longitude along the impenetrable barrier of ice, observing throughout most of this distance, highlands, evidently reaching thousands of feet in altitude, and covered with perpetual snow.

It was not without great hardships and perilous exposures, that the expedition gained these honors of the discoverer. All the vessels suffered from severe and prolonged gales, heightened in their fearfulness, and armed with unusual elements of destruction, by the addition of vast and innumerable icebergs, and masses of floe-ice. The Flying Fish was soon compelled to return northward. The Peacock ran the gauntlet of dangers in the most heroic and successful manner. Her commander, in order if possible to make more accurate determinations respecting the land seen in the distance, ran into a deep bay filled with a large number of icebergs. Dangers now beset the ship which brought her to the verge of destruction. Icebergs, overtopping her masts, closed around her and crowded her so tightly that her rudder was damaged to an extent which rendered it useless. Escaped finally from these perils, it was found that the ship was so seriously injured as to demand her immediate return to Sidney. The Vincennes, in the persevering efforts of her commander to reach and examine the land, also became repeatedly involved in the wide fields of floating ice. Gales were encountered in such situations, which drove the ship along the borders of the huge moving masses, with a velocity which would have caused instant destruction, had not the management been both skilful and fortunate. The Porpoise also encountered the same difficulties, but was able successfully to carry out her instructions, and pushed on as far as longitude 100° E., and latitude 64° 15′ S., from which point she also commenced her return. The Vincennes penetrated as far as longitude 97° East.; the weather then evincing that the short and doubtful reign of the Antarctic summer was over, she finally turned away from the cheerless coast.

The squadron found constant occupation during the ensuing summer in surveying and exploring duties, amid the numerous islands of the Southern Archipelago. New

Zealand, the Friendly Islands, and the Fejee Group were visited for these purposes. The extent of labor performed may be estimated when the commander states, that one hundred and fifty-four islands, and fifty detached reefs were surveyed, and besides this, numerous harbors were surveyed and sounded.

Though prosecuting a work of peace, and especially desirous of establishing permanent relations of amity with the barbarous tribes of the Pacific, in order to the greater security of commerce, still, during its stay in the Fejee Group, the expedition was under the necessity of twice putting in exercise its military power. In July a surveying party, under Lieutenant Perry in a launch and Mr. Knox in a first cutter, ran into Sualib bay for shelter during a storm. In endeavoring to beat out again the cutter ran on a reef at low tide, and it was found impossible to get her off. The natives in great numbers and well armed, soon collected near, and commenced a serious attack. The ammunition in the cutter being all wet, and the launch being unable to render any effective assistance in repelling the savages, the crew abandoned the boat, and went on board the launch. On the 12th the launch rejoined the Vincennes and Peacock. Immediately the schooner and eight boats from the ships, with an extra complement of men, under the immediate command of Lieutenants Wilkes and Hudson, proceeded to inflict merited punishment upon the natives. They entered the bay and cautiously marched to the principal village, meeting with no resistance, though the inhabitants of this island were unusually well supplied with fire-arms, and had the advantage of a good position, from which they might have inflicted considerable injury on the Americans. The town, consisting of about sixty slender huts, was burned, and the savages were taught a salutary lesson, without the loss of any lives.

In the latter part of July, Lieut. Underwood, with a party on shore at Malolo, an island of the same group, was attacked by the natives, and the lieutenant and midshipman Henry were cruelly murdered. This unprovoked massacre called for stern retribution; and the punishment was inflicted with certainly adequate severity. There were two towns, Sualib and Arro, situated upon opposite sides of the island. The party which was to attack and destroy these, consisted of seventy officers and men, and was placed under the

orders of Lieut. Com. Ringgold. The party in the boats, intended to cut off escape from the island and to coöperate with the former party, was led by Lieut. Com. Wilkes.

The first party landed without opposition on the south-east point of the island, destroyed the plantations in their course, and crossing over the high land, came in sight of Sualib, situated on the southern shore. Here it was found that the natives were mostly assembled with the intention of defending themselves by all means possible to them; and their preparations and position were not to be despised, even by disciplined troops. The village was surrounded entirely by a strong stockade of cocoa-nut trees, placed a few feet apart, and filled between with exceedingly close and substantial wicker-work. On the outside of this was a wide ditch, filled with water; and on the inside a dry ditch, in which the defenders were quite safely intrenched, while they shot through the loopholes in the palisade. They possessed quite a number of muskets, as well as their ordinary weapons. Almost the entire population were within the inclosure, and the women and children were as defiant and active in defence as the men. A sharp contest of about fifteen minutes was maintained, during which a chief and six of the savages were killed, and the houses within were fired by a rocket. The natives, convinced of the superiority of their assailants, and terrified at a conflagration among their bamboo huts, which they could not extinguish, began to escape through a gate, leading toward the sea, in the utmost consternation and confusion. They were allowed to retreat without further attack. A few of the Americans were wounded, but only one severely. The town was entirely consumed. The party now marched northward across the island to coöperate with the boat party against Arro. The latter reached Arro first, and without resistance set fire to and destroyed it. While these operations were going on, Lieut. Emmons chased five canoes, containing about forty native warriors. When overtaken they offered fight and made a resolute resistance. But four of them were finally captured, the other escaping.

On the 11th of August, the expedition left the Fejee Islands, on its way to the Sandwich Islands, where it now became necessary to seek the supplies, which had been left by the store-ship Relief, the crew having been already on short allowance for some time. The vessels pursued separate

courses, in order that more islands might be examined on the way, and the existence of some doubtful ones be determined. The year now drawing to its close, it was deemed useless to undertake the exploration of the north-west coast of America, which was a part of the service ordered, until the ensuing spring. We therefore find the vessels employed during the winter in surveys of various groups of islands, of importance as lying in the track of the whalers, as far south as the Society Islands, and westward to the Kingsmill Group; while the commander with the Vincennes and accompanied by the scientific corps made extensive tours around and through the Sandwich Islands.

The Porpoise having returned in March, and been subjected to necessary repairs, sailed, in company with the Vincennes, from the harbor of Honolulu, on the 5th of April, 1841. In twenty-two days these vessels were off the bar at the mouth of the Columbia river; but the condition of the bar at the time induced Lieut. Com. Wilkes to proceed directly to the north, to attend to contemplated surveys in the waters adjoining the southern part of Vancouver's island. Two expeditions were also fitted out for the interior; one of which crossed over to the Columbia river, and visited the stations of the Hudson's Bay Company at Astoria and Vancouver, and the other penetrated through the country, to a point higher up on the Columbia.

In the midst of these occupations at the north, the commander was recalled to the Columbia river by the news of the loss of the Peacock, whose course we must now trace. On the 2d of December, 1840, accompanied by the tender Flying Fish, she left Oahu. Her cruise extended through several groups lying to the south and west of the Sandwich Islands. Besides searching for uncertain and detached islands, she visited the Samoan Islands, Bowditch Island, Ellice's and Kingsmill Group. At one of the Samoan Islands, Lieut. Com. Hudson made a demand for the surrender of a native who had murdered a white man. In violation of the regulations assented to during a former visit of the expedition, the chiefs refused to give him up, and at the same time sent insulting messages to the Americans, and bid defiance to their military power. Lieut. Com. Hudson brought the broadside of the Peacock to bear upon the land, to cover the party making an attack in the boats. After all their bravado no natives were to be found, and the

party having landed, burned their towns without opposition.

At Drummond's Island, one of the Kingsmill Group, a serious difficulty arose with the treacherous natives, which led again to the exercise of military force. While a large party, under Lieut. Com. Hudson himself, was on shore, hostile demonstrations were made by the natives, and one man was enticed away. Regaining his vessels without a conflict, Lieut. Com. Hudson waited two days in the hope that an application for the ransom of the man would be made, and then, concluding that he was murdered, he determined to inflict a severe punishment. The tender was placed so as to cover the attacking party, which consisted of eighty men in seven boats under Lieut. Walker.

The savages, to the number of five hundred and upward, fearlessly awaited their approach on the beach, brandishing their weapons, and showing a determination to stand their ground. A few shots were then fired, bringing down some of the chiefs, and a rocket was discharged into the crowd. The latter weapon caused some temporary confusion, but they soon rallied and showed a determination to offer a serious resistance. The order was therefore given for a general discharge of musketry. This produced the desired effect, for they retreated, though somewhat reluctantly, and left the beach open to the landing of the troops. The council-house and town were soon reduced to ashes, and the party reëmbarked without any loss. Twelve of the natives were killed, and about three hundred houses burnt, with all the property in them, which the inhabitants, over sanguine of victory, had not removed.

Lieut. Com. Hudson then shaped his course toward the coast of Oregon, in order to coöperate in the surveys of that region. On the 18th of July, in attempting to cross the bar at the mouth of the Columbia river, the Peacock grounded, and the next day, meanwhile the officers and crew having been safely landed, she went to pieces. The loss of so important a vessel necessarily compelled some changes in plans. An American brig, at the time in the river, was purchased and taken into the service under the name of the Oregon. This accommodated a portion of the crew of the Peacock, while the rest were distributed among the other vessels. The Vincennes was sent to San Francisco, to survey that harbor, and the river Sacramento. A party was

also dispatched over land, to proceed down the same river and rejoin at San Francisco. Lieut. Com. Wilkes transferred his flag to the Porpoise, which, with the Oregon, engaged in the survey of the Columbia as far as navigable. This survey being accomplished, the vessels were again reunited in the spacious harbor of San Francisco.

On the 21st of November the expedition sailed from San Francisco. Its route led it again across the Pacific. On leaving Oahu, the Porpoise and Oregon sailed in the direction of the coast of Japan, with the purpose of examining such islands and reefs as lay in their course. The Vincennes and the tender kept to the southward of the course of the former vessels, still in the general westerly direction, passing through the Ladrones Islands, and giving particular attention to the settlement of some doubtful positions of islands and reefs. On the 12th of January, 1842, the latter vessels anchored in the bay of Manilla. Thence they sailed into and through the Sooloo Sea, making a careful and accurate survey of it. Another good service was accomplished here in securing a treaty between the Sultan of Sooloo and the United States, by which the former engaged to afford full protection to the commercial vessels of the latter, and all privileges granted to the most favored nations, and also to afford aid to the shipwrecked vessels of any nations. This arrangement was effected with a noted piratical power.

Lieut. Com. Ringgold in the Porpoise, and Lieut. Com. Carr in the Oregon, kept to the westward and northward; but meeting with unfavorable weather, they could not proceed to the coast of Japan, and therefore turned to the south, and ran on nearly the same track as the Vincennes. In February the squadron again met at Singapore. Here the Flying Fish was sold; it not being deemed safe to undertake the voyage home in her. On the 26th of February the remaining vessels got under way for their homeward voyage; the Porpoise and the Oregon sailing in company and stopping at St. Helena and Rio de Janeiro; the Vincennes alone making short visits at Cape Town and St. Helena. During the month of June, 1842, they all arrived at New York, and safely terminated their long cruise of three years and ten months.

The results of the expedition, as constituting valuable additions to the departments of knowledge embraced in its

plan and purpose, cannot be questioned. The opportunity for discovery of a brilliant character is not in this age furnished to any navigator. But in the work for the substantial improvement of the condition of mankind in the way of promoting peaceful intercourse and in rendering such intercourse more safe and expeditious, the American exploring squadron has done good service.

Toward the close of 1842, as the U. S. brig Somers was returning from the coast of Africa, the discovery of an intended mutiny was made, which led to the arrest of a midshipman, a boatswain's mate, and several seamen. The commander and officers, kept in constant alarm by fears that a large portion of the crew were concerned in the mutiny, and would gain possession of the vessel, decided that the necessity of the case required the summary punishment of the suspected leaders. This decision was carried into effect, and after but brief notice of their impending doom, the midshipman, the boatswain's mate, and one of the seamen, were executed by hanging at the yard-arm. No further symptoms of mutiny were disclosed, and the brig was carried safely into New York; where a court-martial, after a lengthened investigation, acquitted the commander of all blame in the unhappy and tragical affair.

CHAPTER LIII.

In the year 1842, Com. Thomas Ap. C. Jones was in command of the United States naval force in the Pacific. During the latter part of the summer of that year, he was lying in the port of Callao, with the flag-ship United States 44, the sloop of war Cyane 20, the sloop of war Dale 16, and the schooner Shark 12. While at this place, he received a Mexican newspaper containing a manifesto from the Mexican government, respecting the relations between that country and the United States, from which he considered it probable that war existed between the two nations. In an American newspaper he also found a report

to the effect that Great Britain had made purchase of California from Mexico. At the same time that Com. Jones had his suspicions awakened by these rumors of cession, there happened to be an English squadron of some force concentrated in this part of the Pacific; and the Dublin frigate, the flag-ship of Rear Admiral Thomas, had looked into Callao, and, after a short stay, had suddenly departed in the night, without giving any intimation of her destination, but bound, it was supposed, to the coast of North America. The American commodore had evidently been put upon the alert by his own government; the question of the annexation of Texas, then in agitation, having given unusual interest and prominence to Mexican affairs, and, in the event of a war between the two countries, it being manifestly the policy of the United States to seize upon California. It seemed quite likely to Com. Jones, that the British admiral was now intending to take formal possession of the territory, supposed to have been ceded, and he deemed it his duty to forestall or resist him in any such plan. He consequently sailed suddenly from Callao on the 7th of September with the entire squadron. A consultation with his captains, held at sea, confirmed Com. Jones in the opinion that it was his duty to forestall the supposed design of the British admiral, by taking possession in behalf of the United States, of Monterey and other tenable points on the coast of California. The Shark was sent back to Callao, and the Dale was detached in order to land at Panama a special messenger with dispatches for the government at home.

On the afternoon of October 19th, the two ships anchored in the harbor of Monterey. There was no sign of British authority; so that the Commodore was successful in being beforehand in respect to the Admiral's supposed design. His suspicions were so far confirmed by what he heard and saw, however, that he concluded to summon the governor to surrender. The next morning the articles of capitulation were signed, the Mexican authorities meanwhile declaring themselves ignorant of the existence of any hostilities. No opposition being offered, the capture was an easy one, and the American flag soon rose in the place of the Mexican, over a dilapidated fortification mounting eleven guns. The next day Com. Jones discovered that the facts were by no means what he had supposed; that there was no war, and

that there was no evidence that the idea of cession to Great Britain was entertained by the Mexican government. He, therefore, immediately completed the act of retrocession to the original authorities, with all proper and customary marks of respect, and retired from before the place.

This somewhat precipitate movement on the part of Com. Jones compelled a change in the command, as a species of propitiatory offering to the Mexicans. He was recalled, and Com. Sloat was sent out as his successor.

The annexation of Texas required the defence of that boundary line which she and the government of the United States claimed as her own. Collisions with the Mexican troops soon occurred, and the formal proclamation of war was made on the part of the United States on the 12th of May, 1846, and on the part of Mexico on the 23d of the same month. The relation of the naval operations of the war will commence properly with the account of the seizure of the ports of California, and the conquest of that portion of Mexico, as in these achievements the naval force in the Pacific was most prominent.

Com. Sloat lay at Mazatlan, in the Savannah 44, in company with different smaller vessels, which came and went as circumstances required, closely watching the course of events in the Gulf of Mexico. He had a line of active communication across the continent, by means of different mercantile houses, and on the 7th of June, he received through that channel, the very important information of the result of the battles of Palo Alto and Resaca de la Palma. Although without particular instructions to meet the especial emergency, war not having then been proclaimed by either party, this officer came to a prompt and wise determination. He sailed on the 8th for the northward, leaving the Warren at Mazatlan, to wait for further intelligence. The Savannah reached Monterey on the 2d of July. Here the Commodore found the Cyane and Levant, and ascertained that the Portsmouth was at San Francisco. The previous arrangements having been made, a party of two hundred and fifty seamen and marines landed under the immediate command of Capt. Wm. Mervine. This force raised the standard of the United States, under a salute of twenty-one guns. Com. Sloat took the other necessary measures to secure his bloodless conquest, and to preserve order in the country.

On the afternoon of the 15th of July, the Congress 44,

arrived from Valparaiso, by way of the Sandwich Islands, and Com. Stockton reported himself for duty to his senior officer. On the 29th of July, Com. Sloat shifted his pennant to the Levant, and sailed for Panama, on his way to the United States. Previously to the departure of Com. Sloat, however, a body of about one hundred and fifty riflemen was sent down to San Diego, under Captain Fremont. This movement was made to intercept the communications of General Castro, the Mexican commander-in-chief, with the more southern provinces. The Congress was ordered to sail on the 30th for San Pedro, to take possession there. San Francisco was taken possession of on the 9th day of July, by Commander Montgomery of the Portsmouth, and the whole of that very noble and important bay became, at once, substantially subject to the American flag. By the 11th, the flag was flying at Suter's fort on the Sacramento, at Bodega on the coast, at Sonoma, and at Yerba Buena, or what is commonly called San Francisco. As Com. Sloat had effected the principal object of his remaining out longer than his health rendered expedient, a transfer of command took place, and Com. Stockton, hoisting the blue pennant, in place of the red, now took charge of the whole of the American force then supposed to be in the Pacific. The government, however, aware of the great importance of securing the command of those distant seas, had given its attention to the increase of the squadron in that quarter of the world. The Independence 54, Captain Lavalette, and wearing the broad pennant of Com. William B. Shubrick, sailed from Boston with orders for the northwest coast, on the 29th of August, 1846. At the same time the Columbus 80, Captain Wyman, and under the orders of Com. Biddle, was on her way from China and Japan, with orders to touch at Lima for instructions as to her future course. This was assembling a formidable force along the coast, and giving effectual security to the recent conquests, so far as the interference of any European power might reasonably be anticipated. The Independence reached her point of destination on the 22d of January, 1847. Here, then, was another transfer in the naval command in this part of the Pacific, and Com. Shubrick superseded Com. Stockton.

The intervening time, however, between the day when Com. Sloat lowered his pennant, and that on which Com

Stockton imitated his example, had been one of great activity and decision on the part of the vessels of the navy. Com. Stockton had determined to extend and secure the conquests made by his predecessor, by means of expeditions inland, principally conducted by the officers and people of the shipping. The political capital of the state was at Los Angeles, which is less than thirty miles from the sea, and near the southern extremity of the state. The local legislature being in session at the moment of the invasion, it was in the power of the Mexican authorities to concentrate their efforts and to make a rally for at least the command of the interior. So important did it seem to all parties to secure this point, and to look down any thing like opposition in that part of the country, that, even before Com. Sloat left the station, preparations were made to effect this object. Captain Fremont had come in with his party, and a battalion of volunteers was formed, consisting principally of trappers, hunters, and other persons well suited for the service that was about to be required of them. Its numbers were about one hundred and sixty men, and it was regularly received into the service of the United States as a volunteer corps.

Com. Stockton sailed in the Congress on the 1st of August, bound for San Pedro, a small port of difficult entrance for a large vessel, nearly abreast of the capital of the state. As the ship proceeded south, a landing was made at Santa Barbara, where the flag was shifted and a small force was left in possession. The Congress arrived off San Pedro on the 6th of August; the Cyane had previously reached San Diego, a port still further south, where the battalion of Major Fremont had landed, principally with the object of obtaining horses, a service not easily effected, as the enemy had taken early precautions against the movement. A force had been organized on board the frigate to form a small brigade on shore, and instant preparations were made for landing. The party on shore was not ready to proceed until the 11th of August, when it marched to the northward, or in the direction of the capital. On the afternoon of that very day, intelligence was brought the Americans, that the Mexicans had buried their guns, and that all the functionaries of the government had retired inland, or, as it was supposed, toward Sonora. On the 13th, the Commodore made a junction with the battalion of Major Fremont, and the

whole force entered Los Angeles without opposition, in the course of that day.

Com. Stockton now determined to organize a civil government for the entire state, and to administer justice in its name. At the head of this government he placed Major Fremont. Having effected these arrangements, he returned to the coast on the 2d of September; the ship proceeded to Monterey, where every thing was found tranquil, though rumors were in circulation of an intended rising among the Indians at the north. The Savannah was immediately sent up the coast, where she was soon joined by the Congress off San Francisco. Here it was ascertained that the rumors were false, and that the whole northern region of the country was tranquil. About the close of the month, however, a courier arrived from Captain Gillespie of the marines, who had been left in command at Los Angeles, bringing the important intelligence of a fresh rising at that point, and of his being besieged in the government house. The Savannah, Captain Mervine, was immediately dispatched to San Pedro, for the purpose of affording succor to the besieged party; steps were also taken to form a junction with the corps of Major Fremont, who was up at Sacramento at the time. Every effort was made to engage volunteers, and a transport was chartered to convey them to the scene of action. On the 12th of October, Major Fremont reached San Francisco, and immediately embarked on board the transport with his little corps. His point of destination was Santa Barbara, where he was directed to procure as many horses as possible. The Congress sailed in company with the transport, but they separated in a fog. Luckily a merchant vessel from Monterey, bound to the northward, was fallen in with by the frigate, and dispatches were received from Lieut. Maddox, in command at Monterey, bringing the important intelligence that the place was threatened with an assault, and asking assistance. The frigate ran into the bay, landed a party of fifty men, and some ordnance, and immediately proceeded on. On arriving off San Pedro, the Congress joined the Savannah, on board of which ship was Captain Gillespie and his whole party; that officer having evacuated his position in the government house at Los Angeles under a capitulation entered into with General Flores. Previously to this measure, however, an unsuccessful attempt was made by Captain Mervine to relieve him. A

strong party of seamen and marines had been landed, and a march was commenced upon the capital. Unfortunately no provision had been made of any artillery, and on encountering the enemy at a distance of some twelve miles from San Pedro, a smart skirmish took place between the hostile forces. The Mexicans had the advantage of a field piece, which they appear to have used with great discretion and spirit.

The great disadvantage under which he was acting, and the loss of several valuable men, induced Captain Mervine to fall back upon San Pedro, and wait for the Commodore. A new landing was made at the latter point, as soon as the Congress arrived; a force of about 1800 men under General Flores, having been collected outside. Finding the roadstead of San Pedro too open, and too much exposed to the prevalent gales of the season, although it took him farther from his great point of attack, the Commodore was induced to carry the Congress round to San Diego, where was an excellent harbor, for such vessels as could enter it. On arriving off the harbor, Com. Stockton received a report from the officer left in command, that this place too was besieged by the enemy; that the stock of provisions was running low; and that he required a reinforcement. This officer was of opinion that the frigate could enter the bay. On making the attempt, however, the ship struck, and she was compelled to return to the anchorage outside.

It was now necessary to collect beeves as well as horses, and the Savannah was dispatched to Monterey to further the preparations in that quarter. The Congress had proceeded, also, to San Pedro, to carry out the necessary arrangements, but returned as soon as possible to San Diego. This time she succeeded in crossing the bar, but she grounded when within the bay. It was found necessary to prepare spars for shoring her up, and at the moment while her people were thus occupied, the Mexicans made an attack upon the town. Notwithstanding the necessity, as it might be, of fighting with one hand, and having a care for the ship with the other, the duty went on with the greatest activity and method. As soon as a sufficient force could be landed, the enemy was repelled by a charge made under the orders of Lieut. Minor of the navy, and Captain Gillespie of the marines. Runners were now sent out to ascertain the position of the enemy, who was discovered encamped

at San Bernardo, distant about thirty miles. Two expeditions were immediately ordered to be got ready. The one under Captain Gillespie to surprise the enemy, in their camp, and the other under Captain Heas , of the volunteer corps, who was sent to the southward in quest of beeves and horses. Before Captain Gillespie was ready to march, however, the Commodore received a dispatch from Brigadier-General Kearney of the U. S. army, who had effected the passage of the mountains, at the head of an hundred dragoons, and now appeared in California, to take the command of any portion of the army that might have reached there.

The direction of Captain Gillespie's movement was immediately changed, and that officer was ordered to make a junction, as soon as possible, with this new reinforcement. This was on the 6th of December; the same evening the Commodore was notified that an attack had been made by General Kearney upon a strong detachment of the enemy, in their camp at San Pasqual, and it would seem one that was unsuccessful. The following morning, this information was in part corroborated; such an engagement having actually taken place, under circumstances very favorable to the enemy, whose horses were opposed to the broken-down animals of the American detachment. The Americans must have lost near forty men in killed and wounded in this affair. Among the latter was General Kearney himself. This officer had taken post on an eminence, and where he was able to maintain himself until relieved.

Com. Stockton at first determined to move with his whole force, to effect a junction with the dragoons; but learning the emergency of the case, and that the enemy was not as strong as had been reported, the plan was changed to sending a quicker moving detachment, embracing only a portion of the force on shore. Rather more than two hundred men marched that night under the orders of Lieutenant Gray. This party effected its object, and General Kearney and his whole party entered the works at San Diego, a few hours later.

On the 29th of December, the party of Com. Stockton was ready to march; altogether it mustered a force of about six hundred men; owing to the mountainous character of the country, and the great watchfulness rendered necessary by the activity of the enemy, he did not reach the San

Gabriel, until the evening of the 7th of January. Here the Mexicans had erected batteries, and prepared to make a stand. The following day the Americans crossed the river to the north bank, where they found a force of five hundred men and four pieces of artillery ready to receive them. The guns were placed in very favorable positions, while the remainder of the Mexicans, altogether cavalry, were so posted as to command each flank of their assailants. Reaching the margin of the stream, the Commodore dismounted, and led the troops over in person, under a smart fire from the enemy's artillery. A charge up the hill, on the opposite bank, was next made, and the position carried, driving the enemy and his guns before it. At this moment the enemy made an attempt to cut off the pack-horses and beeves, in the rear, but the steadiness of the guard repulsed them. As soon as the American guns were in position on the heights, a smart cannonading commenced, on both sides, but soon terminated by forcing the enemy from the field. The next day, the party of Com. Stockton advanced upon the town, where it was again met by General Flores on the plains of Mesa. A hot cannonading succeeded, and the Mexicans made several attempts to charge, but could never be brought within fifty yards of the American lines. After a final effort, General Flores abandoned the defence, and moved off in the direction of Sonora, accompanied by most of his principal officers. Shortly after re-entering Los Angeles, Com. Stockton was joined by Colonel Fremont, increasing his force to near one thousand men. A new negotiation was now entered into with Don Andres Pico, the Californian governor, by which the Mexicans stipulated to lay down their arms, and yield quiet possession of the province.

Shortly after, hearing of the arrival of his senior officer at Monterey, Com. Stockton struck his pennant on board the Congress, and finding a party about to cross the Rocky Mountains, returned by that route to the United States. The force that Com. Shubrick found under his orders on assuming the command of the Pacific squadron, consisted of his own ship, the Independence 54; the Congress 44, to the command of which vessel he assigned Captain Lavalette, late in the Independence; the Savannah 44, Portsmouth 20, Warren 20, Cyane 20, Preble 16, and Dale 16.

A few days after his own arrival, the Lexington, store-

ship, came in from the Atlantic coast; this vessel brought company of regular artillery. As soon as the latter land all the seamen were withdrawn from the fort, and the town was left in the care of the artillery and marines. Similar arrangements were made at San Francisco, where, however, the Warren was left, the whole force being under the orders of Commander Hull. Toward the close of September, Captain Lavalette went into the Gulf with his own ship and the Portsmouth, and on the 16th of October the Independence sailed in company with the Cyane to join him off Cape San Lucas. This junction was made on the 29th, when Captain Lavalette reported the result of his successful attempt made on the town of Guaymas, nearly at the head of the Gulf. The place had a considerable force, and works of respectable extent, but Captain Lavalette took his frigate and the sloop of war within fair range of the enemy's guns, planting two pieces of heavy artillery, also, on a couple of islands that were favorably situated for such a purpose. After a cannonading of three quarters of an hour, which commenced at sunrise the next morning, a white flag was hoisted from the shore. It appeared that the enemy had evacuated the place, which indeed was now abandoned by all of the inhabitants. After some negotiation, Captain Lavalette caused all the batteries on the water front of the town to be blown up. He then left Commander Montgomery in the Portsmouth to look out for the port of Guaymas, and ran over to Loreto to meet the Dale, which vessel he expected to find at that place, on his way to join Com. Shubrick off San Lucas.

Before proceeding in the regular order of time, it becomes necessary to go back to the year 1846, in order to notice some actions in which the sloop of war Cyane, Commander Du Pont, was creditably concerned. This vessel, having in the month of July landed the detachment of Major Fremont at San Diego, remained for a time on the coast of California, when she was sent down on blockading duty to the main coast of Mexico. She arrived at San Blas on the 2d of September. The Cyane then kept to the northward, touching at Mazatlan, where the Warren was engaged in blockading, thence running into the Gulf of California, making the ports of La Paz and Mulejè. From the latter place it was found that a Mexican gun-boat had lately sailed, going, it was supposed, across to Guaymas. Thither the Cyane

followed, and anchored in the inner harbor on the 6th of October. A battalion of troops of the line, with field artillery, was posted in the town, and, in connection with the national guard, formed a body of five hundred soldiers. A surrender of the gun-boats was refused, when the American commander sent a message that he would be obliged to take them by force. In the mean time, and before an attack could be made upon them, the Mexicans set fire to the gun-boats, and they were entirely consumed. A Mexican brig, however, was left unharmed, under the idea that she was in too strong a position to be in danger of being cut out. Being a lawful prize, and, if left, likely to be of service to the enemy in conveying military supplies, the American officer determined to cut her out. She was anchored in a cove, formed by a long projecting point of land. She was hauled close in toward the houses, within pistol shot of them, with two streets opening upon her, one of which led down from the barracks where the troops were posted. The Cyane was hauled in as close as possible to the town, for it was apparent, that, should the enemy be at all bold and active, the brig could be carried and brought out by the boats, only under a well-directed and spirited fire from the ship. The party sent in was embarked in the launch and one of the cutters. They rowed steadily in, and succeeded in boarding the brig, and in cutting her chain cable; the ship, meanwhile, keeping up a heavy fire upon that part of the town where the troops were stationed. As the brig moved past the Mexican position, a severe fire was opened upon her by the troops, who issued from their cover. After several attacks and repulses of the enemy, the boarding party gallantly carried the prize out of the range of the artillery, when she was set fire to and entirely consumed.

Leaving the Gulf, the Cyane ran down to Mazatlan, where she relieved the Warren, and was employed for some time in watching this port, the most important then on the entire western coast of North America. In consequence of the very close blockade which was maintained, the town was suffering somewhat from scarcity, and a traffic was attempted by means of small vessels running up the Gulf, in order to supply the place with flour. These vessels could keep near the shore, where, from the nature of the coast, a ship of war could not reach them. Landing their cargoes in the outer or old harbor, they could relieve the wants of

the town. Several engagements took place between the boats of the Cyane and these small coasters, in which, though the latter were protected by artillery on the shore, the former succeeded in inflicting serious losses, especially of property, upon the Mexicans.

In November, 1847, the Dale, Commander Selfridge, was sent to Guaymas to relieve Commander Montgomery, in the Portsmouth; the latter vessel joining the main squadron. The flag was now flying at La Paz, in the province of Lower California, protected by a detachment of one hundred and ten men of the regiment of New York volunteers, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Burton. In the month of November, it was also hoisted at San José, in the same province, while the flag-ship was off that place; and Lieut. Charles Heywood, with four passed midshipmen and twenty marines, was placed in command of this post. He was also furnished with a nine-pounder carronade, and some fire-arms to be loaned in an emergency to friendly Californians. He posted his force in an old mission-house, situated on the higher portion of the town.

On the 8th of November Com. Shubrick left San José and stood over to the coast of Mexico, with the Independence, the Congress, and the Cyane. His destination was Mazatlan, and his object was the capture of this important city and the diversion of its commercial revenues into the treasury of the United States. Mazatlan contained at that time about eleven thousand inhabitants, and was occupied by Colonel Telles, with a force of from nine hundred to twelve hundred regular troops.

On the 10th of November, in the afternoon, the ships came in sight of the town. The position of each had been assigned and marked on a plan of the coast and harbor, furnished to the commanders. The Congress led off in fine style to that bend in the coast outside, known as the old harbor, where, the shore being low, she could command some of the avenues leading from the town, and effectually cover the landing, should the surf permit that point to be selected. The flag-ship stood for another slight bend in the peninsula on which Mazatlan is situated, and where a break in the coast-range exposes to view from the westward the most important part of the town, and which she brought to bear immediately under her guns. The Cyane kept on to get her station in the new harbor, her light draft enabling her to get suf-

ficiently close to the bar for her eight-inch guns to reach the wharf, and cover the landing, should that point be selected.

Early on the morning of the 11th, Mazatlan was summoned to surrender, Captain Lavalette, the second in command, bearing the communication from Com. Shubrick. Colonel Telles, the military commandant, tore the summons up, with insolent threats. On the return of Captain Lavalette orders were issued for an immediate landing. The height of the surf forbade the attempt to be made outside, and the usual place of landing inside of the harbor was designated. The boats of the Independence, Congress, and Erie, which ship, under the command of Lieut. Watson, had anchored in the offing a day or two previous, were joined on entering the harbor by those of the Cyane, and this ship had her broadside sprung, to cover the landing, if necessary. The boats entered the harbor in three lines, commanded by the officers of the respective ships, the whole under the direction of the commander-in-chief in person. A division of the Congress, under Lieut. John T. Livingston, had charge of the artillery, five pieces, captured in Upper California, and mounted on board that ship. The men were on shore in a twinkling, and the companies formed, while the artillery was landing. The whole force, about six hundred strong, then marched through the town to the Cuartel, situated on a mound, overlooking the surrounding country, on the walls of which the American flag was hoisted, under a salute of twenty-one guns from the Independence.

Colonel Telles, with his whole force, had retreated on the approach of the Americans. No laurels were reaped, no blood was shed, but the capture was important; it brought home to the Mexican that his commercial emporium in the west had shared the fate of the one in the east, while the American flag waved over the national palace in his capital. Prompt measures were taken for the defence and holding of Mazatlan, and for its municipal government. Commerce soon resumed its wonted activity, but trading with the interior was interfered with by the troops of Colonel Telles, who still occupied a position a few miles from the city. Several attempts were made to open the communication with the country, but no general action was risked. On the 20th of November, two parties, one on land, of ninety-four sailors under Lieut. Selden, and the other in boats, consisting of sixty-two men under Lieut. Rowan, were sent to disperse

a body of the enemy posted about ten miles out. The attack was commenced at daylight, and was quite warmly resisted by the enemy; but it was soon completely successful, the Mexicans breaking in confusion, and throwing away their arms in their flight. The Americans lost one man killed, and three officers and seventeen men wounded; the loss of the enemy being seven killed, and twenty-five or thirty wounded. These sorties drove the Mexicans further back, and left the roads more free.

Events in the mean time occurring in Sonora and Lower California, recall our attention to those provinces. It has been stated that the Dale, Commander Selfridge, was ordered to Guaymas, province of Sonora, to retain possession of that port. On his way thither, this officer learned that insurrectionary movements were on foot at Mulejè, on the eastern coast of Lower California. When the Dale arrived there, it was found that the region was in possession of Mexican troops, to the number of one hundred and fifty or more, headed by a chief called Pineda. The broadside of the ship was sprung so as to command the shores of a creek, up which Lieut. Craven proceeded, with four boats and fifty men to cut out a schooner. This was done without resistance, though large numbers of Mexicans were in sight. The next day, October 1st, the same officer, with the marines and fifty sailors, landed on the right bank of the creek, and scoured the valley to the distance of nearly three miles. They were frequently assailed by the enemy in ambuscade, but they steadily advanced, driving the latter before them. At the same time, the battery of the ship kept up a fire of round shot and shell, which aided greatly in forcing the Mexicans back.

The Dale arrived at Guaymas on the 8th of November, and relieved the Portsmouth from the duty of guarding that port. The enemy's forces in this vicinity had now increased to a considerable amount, being probably not less than a thousand men. Commander Selfridge had not men enough to garrison the town, so that the flag was kept flying on an island under the guns of his ship. On the 17th of November, Commander Selfridge, supposing that there were none of the enemy in the immediate neighborhood, landed at the head of a party of sixty-five marines and seamen. They had not proceeded far, when they were assailed with a volley of musketry from a house. A ball wounded Commander

Selfridge severely in the foot, obliging him to relinquish the command to Lieut. Smith, and to return to the ship. The latter officer now found himself engaged with about three hundred of the enemy, who met him with a brisk fire and some good show of resistance. The fire of the little force of marines and seamen was, however, delivered with such rapidity and precision, that the enemy soon began to retreat precipitately. The fire from the ship was also opened and began to be felt. The Mexicans were now in hopeless confusion, and evacuated the town in all possible haste; but the American detachment was not sufficient to follow them up with effect. In this creditable action the Americans suffered no injury, with the exception of the wound of the commander; while the loss of the enemy must have been not less than thirty killed and wounded.

The Mexicans who had landed at Mulejè, and whom Commander Selfridge had so gallantly driven toward the interior, passed through the country, exciting hostility to the American rule, and drawing the disaffected to their ranks. On the 19th of November, a large body of the enemy came within a league of the post established at San José, which, it will be remembered, was occupied by Lieut. Heywood, with four officers and twenty marines. He had also organized and armed about twenty volunteers. The position occupied consisted of two houses—the one an old mission-house, which had to be somewhat strengthened and repaired to make it defensible, and the other a private house, so closely adjoining, that it was necessary to occupy it lest it might fall into the hands of the enemy. In the latter, Passed-midshipman McLanahan was stationed with twelve volunteers. At the mission, a nine-pounder was mounted, and loopholes left for musketry.

The main body of the enemy took up a position on an eminence about a quarter of a mile distant. It consisted of one hundred and fifty mounted men, and commenced the attack late in the day by a fire from a six-pounder. About ten o'clock at night, the whole body of the enemy commenced an attack upon the front and rear of both houses. Their fire was vigorous, but was returned as vigorously by the little garrison. Their cannon was posted in front of the main building, where it was replied to by the nine-pounder. The defence was so effectual, that the enemy were glad to cover themselves behind the neighboring buildings, and

thus the combat was continued throughout the night; and by morning, the enemy retired to their camp. The day passed quietly; but as night closed in, the Mexicans were again in motion. They now concluded to undertake the capture of the mission-house by assault. In executing this movement, a strong party rushed up toward the front of the house, with the intention of forcing their way in and capturing the gun. But a destructive discharge of musketry brought down their leader and several of their number, when they broke and fled. This repulse in front intimidated the party in the rear, who were approaching with ladders to scale the walls, and they were thus easily driven back. The next morning a whaling vessel came in sight and anchored off the town. The Mexicans probably took it for a ship of war, for the whole body soon moved off. They lost at least eight killed and more than that number wounded; while of the garrison but one was seriously, and two slightly wounded.

In the province of Sonora, the enemy still continued to hover around Guaymas. A detachment having established itself at Cochori, on the coast about nine miles from Guaymas, Lieut. Yard, now commanding the Dale, determined to dislodge it. A party of seamen and marines was detailed from the ship for this purpose, and placed under the command of Lieut. Craven. Having proceeded for four miles in boats, they landed and cautiously advanced, seeking to surprise the enemy. In this they were successful, having nearly surrounded the house where they were posted, before being discovered.

In the early part of the year 1848, San José became again the centre of very active military operations. On the 22d of January, a small detachment of Lieut. Heywood's command, consisting of Passed-midshipmen Warley and Duncan, and six men, was captured on the beach by a large body of the enemy's cavalry. The enemy had concentrated his forces, amounting to three or four hundred men, around the position held at San José. The defence of this position rested with a garrison of twenty-seven marines, ten effective seamen, and about twenty California volunteers. The town was deserted by its inhabitants, and about fifty women and children sought protection in the imperfect fort, and were supported from its scanty supplies. In the latter part of January, the Mexicans appeared in force. On the 4th

of February they drew their lines quite closely around the fort, and fired upon all who showed themselves. From this day until the 14th of the month, this large force kept up a constant harassing fire upon the little garrison. Several sorties were made, but, notwithstanding, the investment of the post became closer and closer, until on the 14th the supply of water began to fail. The garrison also suffered the loss of Passed-midshipman McLanahan, who was wounded in the neck, and survived but two hours. But on the 14th, relief came. In the afternoon the Cyane anchored off the town; and the interest of the battle now turned in this direction.

When, on the 15th, day dawned, the boats of the Cyane were seen moving toward the shore. They contained one hundred and two officers and men, headed by Commander Du Pont. As the Mexicans possessed the advantage of the covers along the road, they were able to keep up an annoying flank and rear fire upon the advancing Americans. Still the latter moved steadily on, driving their opponents back at every point, or giving them volleys of musketry to the right and left as occasion required. Those in the ship were unable to render any assistance by means of their long guns, as it was impossible to separate friend from foe. But the garrison could not curb their impatience, and soon sallied out to form a junction with their companions. A party of the enemy was still firing upon the fort, but the charge, led by Lieutenant Heywood, drove them from the street they occupied, and opened the way for the union of the two detachments. Just before this union was effected, the enemy made a final stand and sought by great exertions to maintain his ground. But it was all in vain, and the shout of victory was raised just as Lieut. Heywood joined the party of his welcome friends. It surely borders on the miraculous that this march was made under such a fire, and this victory gained by the Americans over treble their own number, without the loss of a single life, and with only four slightly wounded. The loss of the enemy could not be ascertained with any exactness, but there were at least thirteen killed. They also lost in their long attack upon the post, at least fifteen killed, and many wounded. The casualties to Lieut. Heywood's command during the siege were three killed and four slightly wounded.

On the receipt of the information of a provisional suspen-

sion of hostilities on the part of the main army in Mexico, Com. Shubrick entered into a similar arrangement, and withdrew the garrison from Mazatlan, leaving a few men to guard the works until the establishment of a definitive treaty of peace. Until the close of the war, therefore, the duty of the naval force was confined to the maintenance of the positions already held.

CHAPTER LIV.

Our attention must now be directed to the naval operations taking place during this war in the Gulf of Mexico. In July, 1845, Com. Conner had under his command the following vessels, forming the Gulf squadron:—the frigate Potomac 44; sloops of war Falmouth 20, Saratoga 20, St. Mary's 20; brigs Somers 10, and Lawrence 10. The steamers Mississippi 10, and Princeton 9, sloop of war John Adams 20, and the brig Porpoise 10, were ordered to join without delay. When hostilities actually commenced, and the state of war was declared to exist, instructions were issued to Com. Conner to employ his command in the blockade of Mexican ports, so far as its force would admit of doing so effectually. These orders were issued on the 13th of May, 1846; and that they might be properly carried out, several additional vessels were attached to the squadron. These were the frigate Cumberland 44, frigate Raritan 44; and the brigs Perry and Truxton of 10 guns each. The sloop of war Albany 20, also joined during the year.

On the 18th of May a detachment of nearly two hundred marines and seamen, from the Cumberland and Potomac, under the orders of Captain Aulick, sailed up the Rio Grande in the boats of the ships, and effected a junction with a detachment of the army at Barita, on the right bank of the river, and about fifteen miles from its mouth. At this point they established a post without any opposition, and on the same day the army under General Taylor crossed the river and entered Matamoras.

The vessels were now dispatched to their several stations to enforce the blockade of the ports of Mexico on the Gulf as far south as Alvarado. The Somers was sent to Yucatan, in order to ascertain what course that government intended to pursue in the war between the United States and Mexico. Munitions of war were introduced through this province into Mexico, so that the necessary neutrality was not maintained. It became advisable, therefore, in the autumn of this year, to send an expedition against Tobasco, through which city this commerce in the materials of war was carried on. The place is situated on the river of the same name, about seventy-four miles from its mouth, and in a south-easterly direction from Vera Cruz. Its sea-port, called Frontera, is situated at the mouth of the river. Com. M. C. Perry was appointed to conduct this expedition. As the harbors of Mexico were inaccessible to most of the ships of war, in consequence of sand bars formed across their entrances, several small steamers and schooners had been purchased and sent to the scene of operations in the Gulf. Of these, Com. Perry took the steamer Vixen, and the schooners Bonita, Reefer, and Nonata, besides the steamer McLane and the schooner Forward of the revenue service. His own ship was the Mississippi, steamer, on board of which was a detachment of two hundred officers, seamen and marines, under command of Captain Forrest of the Cumberland.

The expedition sailed on the 16th of October, and arrived off the mouth of the Tobasco on the 23d. The Mississippi was left at the anchorage outside, while Com. Perry himself went on board of the Vixen. The town of Frontera was taken possession of without resistance, with several vessels in port, and two steamers which were firing up, in the hope of escaping up stream. The largest of these steamers, the Petrita, was immediately taken into service; the detachment of Captain Forrest embarking in her. At noon, on the second day, Tobasco was reached. Several merchant-vessels were secured by the boats, and the squadron anchored in order of battle abreast of the town, within half-musket range. A summons to surrender was answered with bravado, and an invitation sent back to the commander to fire as soon as he pleased. Com. Perry was extremely reluctant to destroy the town and to subject the inhabitants to the miseries of a bombardment; it was necessary, howe-

ver, to make some demonstration of his power, and he consequently directed the firing to commence from the guns of the Vixen alone, and these to be aimed at the flag-staff. At the third discharge the flag came down; it was not struck, but only shot away.

Captain Forrest now landed with his detachment at a point where they were under cover of the guns of the vessels. This movement drew from the enemy a fire of musketry, which was returned by the flotilla, and continued till evening. Com. Perry, knowing that the governor disregarded the wishes of the principal citizens in refusing to capitulate, now determined, from motives of humanity, to relinquish any plan of a more complete conquest, and retire from the place, satisfied with having broken up the obnoxious traffic in munitions of war. But in the morning the firing was recommenced from the town, and consequently it became necessary to reply to it from the flotilla. He, however, ordered his prizes to move down the river, while the armed vessels prepared to follow. But one of the prizes grounded near the shore, when a large party of Mexicans collected in the houses and streets opposite to it and began to pour into it a very severe fire. The fire of the vessels soon silenced that on shore, and Lieut. Parker, in charge of the prize, defended himself with great gallantry, and succeeded in getting his vessel off, with one man killed and two wounded. Lieut. Charles W. Morris, while conveying an order in a boat from the Commodore to Lieut. Parker, received a severe wound in the neck, which a few days after resulted in his death.

During this season two attempts to take possession of Alvarado failed, in consequence of the impediments at the mouth of the harbor. An attempt to capture Tuspan, resulted in the loss of one of the vessels of the squadron. On the 15th of August, Commander Carpenter stood in for the town with the brig Truxton. She struck upon the bar and obstinately resisted all efforts to get her off. Her officers and men, with the exception of Lieut. Hunter and a boat's crew, were obliged to surrender to the Mexicans.

In the autumn of this year a plan of a campaign was marked out, which contemplated the reduction of the city of Vera Cruz and its famous castle, and thence the march of a large army by the shortest route to the capital of Mexico. In order, therefore, to divert attention from the

real point of attack, and to afford a convenient place for concentrating troops, orders were sent in October to Com. Conner to take possession of Tampico. The Raritan, Potomac, and St. Mary's were ordered to rendezvous off that port. On the 12th of November the steamer Mississippi, having on board a detachment of one hundred marines and seamen from the Cumberland, and towing the Vixen, Nonata, Bonita, and Reefer, and the steamer Princeton, having in tow the Spitfire and Petrel, left the anchorage of Anton Lizardo. Arrived off the bar of Tampico, on the morning of the 14th, three hundred men were placed in the boats of the various vessels, which, in connection with the schooners above mentioned in tow of the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, were carried safely over the bar, and passed up the river. The defences of the city had been abandoned, so that no resistance was met with. From Tampico an expedition was sent under Commander Tattnall, with the steamer Spitfire and the schooner Petrel, to Panuco, situated about eighty miles up a river of the same name, for the purpose of destroying some cannon and other munitions of war, which the Mexicans had transported from Tampico before its capture. This expedition was entirely successful. In the latter part of November, the frigate Cumberland was sent home for repairs, Captain Forrest being transferred with his crew to the Raritan, and Captain Gregory and crew going home in the Cumberland.

While the squadron was off Tampico, the brig Somers maintained the blockade of Vera Cruz. The barque Creole, conveying munitions of war to the Mexicans, had violated the blockade, and lay on the night of the 20th of November in supposed security, under the guns of the fortress St. Juan d'Ulloa. In the darkness, a boat from the Somers quietly approached her, containing Lieut. Parker, Passed-midshipmen Rogers and Hynson, and five seamen. The guard was surprised, captured, and afterward set on shore, while the vessel was set fire to and burned. The adventurous party escaped without injury. On the 8th of December, the Somers was capsized, and carried down with her two officers and some forty of her crew.

Com. Perry, with the Mississippi, Vixen, Bonita, and Petrel, took possession of the town of Laguna, in the province of Yucatan, in the month of December. Commander Sands, with the Vixen and Petrel, was left in charge of the

place. On returning along the coast, Lieut. Comd't Benham, in the Bonita, was left at Tobasco river, to assume the command of the blockading vessels at that point.

The year 1847 commenced with active preparations for the contemplated attack on Vera Cruz and the castle of St. Juan d'Ulloa. Bomb-ketches and steamers were purchased, equipped and sent to the Gulf. The Ohio 74, which was preparing for the Pacific, and the sloops Germantown 20, Saratoga 20, and Decatur 16, were rapidly fitted out and ordered to join the squadron. On the coast of Mexico was soon assembled, around Vera Cruz as a centre, or scattered off different ports on blockading duty, probably the largest force ever under the command of a single American naval officer. The naval squadron under the command of Com. Conner, and the transports having on board the troops and their equipments, under the command of Major-general Scott, were concentrated at the anchorage between the island of Salmadina and Point Anton Lizardo; a distance of some ten or twelve miles to the eastward of Vera Cruz. After full examination, it was determined that the debarkation should take place on the beach near the island of Sacrificios, within three miles of the city.

The surf-boats constructed for the purpose, were apportioned among the several vessels of war, and were also suitably manned and officered from the fleet; the whole flotilla being under the special command of Captain Forrest, of the Raritan frigate. On the morning of the 9th of March, the troops were transferred from the transports to the men of war. Each of the frigates received on board between twenty-five and twenty-eight hundred men, with their arms and accoutrements; the sloops received about nine hundred each, and the smaller vessels numbers in proportion. This part of the movement was completed very successfully about 10 o'clock A. M.; and a few moments thereafter, the squadron got under way for Sacrificios; the General-in-chief on board the steamer Massachusetts, and the Commodore of the squadron in the frigate Raritan. The weather was very fine, with a fresh yet gentle breeze from the south-east and a perfectly smooth sea. The passage to Sacrificios occupied between two and three hours. Each vessel came in and anchored in the small space previously allotted to her, without the slightest disorder or confusion.

The debarkation commenced on the instant. The Prince-

ton was ordered to take a position abreast the landing-place, and as near the shore as possible; and the surf-boats were directed, after receiving their quota of soldiers, to rendezvous astern of her, and to form there in a double line ahead, according to regiments and companies, and in prescribed order of battle; the two head boats holding on to each quarter of the Princeton, other two holding on to them, and so on, with the regimental flag flying in the head boat of each regiment. In the mean time, while this work of transfer and arrangement was going on, the steamers Spitfire and Vixen, and the five gunboats Petrel, Bonita, Reefer, Falcon, and Tampico, were ordered to anchor in a line parallel with and as close in to the beach as they could get, to cover the landing with their guns, if necessary. These vessels were armed chiefly with 32 pounder shell guns, and were of such light draught (from five to eight feet) that they were enabled to take positions within good grape range of the shore.

When all was prepared, the boats cast off from the Princeton, and from each other, squared away in line-abreast, and pulled in together to the beach, where the troops of the first line landed without the slightest opposition. The boats immediately returned to the vessels for the second line of the army, and afterward for the reserve; and without waiting to form again in order of battle, they continued to pour the troops upon the beach, in successive trips, as fast as they could come and go. At some places the loaded boats grounded on the bar, or false beach, some twenty yards from dry land; and the troops had to wade through waist-deep water to get ashore. This occurred in comparatively few instances, however; and aside from the inconvenience of these few wettings, not an accident of any kind occurred throughout the whole operations. No enemy appeared to dispute the ground; and General Worth had the satisfaction of forming his command upon the neighboring sand-hills just before sunset. The landing commenced about the middle of the afternoon, and before 10 o'clock that night upward of 10,000 men, with stores and provisions for several days, were safely deposited on the beach.

Pending the bombardment of Vera Cruz, Com. Conner, who had now been in command of the Home squadron more than three years, and whose health had become se-

riously impaired, was relieved, on the 21st of March, by Com. Perry, and returned home in the Princeton.

On the 22d of March, the investment of the city being completed and some of the batteries constructed, the Governor was called upon to surrender. This being declined, in the afternoon of the day the firing commenced from the trenches, and was returned both from the city and the castle. At the same time the two small steamers, the Spitfire and Vixen, and the five gun-boats, led by Commander Tattnall, took a position, near the shore, whence their heavy shot could reach the city. This position was gallantly maintained and their fire kept up with rapidity and steadiness until late in the evening. They were supplied with ammunition during the night, and on the morning of the 24th moved to a still nearer and more favorable position, whence the firing was resumed. It soon became apparent, however, that the flotilla was in a position inconsistent with its safety, and it was consequently recalled.

It being the earnest desire of the officers and men of the navy to take some active part in the siege, General Scott assigned them a place in the trenches. Three eight-inch Paixhan guns and 3 long 32-pounders were landed from the squadron; and after vast labor in dragging them through the sand, in which duty the sailors were aided by detachments from the army, they were mounted in battery under the superintendence of Commander Mackenzie. This battery was served by different detachments from the several vessels, composed of lieutenants and other officers with an adequate number of seamen, all under the command of a captain. Each detachment was on duty twenty-four hours. The battery opened its fire on the 24th under the charge of Captain Aulick of the Potomac. As soon as discovered, it drew upon itself an exceedingly severe fire from the enemy's guns, which was returned deliberately and with marked effect for about four hours, when the supply of ammunition failed. The loss from this detachment was five seamen killed and one officer and four men wounded. The relief party arrived in the afternoon under the command of Captain Mayo of the Mississippi. The breastworks having been much shattered, the night was spent in repairing them. Early on the morning of the 25th, the fire of four of the Mexican batteries was concentrated upon this work. An active cannonade was continued in return until half-past

two P. M., when the enemy's guns were silenced. Two other batteries then turned their fire upon the naval battery, and they also were soon rendered inefficient. During this day Midshipman T. B. Shubrick, while pointing a gun, was killed. One seaman was killed, and three were slightly wounded. Captain Mayo was relieved at the close of the day by Captain Breese of the Albany. The cannonade of the day gave employment for the night in restoring the dilapidated defences. In the morning a storm so filled the air with dust that it was impossible to sight the guns, and soon an order arrived from the Commander-in-chief that the firing need not be resumed, as negotiations for a surrender were in progress. During the siege, the naval battery threw one thousand Paixhan shells and eight hundred round shot into the enemy's walls and forts.

Immediately after the surrender of Vera Cruz, a combined movement was made for the capture of Alvarado, which, after the two previous failures, was in this instance accomplished. Gen. Quitman, with his brigade of volunteer troops, was directed to proceed by land, in order to cut off the retreat of the Mexicans, and especially to gain possession of the horses and mules of that region, upon which the army was depending for a forward movement. Com. Perry directed Lieut. Charles G. Hunter, commanding the steamer Scourge, to proceed in advance with that vessel and blockade the harbor, while he himself followed with the other vessels more slowly, so as to co-operate with Gen. Quitman when he should arrive in the rear of the town. But Lieut. Hunter, who reached the bar on the 30th of March, allowed himself to be tempted by his zeal into an immediate attack upon the fortifications at the mouth of the river, instead of obeying the letter of his orders and simply maintaining a blockade. The next day, after a renewal of the attack, the Mexicans withdrew from their batteries and the town, when Lieut. Hunter entered the river, captured four schooners, left a garrison to guard the place, and proceeded up to Tlacotalpam. This town surrendered without resistance. Thus was the apparent object of the expedition accomplished before the main force arrived; but the important purpose of drawing supplies for the army from this quarter was entirely defeated, as the Mexicans escaped with their animals before the land force could hem them in. Com. Perry arrived on the 2d of April, but his too active

subordinate had left nothing to be done in the way of conquest.

As soon as Alvarado was reduced, Com. Perry turned his attention to a movement against Tuspan. The Raritan, with a detachment of one hundred and eighty officers and men from the Potomac, the Albany, John Adams, Germantown, and Decatur, and the bomb-vessels Vesuvius, Etna, and Hecla, were ordered to rendezvous at the Island of Lobos. Com. Perry in the Mississippi, accompanied by the steamers Spitfire, Vixen, and Scourge, and the gun-boats Bonita, Petrel, and Reefer, with a party of three hundred officers and men from the Ohio, sailed from Sacrificios on the 12th of April. He arrived off the bar of Tuspan on the 17th, and made preparations for an attack the next day. The larger ships being anchored outside, the small steamers, the gun-boats, and about thirty barges crossed the bar without accident on the morning of the 18th. The whole force detached from the ships—forming the landing party and carried in the barges—amounted to 1,900 officers, seamen, and marines, with four pieces of light artillery for land service. The whole was led by Com. Perry on board the Spitfire. The approach to the town was defended by two forts on the right and one on the left bank of the river, in very excellent positions to sweep any force coming up stream. General Cos of the Mexican army was in command, and had under him a force of 650 troops. When the flotilla came within range of the enemy's guns, the barges sheered off to land the detachment which was to operate on shore, under command of Captain Breese, while the steamers and gun-boats moved up the river. The Mexicans made but a feeble defence. They fired from the forts and also with musketry along the borders of the river. But as the American force came up, they rapidly fell back, deserting the batteries before the land party could get near enough to storm them. The attack, therefore, proved entirely successful, and the capture was effected, with a loss to the Americans of only three seamen killed and five officers and six men wounded.

The policy of the United States was now changed. As the entire coast was in our possession, and its towns either garrisoned or watched by a sufficient force, it was deemed advisable again to open the ports to the entrance of commerce, and to direct the revenues into our own treasury.

The blockade was therefore raised; a naval force, however, was still necessary to maintain the new revenue system which was imposed. Com. Perry, with a large portion of his squadron, cruised to the eastward as far as Yucatan, opening the ports and establishing the necessary revenue regulations; he also received the submission of several interior towns.

In the vicinity of Tobasco, matters did not remain in a quiet condition. Com. Perry, therefore, planned another expedition against the enemy in this quarter. He arrived, on the 13th of June, off the river, with the Mississippi, Raritan, Albany, John Adams, Decatur, Germantown, Stromboli, Vesuvius, and Washington, and the steamers Scorpion, Spitfire, Scourge, and Vixen; the Etna and Bonita being already within the bar at their station. A large force from the several ships was, as usual, organized and placed in the barges. It numbered in all, officers included, 1,173 strong, with seven pieces of artillery. Com. Perry transferred his pennant to the steamer Scorpion, which, in connection with the other steamers, took the gun-boats and barges in tow, and commenced the ascent of the river on the 14th. No appearance of an enemy occurred until the following day, when about twelve miles below the town, the flotilla was fired upon by an armed force concealed in the chaparral on the left bank of the river. This fire was soon silenced by the guns and musketry of the vessels; and, night coming on, the flotilla lay here till morning. Some distance farther up, artificial obstructions were met with in the river, and opposite to them on the shore was a well constructed breastwork, from which a strong body of Mexicans commenced a fire. Fearing that the steamers might suffer an inconvenient delay before being able to pass the obstructions, Com. Perry determined to land at this point, and force his way through to the city. The heavy guns of the flotilla raked the intrenchment of the enemy, and the landing was effected near it. In ten minutes the entire detachment was formed on the shore, with seven pieces of artillery, which were taken from the boats and dragged up a steep bank of twenty feet height. Three more pieces were also landed from the bomb-vessels, and then with great enthusiasm and eagerness the column moved to the attack. The outposts of the enemy were quickly driven in, and their breastwork was deserted without coming to close quarters. The steamers also had

now passed the obstructions and were able to co-operate with the land party. About a mile farther up was a principal work of the Mexicans, situated on a commanding point and defended by three hundred regular and as many irregular troops. They, however, stood fire but a short time, when they fell back upon their remaining defences. These, as soon as reached, were carried with but a feeble resistance on the part of the enemy. The casualties in this attack were the wounding of two officers and seven seamen. The Mexicans had at least fourteen hundred men in the action, of whom about thirty were killed.

As the enemy still hovered around Tobasco, it was necessary to leave a strong force to keep them in check. Accordingly the Scorpion, Etna, Spitfire, and Scourge, containing four hundred and twenty officers and men, of whom one hundred and fifteen were marines, were directed to remain off the city under the orders of Commander Bigelow. The Americans had several skirmishes with the Mexicans in the town, in which the former gained the advantage. At a village called Tamultay, about three miles distant, some five hundred Mexicans were collected, and from this point as head-quarters, these annoying attacks were kept up. Commander Bigelow determined to dislodge them from this position, and so, if possible, disperse them. On the morning of the 30th of June, he marched at the head of two hundred and forty men, with two field-pieces, in the direction of the village. When still a quarter of a mile from it, his command was assailed by a fire of musketry from both sides of the road, where the Mexicans had posted themselves in ambush. The column remained firm and promptly returned the fire. The Mexicans still held their ground until the artillery was brought into action, when, after a few discharges, they broke and fled in confusion. The Americans lost two men killed and five wounded; the loss on the other side could not be ascertained.

In relating the services of the navy during the Mexican war, it should also be mentioned that a detachment of the marines of the squadron, under the orders of Lieut.-Col. Watson of that corps, served with the army of Gen. Scott. It joined the main army in the vincinity of the city of Mexico, and in time to take part in those celebrated actions which resulted in the capture of the national capital. It was attached to the division of Major-Gen. Quitman, and was

first brought into battle on the 13th of September, on the occasion of the storming of the strong fortress of Chapultepec and of the fortifications which covered the Belen gate of the city. At the base of the hill on which Chapultepec is situated, and on the left flank, were two batteries of considerable strength, protected also by some solid buildings and a wall fifteen feet high. It was at this point that Gen. Quitman's division was to advance to the attack upon the Castle. The storming party was selected from the different volunteer corps of the division, including therefore a part of the marine corps, and was placed under the command of Major Levi Twiggs of the marines. On the morning of the 13th, the concerted attack commenced with the different divisions of the army under the immediate directions of the Commander-in-chief. Gen. Quitman's command advanced over difficult ground and with slight protection, under a heavy fire from the fortress, the batteries, and the breastworks of the enemy, the storming parties leading the column. The battalion of marines was also posted in a prominent position, where it could support the storming parties. The severe fire of the enemy soon revealed its effects upon the advancing column. The brave and lamented Major Twiggs was killed on the first advance, at the head of his command. These outworks were carried and the way to the fortress from this direction was opened. The marines still accompanied their division in its progress along the causeway toward the Belen gate, and participated in the long and bloody battle by which, finally, this avenue to the city was opened. This corps lost in these actions Major Twiggs and six men killed, two lieutenants and two sergeants wounded.

CHAPTER LV.

A BRIEF account will be given of an expedition to explore the course of the river Jordan, and the shores of the Dead Sea, which was planned and executed by William F. Lynch, lieutenant in the navy of the United

States. In October, 1847, this officer was appointed to the command of the store-ship Supply, destined to the Mediterranean. Every thing necessary for so unusual an enterprise was carefully selected and placed on board of the Supply, which sailed from New York on the 26th of November. On the 31st of March, 1848, Lieut. Lynch was landed with his boats and party on the beach at Haifa, in the bay of Acre, on the coast of Syria.

The boats provided for the expedition were constructed on the principle of the life-boats of Mr. Francis, one being made of copper and the other of galvanized iron. They were fitted on trucks, and were drawn by camels across the country from Acre to Tiberias, on the western shore of the sea of Galilee. The party consisted of Lieut. Lynch, Lieut. Dale, Passed Midshipman Aulick—Mr. Bedlow and Mr. Anderson, volunteers—and eleven petty officers and seamen. Supplies for the party were transported on camels, and a guard of mounted Arabs was also engaged.

On the 10th of April, they left Tiberias and stretched down the lake. Besides the party in the boats, there was a party composed principally of Arabs, under the command of Lieut. Dale, which kept company on the western shore of the river, in order to be at hand in assisting their companions in any emergency. Lieut. Lynch occupied eight days in sailing from the lake to the Dead Sea. The navigation was found to be of the most exciting and hazardous character. No boats could have passed through the severe ordeal but the metallic ones so wisely provided. These, manned by their intrepid crews and guided by their skilful officers, shot down frightful cascades and plunged into boiling torrents, and though receiving some hard blows by coming in contact with the sunken rocks, they carried the adventurous navigators unharmed through every danger. On the 18th of April, they entered the dreary and mysterious waste of waters so appropriately called the Dead Sea. Amid the impressive and sublime scenery of this sea, Lieut. Lynch and his party spent several weeks. They established a permanent encampment, and from this centre made constant and extensive tours of exploration. Various lines of soundings were run, for the purpose of determining the depth of the water in different parts of the sea, and quite a careful observation was made of all the shores, particularly the western and southern. This expedition has the honor of determining the course and characteristics of the Jordan, in modern times

very imperfectly known, and of throwing much light upon the geography and physical peculiarities of the Dead Sea.

Having finished the explorations, the boats were taken to pieces and placed upon the backs of camels, the encampment was broken up, and the party commenced their journey to the Mediterranean by way of Jerusalem. A part, however, were detailed for the performance of a still remaining duty—the accurate determination of the actual depression of the Dead Sea beneath the level of the Mediterranean. The result arrived at by Lieut. Symonds—an English officer, who had by a course of trigonometrical calculation determined the depression to be thirteen hundred and twelve feet—had excited surprise among scientific men. It was a matter of interest, therefore, to test this conclusion. A series of levels was, consequently, carried across the country by this detachment from Lieut. Lynch's party, which occupied twenty-three days in the slow and laborious process. The result, however, was gratifying. The difference between the level of the Dead Sea and that of the Mediterranean was found to be almost precisely what Lieut. Symonds had stated.

In the history of our navy, may also with propriety be mentioned the creditable though unsuccessful expedition to the Polar Seas, during the years 1850–51, in search of the long absent party of Sir John Franklin. This was an individual and not a national enterprise. The means for its prosecution were furnished by Mr. Henry Grinnell, a wealthy and philanthropic merchant of New York city. The vessels furnished were two small brigs, the Advance of 140 tons, and the Rescue of 90 tons. By a special act of Congress, they were placed under the direction of the Navy Board, and subjected consequently to the usual regulations and discipline of the service. The officer selected for the command was Lieut. E. H. De Haven, who had been attached to the Exploring Expedition under Commander Wilkes.

On the 23d of May, 1850, the expedition sailed from New York, and without any particular adventures, began to meet masses of ice in Melville Bay about midsummer. The Rescue was here thrown into a very perilous situation. A mass of ice slid under her, and lifting her bodily from the water, careened her over nearly on her beam-ends, in which position she remained some sixty hours before they were able to right her again. Their progress was now continued only by boldly pushing through the icebergs and floes, until,

finally, they emerged into the open waters of Lancaster Sound. Here, overtaken by a very severe gale, the vessels were separated, but were happy in meeting again a few days after. Thus, until the month of September, they continued their perilous course to the westward, when they reached 96° west longitude. As winter was now approaching, and the ice barrier beyond was entirely impenetrable, the vessels were turned to the eastward to find more genial quarters during the long polar night. The hopes of the navigators in this respect were, however, disappointed, for they soon became firmly locked between large masses of floating ice, and were carried by an irresistible tide to the northward, up Wellington Channel. After having drifted some distance they found that the tide had changed, and that they were floating back again under the influence of the same mighty force which had borne them onward. They thus passed out of Wellington Channel, through Barrow's Straits and into Lancaster Sound. It should be borne in mind, also, that during all this time the ice was constantly shifting and threatening the vessels momentarily with destruction. Constantly anxious and vigilant, the exposed navigators were ready at any moment to leave their ships, for it seemed impossible that they could sustain such enormous pressure. After December, however, the ice became solid, and they were relieved from this source of danger. Thus through the entire winter they floated along the southern shore of Baffin's Bay and Davis' Straits, until the 5th of June, when with fearful suddenness the ice broke up into floating pieces, extending as far as the eye could reach. They finally emerged into a clear sea, having reached the entrance of Davis' Straits and passed to the south of the Arctic circle. Nothing daunted, they again turned toward the north, with the intention of prosecuting their search through another summer. But in the route which they took, the impediments were so serious and dangerous that the attempt at farther explorations was abandoned. The only traces of the party of Sir John Franklin which were found, were discovered on the 27th of August, 1850, by the united English and American expeditions at Beechy Cape, on the east side of the entrance to Wellington Channel.

Unwilling to relinquish the search until the fate of Franklin should be determined, the same philanthropic

merchant, who fitted out this expedition, undertook another. This was placed in charge of Dr. E. K. Kane of the Navy, who was an officer in the previous one, and consisted of a single vessel, the Advance, carrying seventeen persons. This party was provided with boats which could be converted into sleds, to be drawn by Greenland dogs, in order to push farther to the north than any explorers had been, and beyond where it was expected any vessel could be forced. The Advance sailed from New York on the 31st of May, 1853. During the summer she coasted along the western shore of Greenland to a point farther north than has ever been reached by any vessel. Here, in September, the brig was frozen in, and the party spent their first winter in her. During the next summer distant explorations to the northward were made; the vessel remaining still locked in the ice. The course of the Greenland shore was determined to a point where an ice-barrier prevented farther progress in that direction, presenting a face toward the water of from three to five hundred feet in height. A new northern land was discovered, trending far to the westward from this highest point of Greenland; and Dr. Kane also satisfied himself of the existence of a vast open sea, washing the shores of this Polar land. Dr. Kane's charts of these regions have been promptly adopted by the British Admiralty Board; thus conceding the value and originality of his discoveries. The winter of 1854-55, one of unexampled severity in Arctic life, was passed in the brig, and was rendered doleful by scantiness of supplies, by the debility and depression consequent upon such great hardships, and by the uncertainty of release and escape. In the spring Dr. Kane wisely resolved to abandon the brig, of which the upper works and spars had been already used for fuel. Their boats were mounted on sleds and drawn by the officers and men, most of their dogs having died. They travelled some three hundred miles before reaching the open sea, and their entire journey over the ice and by water in open boats took eighty-four days. In August they reached the Danish Settlements.

In the meantime, anxiety as to the fate of Dr. Kane had led to the dispatching by the government of two small, but well equipped vessels, the bark Release and the steamer Arctic, to search for and relieve his party. This expedition was placed under the orders of Commander H. J. Hartstene

of the navy, and was composed of volunteer officers and men partly from the navy. Departing early in June, 1855, the expedition was able to penetrate on the track of Dr. Kane, but did not reach so northerly a point as he did. Without discovering any trace of him, and with sad misgivings of his fate, they finally learned from some Esquimaux that he had passed down to the Danish settlements. At Disco island they found the long absent party on their way to Europe; gladly received them on board, and returned them to their homes in the fall of 1855.

In the year 1852, Com. Matthew C. Perry was ordered to the command of the naval squadron cruising in the East Indies. Besides discharging the ordinary duties of a commander-in-chief, he was empowered to make a display of his force in the waters of the empire of Japan, and to endeavor to contract with that jealous government, a treaty of amity and commerce. The government of the United States felt itself obliged to make an effort to secure from the Japanese the better treatment of American seaman cast upon their shores, and friendly intercourse with American vessels seeking supplies in their ports. A squadron of unusual size was, therefore, placed at the disposal of Com. Perry. It comprised the steam-frigates Mississippi 10; Susquehanna 9; Powhatan 9; the steamers all carrying very heavy guns; the corvette Macedonian 20, lately razeed from a frigate of that name, and bearing an unusually efficient armament for a ship of her class; the sloops of war Plymouth 20, Saratoga 20, Vandalia 20; the storeships Supply, Southampton, and Lexington were also at various times attached to the squadron.

The steamers Susquehanna, flag-ship, and Mississippi, and the sloops of war Plymouth and Saratoga, the other vessels being detached on duty or not having arrived, anchored off the city of Uraga, bay of Jeddo, Japan, on the 8th of July, 1853. Com. Perry had resolved not to submit to those restrictions and annoyances, to which the Japanese government has been accustomed to subject all foreign vessels. He, therefore, ordered away the guard boats which began to collect around the ships, and intimated that he would employ force if they were not withdrawn. He was thus rid during his visit of this annoyance. He also refused to confer with any but officers of the highest rank in the Empire, keeping himself very secluded, and receiving

communications from ordinary officials through his own subordinate officers. All this independence, exactness, and etiquette served well the purpose intended; the Japanese found that they had a new kind of visitors to deal with. The American Commodore in the outset gained several important points, which had never been conceded to foreigners. He carried his squadron nearer to the capital, Jeddo, than was allowable by Japanese custom, and refused to return down the bay, insisting that negociations should be conducted where he deemed his valuable vessels the most safe. He immediately on his arrival dispatched surveying boats, well manned and armed, farther up the bay, and kept them constantly employed in making soundings against the remonstrances of the authorities. He insisted that a special commissioner of the highest rank should be appointed to receive the letter from the President of the United States, and convey it to the Emperor; and this demand, after delay and discussion, was agreed to. A suitable building was prepared by the Japanese for the reception of the American commander, and for the delivery of his credentials and communications. To guard against treachery, the steamers moved to an anchorage where their guns would cover the landing place; and on the morning of the 14th, a formidable escort, composed of 400 officers, seamen, and marines from the respective ships, was landed and formed in the midst of from 5,000 to 7,000 Japanese troops under arms. The princes, having received the communications, intimated their desire that the vessels should promptly depart from a position so near the capital. Little regarding this request, Com. Perry, on returning on board, ordered the whole squadron under way for the purpose of obtaining, if possible, a near look at the capital. This movement he believed "would produce a decided influence upon the pride and conceit of the government, and cause a more favourable consideration of the President's letter." That night the vessels anchored ten miles farther up the bay; and on the next day the flag-ship went ten miles higher still, to within seven miles of Jeddo; from which point the shipping in the port could be seen, though the city was hidden by a projecting point. This was what no foreign vessel has been able, in modern days, at least, to do.

In order to give the government suitable time to consider the propositions of which he had been the bearer, Com.

Perry communicated to the Emperor his purpose to return for an answer the ensuing spring, and then sailed with his squadron for the Loo Choo islands and the coast of China.

During the ensuing fall and winter, the Plymouth was stationed at the Loo Choo Islands to continue surveys commenced before going to Japan, and to look after the depot of coal established there, while the other vessels were disposed at various Chinese ports for repairs or to protect American interests from the dangers of the civil war then raging in that Empire.

In February, 1854, the American squadron was once more in Jeddo bay, to receive the answer of the Emperor of Japan. It consisted at this time of the Susquehanna, Powhatan, and Mississippi steamers; and sailing vessels Macedonian, Vandalia, Lexington, and Southampton; the Plymouth being required at Shanghai, China; and the Saratoga stopping at Jeddo bay on her way home, before the conferences were concluded.

On this visit, Com. Perry anchored his squadron permanently ten miles above Uraga, where the conferences had been held on his previous visit; and insisted that he should be met near the capital, though a place twenty miles below Uraga had been appointed for the meeting, and the Japanese officials were waiting to receive him. His persistence brought the Japanese authorities to his terms, especially as he took advantage of the delay and moved his vessels still higher, to within eight miles of Jeddo. The building for the negotiations was finally erected on the shore directly opposite the ships, and under their guns. Thither, on the 8th of March, Com. Perry repaired with an escort of 500 officers, seamen, and marines, fully armed, and embarked in twenty-seven barges. Five commissioners from the Emperor were in readiness to receive him. In an inner apartment the negotiations were conducted by the respective parties through the interpreters. Refreshments were provided, and at the request of Com. Perry, who stated that among many nations the breaking of bread was a sign of amity, the Japanese partook in company with the Americans. The conferences were continued for three weeks, and on the 31st of March a treaty was duly signed, and dispatched immediately in the hands of Commander Adams to Washington. The treaty embraced an agreement to be in peace and amity, to open two ports where American vessels

could be supplied with such stores as the Japanese could furnish; to treat shipwrecked Americans with kindness, to allow them freedom, and convey them to the two ports in order to their return home; to allow temporary residents at the open ports, being Americans, to go to certain prescribed limits into the surrounding country; to permit ships of the United States to trade under Japanese regulations at the two ports; to grant to the United States at any future time, such privileges as may be granted to any other nation, and this without consultation or delay; to allow American ships to enter other ports when in distress; to permit consuls or agents of the United States to reside in one of the open ports. During the conferences the presents sent by the government of the United States to the Emperor, were landed and received by the representatives of the sovereign. The mechanics of the ships erected and put in operation a magnetic telegraph with a wire one mile in length, and a circular railroad of sufficient capacity to exhibit the suitableness of this means for the swift conveyance of passengers. The other presents also were selected with a view of impressing the Japanese with the skill and science of the nation seeking intercourse with them. Presents were also sent in return to the American government. Com. Perry received, as he well merited, the commendation of his own government for the prudence, discrimination, firmness, and skill with which he completed the objects of his mission. On his return home, the mercantile classes in various ways expressed their high appreciation of his services in behalf of the interests of commerce.

At the Islands of Loo Choo also Com. Perry was able to effect, with the authorities, arrangements for the supply of ships touching there, and for the kind treatment and freedom of Americans cast upon the shores, or visiting them voluntarily.

The sloop of war Plymouth, Commander Kelly, had been left at Shanghai during the second visit of the squadron to Japan. The Chinese Imperial and Revolutionary troops were in collision at and about this place; and the treatment, on the part of the Imperialists, of American and English residents, compelled the interference of the naval commanders of both nations. An imperial vessel of war captured an American pilot boat in the harbor. This boat was retaken in a gallant manner, from the midst of the Chinese fleet, by

Lieut. Guest and a boat's crew from the Plymouth. The aggressions of the imperial troops on shore continuing, and the authorities leaving the foreigners to protect themselves, an action, on the 4th of April, was brought on between the aggressors and the forces of the English and American ships of war, which had been landed for the protection of their countrymen. These forces consisted of about 150 English sailors and marines, besides English volunteers, and about 60 sailors and marines from the Plymouth, with 30 men from the American merchant ships. The English occupied the right of the line of attack, and the Americans, under Commander Kelly, the left; the latter strengthened by two private field-pieces, worked by American citizens, and by a twelve-pound boat howitzer. At four in the afternoon the attacking party began throwing shells into the encampment of the Imperialists. A charge was checked by the discovery of a wide and deep creek in front of the camp; but after sustaining a sharp fire of musketry for about ten minutes the flank of the Chinese was turned, when they retreated in great disorder, leaving a number of dead and wounded. The Americans had two men killed and four wounded; the English suffered to about the same extent.

The continuance of civil war in China required the constant efforts of the American squadron to protect the lives and property of American residents. Com. Abbot succeeded Com. Perry in this command, and showed promptitude and discretion in the management of the difficulties arising from such a state of affairs. Several engagements took place between the American ships of war and the pirates infesting the neighboring waters. Many pirates were killed, their junks sunk, and their depots on shore broken up.

In the latter part of June, 1853, the United States sloop-of-war St. Louis, Commander Ingraham, and the Austrian brig-of-war Hussar, were lying in the harbor of Smyrna. At this time some Austrian officials arrested in the city a Hungarian refugee, named Kosta, and confined him on board the brig with the intention of conveying him to Austria, where, without doubt, he would have been executed as a traitor. Commander Ingraham, learning that Kosta had declared his intention of becoming an American citizen, and that he had an American passport, protested against his being removed until all the facts of his case could be ascertained; and during the discussion of the subject he brought

the guns of the St. Louis to bear upon the brig. He also visited the brig, and had an interview with Kosta, who claimed American protection, which was promised him. He then demanded of the Austrian commander that the Hungarian should be delivered up by a certain hour, otherwise he should employ force for his release; and both vessels were cleared for action. Meanwhile the consuls of the two nations arranged that Kosta should be placed in charge of the French consul, until his case should be decided by the respective governments. Quite an animated diplomatic passage arose from this affair. The United States government fully sustained the action of its officer, and insisted upon its right to demand, rather than its duty to make, apology, on the ground that Kosta was arrested while out of Austrian jurisdiction, and entitled to protection, as, in fact, an American citizen. Congress also voted Commander Ingraham a gold medal, as a mark of the national appreciation of his decided, just, and fearless conduct.

An expedition to survey a supposed feasible route for a ship canal across the Isthmus of Darien, undertaken by direction of the United States government by certain officers of the navy and others, requires mention. Lieut. Isaac C. Strain commanded the party, which consisted, all told, of twenty-seven officers and men. On the 19th of January, 1854, this party was landed from the sloop-of-war Cyane in Caledonia Bay, on the Atlantic side of the Isthmus. Relying upon statements in the report of an English engineer, who pretended to have passed over the route and found it comparatively easy, the party encumbered themselves with but ten days' provisions. Other statements of this engineer, as to the height of the land between the two oceans, and the course and names of the streams, were also soon found to be erroneous. No dependence could be placed upon maps evidently drawn from the imagination. The Indians proved jealous, hostile, and treacherous; so that Lieut. Strain could not avail himself of their local knowledge. In the course of a fortnight the party began to suffer from the lack of food. By this time they had penetrated into the midst of the primitive forest, filled with the rank undergrowth of tropical regions, through which it was necessary to hew their slow and toilsome way. The scarcity of game and of wild fruits fit for human consumption in this region seemed surprising. For days together they were

compelled to eat hard and astringent nuts of the palm, containing hardly more nourishment than poison. The loss of their only fish-hook cut off the supply of food from the water. A succession of misfortunes befel them; and yet with patient subjection to discipline, and the hope of soon reaching the settlements on the Pacific shore, they struggled on in their unknown way. After over twenty days of incessant toil and privation, the sick and feeble had so increased, that Lieut. Strain concluded, for the safety of his party, to take three men with him and proceed as rapidly as possible to the coast, in order to send back succor to those who could not travel so fast. The main body was left in command of Passed Midshipman Truxton. On the 13th of February Lieut. Strain parted from them. The main body proceeded for a few days, when they were compelled to halt, and until March 5th they waited in vain for the return of Strain. It was then determined to turn back, and endeavor to reach the ship. Starvation caused the death of several before assistance came.

After incredible hardships Lieut. Strain reached the settlements on the Pacific, and returned with abundant relief for his companions. They had gone back on their route several days' march, so that it was not till the 23d of March that he overtook them with boats and supplies. Lieut. Strain was accompanied on his search for his party by Mr. W. C. Bennett, English civil engineer, and by officers and seamen of the British vessel of war Virago, under command of Capt. Edward Marshall. But for the prompt and voluntary aid of these Englishmen, it would have been hardly possible for him to save one of those left behind. The expedition accomplished nothing except to prove that the route pursued was entirely impracticable for the construction of a canal; yet, though ending so disastrously, it was conducted with such heroism as to be deserving of an honorable place in the annals of discovery.

In the month of June, 1854, Commander Hollins, with the sloop-of-war Cyane, was directed to appear before the town of San Juan, or Greytown, situated on the Mosquito Coast, Nicaragua, and to demand redress for various wrongs committed, so it was claimed by the United States, upon the persons and property of American citizens. In accordance with his instructions, Commander Hollins, having waited in vain for a favorable answer to the demand for redress, on

the morning of the 13th of July opened the battery of the Cyane upon the town, and continued the firing until four o'clock in the afternoon, when a party landed and completed the destruction of the place, by burning what houses remained. A lieutenant in the British navy, commanding a small vessel of war, was in the harbor at the time, and protested against the action of the American officer, as his government claimed a species of protectorate over the settlement. The United States government assumed all responsibility, and sustained its officer as not having exceeded his authority.

The sloop-of-war Albany, Commander James T. Gerry, sailed from Aspinwall for New York on the 28th of September, 1854. She has never been heard from since, though several government vessels searched carefully the route over which she expected to pass. She doubtless foundered, adding another to the list of the vessels of the navy thus lost. Four lieutenants, with the other officers and the crew of a ship of her class, perished in her.

From an expedition for exploration and surveying in the North Pacific, which sailed in 1853, under Commander Ringgold, some reports have been received. Commander Ringgold was compelled to return home in consequence of ill-health; and the expedition is now under Commander John Rodgers. The vessels forming this squadron were the Vincennes sloop-of-war, steamer John Hancock, brig Porpoise, and schooner Fenimore Cooper. The Porpoise parted company in September, 1854, in the China Sea, and probably was lost in a subsequent gale, as nothing has since, been heard of her. There were lost in her, her commander, Acting-Lieutenant W. K. Bridge, three Passed Midshipmen, one Midshipman, an Assistant Surgeon, and her complement of men. The rest of the squadron has been actively employed in surveys over portions of the sea intended to be examined; and the duties of those engaged have been performed with energy and fidelity. The results will doubtless prove of service to commerce and science. Commander Rodgers, with the Vincennes, entered Behring's Straits, penetrated in the direction selected farther than any previous navigator, and made some valuable discoveries in that part of the Arctic Sea.

Commander T. J. Page, engaged with the steamer Water Witch in the survey of the river La Plata and its tributa-

ries, was obliged to discontinue his exploration of the river Parana, in consequence of a serious misunderstanding with the President of the Republic of Paraguay. He, however, with a small steamer chartered for the purpose, was able to establish the practicability of the navigation of the Salado, a branch of the Parana. He is still engaged in the duties of this special service.

The sloop-of-war John Adams, Commander E. B. Boutwell, attached to the Pacific squadron, was ordered in the summer of 1855 to repair to the Feejee Islands, to seek reparation for various wrongs inflicted by the natives upon Americans residing at the islands, and upon shipwrecked seamen. Arrived at the islands in September, Commander Boutwell landed parties at different points, had some sharp skirmishes with the savages, burnt several villages, and obliged the high chief to sign articles promising better conduct in future.

The government of the United States has for many years past been engaged in a thorough survey of the extensive sea-coast and numerous bays and harbors of the states bordering upon the ocean. In the laborious duties of this important work many officers of the navy are associated with officers of the army and civilians. In other departments of science several officers of this branch of the service have won for themselves honorable names. Nautical science has received very interesting and valuable additions from the researches of Lieut. Maury, the superintendent of the National Observatory at Washington. His Sailing Directions, and Wind and Current, and Whaling Charts, have been highly useful contributions to practical navigation; voyages to distant parts of the globe having been materially shortened, as well as increased in safety, by the attention of shipmasters to the rules and principles he has carefully deduced from the study of almost countless observations.

Lieut. James M. Gilliss, with assistants, was dispatched in the autumn of 1849 to Chili, South America, for the purpose of making certain astronomical observations in connection with observers at the National Observatory. Provided with the necessary apparatus, he established an observatory in that country, and for nearly three years carried on the system of astronomical research contemplated. The results obtained are now in course of publication by the government, and will reflect great credit upon those engaged in this scientific work.

APPENDIX.

Note A. Page 45. This distinction has been claimed for the Lexington, Capt. Barry, and we have so stated the fact in the earlier editions of this book; but an examination of the private papers of that officer, has shown us that he was actually employed on shore, or in the Delaware, for a short time after Com. Hopkins got to sea. The first regular cruise, therefore, ever made in a vessel of the United States, was that made by the squadron, of which we are about to relate the movements.

Note B. Page 242. *Note.* It is no more than just to state, that Mr. Gallatin, a member of that cabinet, asserted his utter ignorance of any such plan. On the other hand, there is good proof that such a project did exist in the Department, and of the interference of the two officers named.

Note C. Page 396. For Mr. Cooper's more extended remarks on some of the points of interest in this famous battle, the reader is referred to his unabridged Naval History, and to his biography of Com. Perry, contained in his Lives of Distinguished Naval Officers.—[Ed.]

THE END.

Papal Tyranny and Protestant Freedom!

☞ "*No American* AT THIS JUNCTURE *ought to be ignorant of its contents.*"—PROF. WAYLAND.

WEISS'S GREAT HISTORY

OF THE

FRENCH PROTESTANT REFUGEES.

WITH AN AMERICAN APPENDIX.

In two volumes, 12*mo*. *Price*, $2 50.

This profoundly entertaining and instructive work has created an impression on the American mind more deep and lasting than any other production of our time. There are no dramas in the world's history of more thrilling interest than this intensely absorbing narrative of the fortunes of the noble Huguenot sufferers in the cause of religious freedom. No true American needs to be reminded of the importance of disseminating at this critical juncture—this record of Papal persecution, murder, and tyranny. Eulogies have been pronounced on this rare production, by the highest renowned authorities in literature, and the most eminent Divines and Statesmen have commended it in the most rapturous and emphatic terms. In the frontispiece is an accurate Portrait of the cruel Pope Pius V., and a *fac-simile* of the execrable medal struck by Gregory XIII., to *celebrate* the frightful massacre of St. Bartholomew. Annexed, we subjoin a few brief extracts from eminent persons:

"No American citizen ought to be ignorant of its contents. We live in an age in which the Church of Rome is girding herself for a deadly conflict with Protestantism; for the shock of this contest it behooves all who love the Reformation to be prepared, and we know of no book in literature better adapted to promote this end than this history, in which M. Weiss has set before us the true nature and spirit of Romanism, and warns us against what we may expect in this land should she ever gain the ascendency here. The book is eminently one for the present times."—*From Prof. Wayland.*

"Whatever relates to the History of the Church of Rome, cannot fail, at this juncture, to be of the deepest interest to the world at large, and to this nation especially; inasmuch as now, more (if possible) than ever, she seeks with untiring vigilance by every art and power at her command, to every where spread her iron arm, and make strong her crushing grasp in both a political and ecclesiastical aspect. The perusal of this history gives a minute and comprehensive exhibit of the *Papal policy*, and of the human condition where its sway reached during its predominance from the 16th to the 17th century."—*From the Rev. Gideon B. Perry, D. D., LL. D.*

"In a day when the Protestant world is so intensely awake to the enormous claims, and pretensions, and frauds of Popery, the work of Weiss is a book for the times."—*From the Rev. N. Murray (Kirwan), D. D.*

"Such an array of information can be found nowhere else, and is full of thrilling interest and dread warning."—*From the Rev. George B. Cheever, D. D.*

"It is opportunely produced, at a period when Europe and America are convulsed with debates respecting the radical principles of civil and religious liberty."—*From the Rev. H. A. Boardman, D. D.*

Published by STRINGER & TOWNSEND, 222 Broadway, N. Y.

And for sale by all the principal Booksellers.

HOMES FOR THE PEOPLE!

JUST PUBLISHED,

THE

AMERICAN COTTAGE BUILDER,

A SERIES OF

Designs, Plans, and Specifications, from $200 to $25,000 for Homes for the People.

BY JOHN BULLOCK,

AUTHOR OF "THE RUDIMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE AND BUILDING"

Crown Octavo. Price, $1,75.

The object of this work is to furnish a practical manual of Designs for "Homes for the People" from a twenty-five dollar cottage to a twenty thousand dollar palace, giving estimates as to cost, furnishing plans and specifications, and treating upon the rudiments of the arts called into exercise by the practice of cottage building. From its practical character it must become a desirable text-book to the builder and mechanic, as well as to those contemplating building, either in ornamental or plain styles.

This work is adapted to supply the wants of all classes in every grade of living, from the humblest cottage to the stately mansion, who are interested in the erection of beautiful and convenient houses. The estimated cost is given to each respective plan, so that the expenses of each building may be accurately determined on. Every effort has been made to add to its intrinsic value—consistently with its practical character—by giving it variety, in collecting all new facts relating to recent improvements in the art of WARMING and VENTILATION, GARDENING, &c., &c.

The whole work will be found a "matter of fact" book on cottages and country residence,—a desideratum so long needed by all persons who contemplate building a home.

Opinions of the Leading Journals.

This volume is a valuable contribution to the art of rural architecture. It is illustrated with a number of excellent engravings representing various styles of cottages, and in the full details and clear descriptions of each style, which it gives, it will be found to be a safe guide both for taste and economy.---Courier and Enquirer.

Architectural treatises of more pretension than this have frequently passed under our notice, but we remember few volumes of the kind that are likely to be so useful to the public. Mr. Bullock furnishes designs of cottages in every style, and at every cost, from $25 up to $25,000, and supplies minute plans and specifications, estimates as to cost, &c. He also teaches very fully and intelligently the rudiments of the arts employed in cottage building.---Commercial Advertiser.

This work contains twenty one chapters of sound sense, twenty illustrations proper, and about sixty plans and illustrations of designs. Mr. Bullock is an experienced writer upon matters of architecture and art in general, and his instructions may be firmly relied upon—drawn as they are from hard study and fruitful familiarity.---Buffalo Express.

Mr. Bullock is favorably known as a clever writer on architectural subjects, and his books have always been popular. This handsome volume is profusely illustrated with designs in every style for cottage residences. The letter-press descriptions and instructions are full, concise, and clear, and render the treatise in our opinion useful not only to those about to erect country homes for themselves, but to professional builders who may be called upon to undertake such works for others.---N. Y. Express.

This is a most useful book in this country. It consists of a few plain directions for building small and moderate sized country houses, with a view to internal comfort, and external beauty and propriety. Every one who thinks of erecting a house out of town should read this book. It is simple, and abounding with excellent hints, which may save many pounds after the house is erected. Fit for rich and poor.---Montreal Herald.

The scope of this work is comprehensive, embracing cottages of the lowest cost, as well as buildings which might more appropriately be called palaces. It furnishes plans and specifications for each, and estimates of cost. The important subject of warming and ventilating is duly considered, also that of drainage; and there is an instructive chapter on landscape gardening. The plates of designs, and illustrations of the details of the designs, are very numerous, and the subjects lucidly exhibited.---Journal of Commerce.

The object of this book is to furnish those persons about to build with designs of houses costing from two hundred dollars to twenty thousand, and with them valuable information on the subjects of ventilation and gardening. Among the plates are the drawings of Prince Albert's Model Cottages, and also full plans for Fowler's Octagonal House, both of them curiosities well worth examination.---Boston Journal.

One object of this truly excellent book is to encourage the spirit of improvement—to aid the cultivation of agricultural taste in the poor man's home, and to teach all the art of combining the useful with the tasteful and elegant.---Pittsburg Token.

Published by STRINGER & TOWNSEND, 222 Broadway, N. Y.,

And for sale by all the principal Booksellers.

ARCHITECTS' AND BUILDERS' GUIDE.

THE RUDIMENTS
OF
ARCHITECTURE AND BUILDING.

FOR THE USE OF

Architects, Builders, Draughtsmen, Mechinists, Engineers and Mechanics.

Edited by JOHN BULLOCK, Architect.

Neatly bound in one crown octavo vol., uniform with "The American Cottage Builder," with numerous fine Engravings. Price $2,00.

CONTENTS:

THE HISTORY AND RUDIMENTS OF ARCHITECTURE.
Embracing

I. The Orders of Architecture:
II. Architectural Styles of Various Countries:
III. The Nature and Principles of Design in Architecture:
IV. An Accurate and Complete Glossary of Architectural Terms.

RUDIMENTS OF THE ART OF BUILDING.
Embracing

I. The General Principles of Construction;
II. Materials used in Building
III. Strength of Materials;
IV. Use of Materials;
V. Working Drawings, Specifications and Estimates.

Appendix.—Woods of N. America

OPINIONS OF THE PRESS.

"This is a volume of great importance to architects, machinists, mechanics and builders. It is valuable also to the general reader, who may desire information upon the subject of building, or architecture generally."—Hartford Republican.

"This is really a valuable book. It brings down to the comprehension of every mind an important and intricate art, showing the principles of construction, materials used in building, their relative strength, and the manner in which they are to be applied. The drawings and specifications are useful and accurate. It is worthy of the perusal of every mechanic, and especially of young persons."—Troy Post.

"A valuable elementary treatise, presenting a great variety of exact and intelligible details, expressed in precise and familiar language, and not encumbered with a superfluity of irrevelant matter, this little work forms an excellent manual for the practical or amateur builder."—N. Y. Tribune.

"It is a work of great value to the Architect, Builder, Engineer, and general Mechanic. The volume treats of the various styles of architecture in various countries; the nature of design in architecture, and its principles; and includes a complete glossary of architectural terms."—Albany Evening Atlas.

"The design is not to give the works in all their details, but to treat the subject comprehensively, so that while the reader and student will understand the subject, he will not be obliged to give to it the detailed and scientific study which would else be required."—Baltimore Patriot.

STRINGER & TOWNSEND, Publishers, 222 Broadway, N. Y.

AND FOR SALE BY ALL THE PRINCIPAL BOOKSELLERS.

☞ On receipt of price, the work will be mailed, *post paid*. ☜

An Indispensible Work for the Mechanic, the Engineer & the Artist

The Practical Draughtsman's
BOOK OF INDUSTRIAL DESIGN;

FORMING A COMPLETE COURSE OF

Mechanical, Engineering & Architectural Drawing.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF THE

MESSRS. ARMENGAUD AND M. AMOUROUX,

WITH ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS

BY PROFESSOR WILLIAM JOHNSON.

GENERAL CONTENTS:

LINEAR DRAWING.—THE STUDY OF PROJECTION.—ON COLOURING SECTIONS WITH APPLICATIONS.—THE INTERSECTION AND DEVELOPMENT OF SURFACES, WITH APPLICATIONS.—THE STUDY AND CONSTRUCTION OF TOOTHED GEAR.—ELEMENTARY PRINCIPLES OF SHADOWS.—APPLICATION OF SHADOWS TO TOOTHED GEAR.—THE CUTTING AND SHAPING OF MASONRY.—THE STUDY OF MACHINERY AND SKETCHING.—OBLIQUE PROJECTIONS.—PARALLEL PERSPECTIVE.—TRUE PERSPECTIVE.—EXAMPLES OF FINISHED DRAWINGS OF MACHINERY.—DRAWING INSTRUMENTS

In one quarto volume, containing 105 pages of Steel Plates, 75 Wood Engravings, and 200 pages of Letterpress. Bound in cloth, $6.50; in half Turkey, $8.00.

This superb work has been prepared by its distinguished Editor to meet the requirements so long felt of a comprehensive treatise on INDUSTRIAL DESIGN. His aim has been to present the well-known French work in a much improved English form, and at a price brought within the reach of all.

Every Principal, Mechanic, Builder, Machinist, Engineer, and Artist, has felt the want of a complete course of Industrial Design—not a mere collection of the first principles of Geometrical Drawing, but a work that would be useful as well in Schools and Colleges as in the Workshop and Drawing Offices of the Engineer and Architect.

The special mission of the PRACTICAL DRAUGHTSMAN'S BOOK OF INDUSTRIAL DESIGN may almost be gathered from its title-page. It is intended to furnish gradually developed lessons in Geometrical Drawing, applied directly to the various branches of the Industrial Arts: comprehending LINEAR DESIGN proper; ISOMETRICAL PERSPECTIVE, or the study of Projections; the Drawing of TOOTHED WHEELS and ECCENTRICS; with SHADOWING and COLOURING; OBLIQUE PROJECTIONS; and the study of PARALLEL and EXACT PERSPECTIVE: each division being accompanied by special applications to the extensive ranges of MECHANICS, ARCHITECTURE, FOUNDRY-WORKS, CARPENTRY, JOINERY, METAL MANUFACTURES generally, HYDRAULICS, the construction of STEAM ENGINES, and MILL-WORK. In its compilation, the feeble attraction generally offered to students in elementary form has been carefully considered; and after every geometrical problem, a practical example of its application has been added, to facilitate its comprehension and increase its value. A series of PLATES, marked, A, B, &c., are also interspersed throughout the work, as examples of finished drawings of machinery.—The Letterpress relating to these Plates, together with an illustrated chapter on DRAWING INSTRUMENTS, forms an appropriate Appendix to the Volume. The general explanatory text embraces not only a description of the objects and their movements, but also tables and practical rules, more particularly those relating to the dimensions of the principal details of machinery, as facilitating actual construction.

From W. A. Norton, Esq., Professor of Civil Engineering in Yale College.

In the Practical Draughtsman we at last have a work on Industrial design, at the same time sufficiently comprehensive in its scope and minute in its detail to meet the wants of the student of engineering. My opinion of its merits is abundantly indicated by the fact that I have adopted it as a text-book in the School of Engineering attached to Yale College. So far as I have made use of it, I find that it meets my expectations, and doubt not that it will give general satisfaction, if introduced into our Engineering and Industrial Schools.

W. A. NORTON,
Professor of Civil Engineering in Yale College.

From the Practical Mechanic's Journal, (Glasgow.)

Such a book in English was greatly needed. We possess for the first time in our literature a standard work, in many respects greatly superior to the French volume. Every page is full of pleasant instruction, and demonstrates competent intelligence and excessive care. The original work is a class-book in the Industrial Schools on the continent, and the present English form of it will hold a high place wherever its subject is studied, either in our own lands or in the United States. It is from its cheapness one of the few good books which every principal should possess as a work of reference and which every learner should have readily accessible for constant study.

Published by STRINGER & TOWNSEND 223 Broadway, N. Y.

The American's Hand-Book of Etiquette.

JUST PUBLISHED,

THE

ILLUSTRATED MANNERS BOOK.

A MANUAL OF GOOD BEHAVIOR AND POLITE ACCOMPLISHMENTS.

Illustrated with Two Hundred Engravings. Neatly bound in Cloth, in one elegant volume of 500 pages. Price, One Dollar.

CONTENTS.

Principles of Behavior.
Good Manners founded on Human Rights.
Care of the Person.
Dress.
Habits and Manners.
Things you must Avoid.
A Bill of Rights.
Of Society.
Social Forms and Observances.
The Etiquette of the Table.
A Chapter for the Ladies.
Conversation.
Conversational Errors.
The Etiquette of Occasions
Of Various Relations.
Expression of Senses and Faculties
Love and Courtship.
Marriage.
Writing and Correspondence.
Music.
Gymnastics, Dancing, &c.
Horsemanship.
Foreign Languages.
Poetry.
Fashion and the Toilette.
Concluding Remarks.

EDITORIAL NOTICES.

"The volume is sparkling with fun and irresistibly provocative of laughter, while it gives excellent advice in regard to dress, manners, conversation, correspondence, horsemanship, dancing, gymnastics, and many other matters of social interest and importance. The text is illustrated by 200 engravings, some of the best of which were imported from Paris, having been engraved from the drawings of Gavarni, Valentine, Grandville, and other famous artists."—COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

"The author understands and explains the philosophy of good manners and their dependences on and connection with good principles and morals. The book treats of every phase of life and of society, and descants upon every thing possible to be said or done by a gentleman or lady, from the smallest detail of personal care, up to the best method of writing verses."—BOSTON ADVERTISER.

"This book fills up a vacancy which has long existed among books of this kind, as it is a plain, practical treatise upon manners and behavior in whatever sphere or position in society a person of either sex may chance to be placed. It is illustrated with numerous engravings, showing the reverse of the rules laid down in the text. It is well gotten up, and cannot fail to meet with great success. Timid and bashful young lads and lasses will find this an invaluable companion."—POTTSVILLE REGISTER AND EMPORIUM.

"A complete epitome of good behavior, interspersed with comical sarcasms upon the follies of society, and abounding throughout in genial good humor. It is evidently written by one who has mingled much in society, and is perfectly cognizant of its most refined usages."—TROY DAILY TIMES.

Copies mailed on receipt of price, FREE OF POSTAGE.

Published by STRINGER & TOWNSEND, 222 Broadway, N. Y.

And for sale by all the principal Booksellers.

MUSIC FOR THE MILLION!

$100 Worth for 75 cents.

RECENTLY PUBLISHED,

THE

SINGER'S COMPANION;

CONTAINING A COLLECTION OF TWO HUNDRED POPULAR SONGS, DUETS, GLEES, CATCHES, &C., WITH MUSIC, ARRANGED FOR THE VOICE, FLUTE, VIOLIN AND PIANO.

ONE ELEGANTLY BOUND VOLUME, ILLUSTRATED. PRICE, 75 CTS

"In presenting this beautiful manual of 'Music for the Million,' the enterprising publishers may justly felicitate themselves in having contributed, in no slight degree, to the elegant amusement of leisure hours. In this choice selection of two hundred standard songs will be found the greatest possible variety of the most exquisite pieces of the old and new—serious and comic—love and sentimental—naval and military—national, Scotch, Irish, and English—occasionally interspersed with fashionable airs, as recently sung by the most popular vocalists, together with some of the rarest Ethiopian melodies. These compositions have been collected with due regard to the sentiment of the poetry, as well as the beauty and melody of the airs of their respective masters."—RICHMOND EVENING BULLETIN.

"Here are two hundred standard songs, of every possible variety, interspersed with fashionable airs, as recently sung by the most popular vocalists. Much regard has been had as well to the sentiment of the poetry as the grace and richness and sweetness of the airs. It is undoubtedly an important contribution to the musical department."—ALBANY ARGUS.

"A choice selection of popular songs, duets, glees, catches, etc., with music, arranged for the voice, flute, violin and piano. In a very convenient form, neatly and compactly printed, the singer and the instrumentalist may here find nearly two hundred pieces of music, embracing old and new favorites of almost every description, songs, duets, glees, catches, and dances."—BOSTON EVENING TRAVELLER.

"This volume will be considered a treasure by musicians, amateur and professional, for it contains a very rich store of new as well as old music, comprehending in one handsome volume all the choice pieces that are found floating in detached parts through the musical atmosphere. It must become popular with the public."—NEW LONDON DAILY CHRONICLE.

"This pretty volume contains a selection of popular songs, duets, glees, catches, etc., with music, arranged for the voice, flute, violin, and piano. The melodies embrace some of the old favorites, as well as the popular airs of the present day."—NEW YORK COMMERCIAL ADVERTISER.

"The typographical execution of the music is of a superior order. Every page presents a neat, tasteful, and pleasing appearance, inviting the eye by its beauty, and charming the soul by its sound."—SUSQUEHANNA JOURNAL.

STRINGER & TOWNSEND Publishers,
222 Broadway, New York.

And for sale by all the principal Booksellers.

☞ Copies mailed on receipt of price, FREE OF POSTAGE. ☜

BRAITHWAITE'S RETROSPECT;

A HALF-YEARLY JOURNAL OF

PRACTICAL MEDICINE AND SURGERY.

Part XXXI., July, 1855, Now Ready

CHANGE OF PROPRIETORSHIP AND IMPROVEMENT OF THE WORK.

Uniform American Edition.

TERMS—TWO DOLLARS A YEAR—POSTAGE FREE.

This invaluable compendium, which was commenced in 1840, and has now reached its Thirty-First Number, with the unqualified approbation of the profession, and a very extensive patronage of non-medical readers, has recently passed into the hands of Messrs. STRINGER and TOWNSEND, its present *Proprietors*. It will hereafter be issued by them *simultaneously* with the London edition, by virtue of an arrangement entered into for the advance proof sheets, with the distinguished author, and will appear regularly on the first days of January and July respectively, in a greatly improved form as regards both paper and typographical execution; these, with the gradual enlargement of the work, and the obligation of the new postage-law, have made the trifling advance on the former price of subscription necessary. The work itself is so well known to the public in general that it is almost needless to enter into any lengthened description of it. It constitutes a condensed register of medical facts and observations for the past year, and a complete retrospect of all that is valuable and worth possessing respecting the treatment of disease, gleaned from the British and foreign medical journals, and the transactions of the different societies and associations, and presented to the reader in as condensed a form as possible, and generally in the words of the respective authors.

To medical men the great advantage offered by the RETROSPECT is its embodying, in a confined space, all the cream of all the medical periodicals, sparing them the labor of wading through many volumes filled with much trivial and uninteresting matter, which must be perused in order to reach what is really valuable; and supplying them with a key, by aid of which they may find precisely what they require in any of the scattered publications of the day. To families and private individuals it is scarcely less valuable than to the professional reader—since, although purely and in the highest degree scientific, its contents are yet presented in a style so simple and unaffected that they are comprehensible to any ordinary intellect.

This admirable digest enjoys, throughout the world, a higher fame in its department, and has a more extensive patronage, than was ever acquired by any other periodical publication.

TERMS, invariably in advance, from PART XXIII, for JULY, price $1; $2 per annum. The back numbers, or sets from the commencement, can be had at the following *original* prices, FREE OF POSTAGE:

24 *Parts, bound in* 10 *Volumes, Sheep Library Style*, $2 *a Volume*, $20—*delivered free of charge.*

30 Parts bound in 13 vols.	. .	$26
" 18 *to* 22,	. . . . .	75 *Cents each.*
" 23 " 31,	. . . . .	$1 *each.*

The most liberal terms will be given to Booksellers and Travelling Agents.

N. B.—Mail subscribers will particularly note that for $2 per annum, *paid in advance*, the work will reach them POSTAGE FREE, in whatever part of the Union.

STRINGER & TOWNSEND, Proprietors and Publishers,

No. 222 Broadway, New-York

"THE ENGLISH CLASSICS."
NEW ILLUSTRATED EDITION OF FIELDING AND SMOLLETT.

NEW EDITION OF THE SELECT WORKS
OF
HENRY FIELDING.
Illustrated from Designs by Cruikshank.
WITH A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

Complete in One Volume, royal octavo. Bound in embossed cloth. Price $2.

Each Work separate, in paper covers.

EMBRACING

TOM JONES; Or, THE HISTORY OF A FOUNDLING, 50 *cts.*
THE ADVENTURES OF JOSEPH ANDREWS, 38 *cts.*
AMELIA, 50 *cts.*
THE LIFE OF JONATHAN WILD, 25 *cts.*

"The cultivated genius of Fielding entitles him to a high rank among the classics. His works exhibit a series of pictures drawn with all the descriptive fidelity of a Hogarth."—*Knox's Essays.*

"The romance of Tom Jones, that exquisite picture of human manners, will outlive the palace of the Escurial and the imperial eagle of Austria."—*Gibbon.*

"'Tom Jones' is the first romance in the world, and the best written English book."—*La Harpe.*

UNIFORM WITH THE ABOVE.

NEW EDITION OF THE SELECT WORKS
OF
TOBIAS SMOLLETT.
Illustrated from Designs by Cruikshank.
WITH A MEMOIR OF HIS LIFE AND WRITINGS.

Complete in One Volume, royal octavo. Bound in embossed cloth. Price $2.

Each Work separate, in paper covers.

EMBRACING

THE ADVENTURES OF RODERICK RANDOM, 38 *cts.*
THE ADVENTURES OF PEREGRINE PICKLE, 50 *cts.*
THE EXPEDITION OF HUMPHREY CLINKER, 38 *cts.*
THE ADVENTURES OF FERDINAND COUNT FATHOM, 38 *cts.*
THE ADVENTURES OF SIR LAUNCELOT GREAVES, 38 *cts.*
THE HISTORY AND ADVENTURES OF AN ATOM, 25 *cts.*

"The Prose Homer of Human Nature."—*Lord Byron.*

"Cervantes, Le Sage, Fielding, Smollett, began one and all of them with the drama, and after failing in that, betook themselves to the efforts by which they have earned their immortality."—*Quarterly Review.*

STRINGER & TOWNSEND, 222 Broadway, New-York.

D SMOLLETT.

ORKS

nk.

WRITIN . .

embossed

DLING, 50 *cts.*
WS, 38 *cts.*

h rank among the
all the descriptive

man manners, will
tria."—*Gibbon.*
est written English

ORKS

nk.

WRITINGS.

embossed

OOM, 38 *cts.*
KLE, 50 *cts.*
KER, 38 *cts.*
NT FATHOM,

T GREAVES,

ATOM, 25 *cts.*

of them with the
rts by which they

, New-York.